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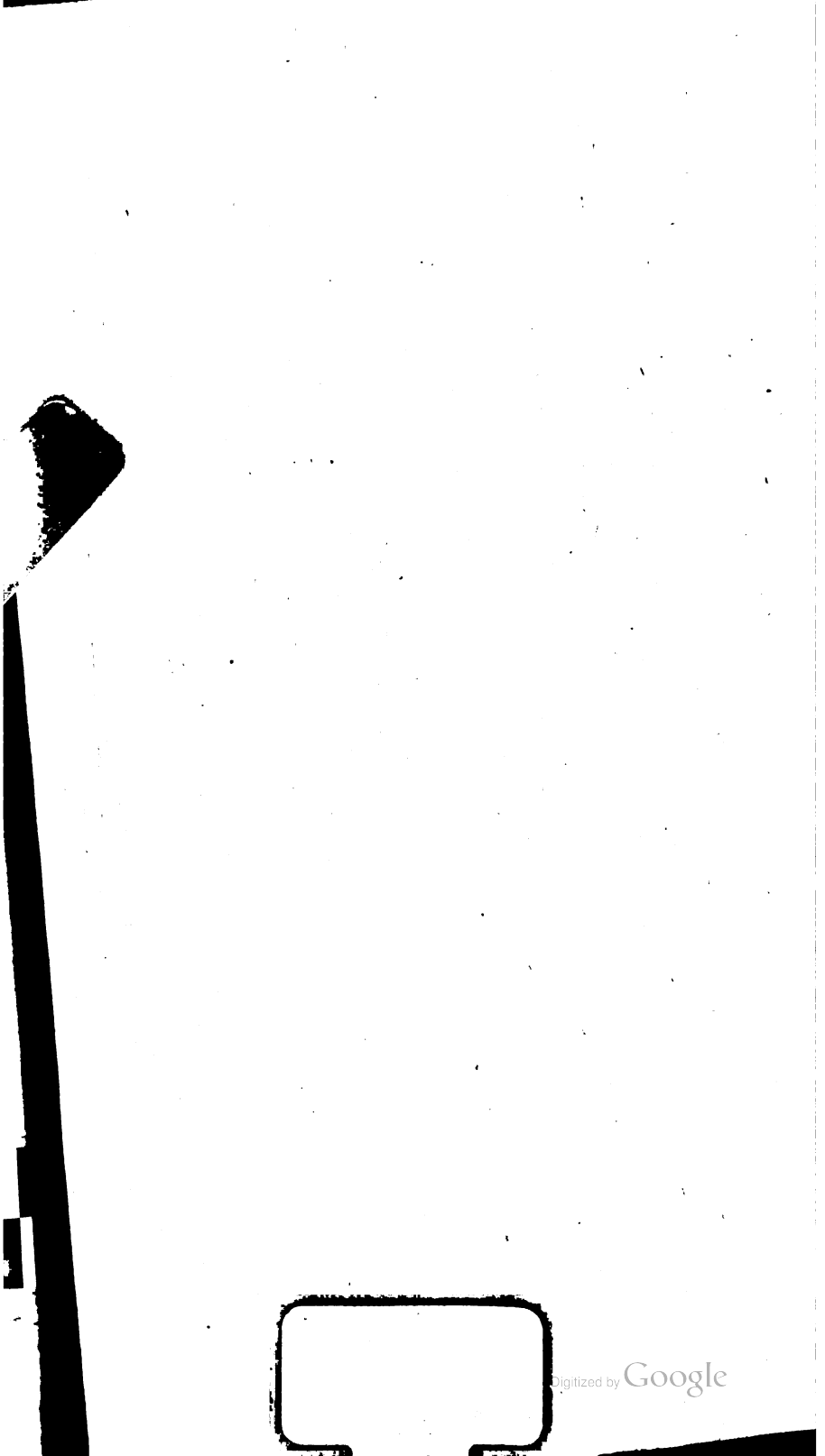
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THE

FOREIGN REVIEW,

AND

CONTINENTAL MISCELLANY.

VOLUME V.

LONDON:

BLACK, YOUNG, AND YOUNG, TAVISTOCK STREET;

AND

BOSSANGE, BARTHÈS, AND LOWELL.

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THE

FOREIGN REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Wahrheit aus Jean Paul's Leben.* (Biography of Jean Paul); *1stes, 2tes, 3tes Bändchen.* Breslau, 1826,—27,—28.

IT is some six years since the name 'Jean Paul Friedrich Richter' was first printed with English types; and some six-and-forty since it has stood emblazoned and illuminated on all true literary Indicators among the Germans; a fact, which, if we consider the history of many a Kotzebue and Chateaubriand, within that period, may confirm the old doctrine, that the best celebrity does not always spread the fastest; but rather, quite contrariwise, that as blown bladders are far more easily carried than metallic masses, though gold ones, of equal bulk, so the Playwright, Poetaster, Philosophe, will often pass triumphantly beyond seas, while the Poet and Philosopher abide quietly at home. Such is the order of nature: a Spurzheim flies from Vienna to Paris and London, within the year; a Kant, slowly advancing, may, perhaps, reach us from Königsberg within the century: Newton, merely to cross the narrow Channel, required fifty years; Shakspeare, again, three times as many. It is true there are examples of an opposite sort; now and then, by some rare chance, a Goethe, a Cervantes, will occur in literature, and Kings may laugh over *Don Quixote* while it is yet unfinished, and scenes from *Werter* be painted on Chinese tea-cups, while the author is still a stripling. These, however, are not the rule, but the exceptions; nay, rightly interpreted, the exceptions which confirm it. In general, that sudden tumultuous popularity comes more from partial delirium on both sides, than from clear insight; and is of evil omen to all concerned with it. How many loud Bacchus-festivals of this sort have we seen prove to be Pseudo-Bacchanalia, and end in directly the inverse of Orgies! Drawn by his team of lions, the jolly god advances as a real god, with all his thyrsi, cymbals, Phallophori, and Mænadic women; the air, the earth is giddy with their clangour, their Evohes: but, alas! in a little while, the lion-team shows long ears, and becomes too clearly an ass-team in lion-skins; the Mænads wheel round in amazement; and then the jolly god, dragged from his chariot, is trodden into the kennels as a drunk mortal.

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That no such apotheosis was appointed for Richter in his own country, or is now to be anticipated in any other, we cannot but regard as a natural, and nowise unfortunate circumstance. What divinity lies in him requires a calmer worship, and from quite another class of worshippers. Neither, in spite of that forty years' abeyance, shall we accuse England of any uncommon blindness towards him: nay, taking all things into account, we should rather consider his actual footing among us as evincing not only an increased rapidity in literary intercourse, but an intrinsic improvement in the manner and objects of it. Our feeling of foreign excellence, we hope, must be becoming truer: our Insular taste must be opening more and more into a European one. For Richter is by no means a man whose merits, like his singularities, force themselves on the general eye; indeed, without great patience, and some considerable catholicism of disposition, no reader is likely to prosper much with him. He has a fine, high, altogether unusual talent; and a manner of expressing it perhaps still more unusual. He is a Humourist heartily and throughout; not only in low provinces of thought, where this is more common, but in the loftiest provinces, where it is well-nigh unexampled; and thus, in wild sport, 'playing bowls with the sun and moon,' he fashions the strangest ideal world, which at first glance looks no better than a chaos. The Germans themselves find much to bear with in him; and for readers of any other nation, he is involved in almost boundless complexity; a mighty maze, indeed, but in which the plan, or traces of a plan, are nowhere visible. Far from appreciating and appropriating the spirit of his writings, foreigners find it in the highest degree difficult to seize their grammatical meaning. Probably there is not, in any modern language, so intricate a writer; abounding, without measure, in obscure allusions, in the most twisted phraseology; perplexed into endless entanglements and dislocations, parenthesis within parenthesis; not forgetting elisions, sudden whirls, quips, conceits, and all manner of inexplicable crotchets: the whole moving on in the gayest manner, yet nowise in what seem military lines, but rather in huge party-coloured mob-masses. How foreigners must find themselves bested in this case, our readers may best judge from the fact that a work with the following title was undertaken some twenty years ago, for the benefit of Richter's own countrymen: '*K. Reinhold's Lexicon for Jean Paul's works, or explanation of all the foreign words and unusual modes of speech which occur in his writings; with short notices of the historical persons and facts therein alluded to; and plain German versions of the more difficult passages in the*

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the context:—a necessary assistance for all who would read those works with profit!' So much for the dress or vehicle of Richter's thoughts: now let it only be remembered farther, that the thoughts themselves are often of the most abstruse description; so that not till after laborious meditation, can much, either of truth or of falsehood, be discerned in them;—and we have a man, from whom readers with weak nerves, and a taste in any degree sickly, will not fail to recoil, perhaps with a sentiment approaching to horror. And yet, as we said, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, Richter already meets with a certain recognition in England; he has his readers and admirers; various translations from his works have been published among us; criticisms, also, not without clear discernment, and nowise wanting in applause; and to all this, so far as we can see, even the un-German part of the public has listened with some curiosity and hopeful anticipation. From which symptoms we should infer two things, both very comfortable to us in our present capacity: First, that the old strait-laced, microscopic sect of *Belles-lettres-men*, whose divinity was 'Elegance,' a creed of French growth, and more admirable for men-milliners than for critics and philosophers, must be rapidly declining in these Islands; and secondly, which is a much more personal consideration, that, in still farther investigating and exhibiting this wonderful Jean Paul, we have attempted what will be, for many of our readers, no unwelcome service.

Our enquiry naturally divides itself into two departments, the Biographical and the Critical; concerning both of which, in their order, we have some observations to make; and what, in regard to the latter department at least, we reckon more profitable, some rather curious documents to present.

It does not appear that Richter's life, externally considered, differed much in general character from other literary lives, which, for most part, are so barren of incident: the earlier portion of it was straitened enough, but not otherwise distinguished; the later and busiest portion of it was, in like manner, altogether private; spent chiefly in provincial towns, and apart from high scenes or persons; its principal occurrences the new books he wrote, its whole course a spiritual and silent one. He became an author in his nineteenth year; and with a conscientious assiduity, adhered to that employment; not seeking, indeed carefully avoiding, any interruption or disturbance therein, were it only for a day or an hour. Nevertheless, in looking over those sixty volumes of his, we feel as if Richter's history must have another, much deeper interest and worth, than outward incidents could impart to it. For the spirit which

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shines more or less completely through his writings, is one of perennial excellence; rare in all times and situations, and perhaps nowhere and in no time more rare than in literary Europe, at this era. We see in this man a high, self-subsistent, original, and, in many respects, even great character. He shows himself a man of wonderful gifts, and with, perhaps, a still happier combination and adjustment of these: in whom Philosophy and Poetry are not only reconciled, but blended together into a purer essence, into Religion; who with the softest, most universal sympathy for outward things, is inwardly calm, impregnable; holds on his way through all temptations and afflictions, so quietly, yet so inflexibly; the true literary man, among a thousand false ones, the Apollo among neatherds; in one word, a man understanding the nineteenth century, and living in the midst of it, yet whose life is, in some measure, an heroic and devout one. No character of this kind, we are aware, is to be formed without manifold and victorious struggling with the world; and the narrative of such struggling, what little of it can be narrated and interpreted, will belong to the highest species of history. The acted life of such a man, it has been said, 'is itself a Bible;' it is a 'Gospel of Freedom,' preached abroad to all men; whereby, among mean unbelieving souls, we may know that nobleness has not yet become impossible; and, languishing amid boundless triviality and despicability, still understand that man's nature is indefeasibly divine, and so hold fast what is the most important of all faiths, the faith in ourselves.

But if the acted life of a *pius Vates* is so high a matter, the written life, which, if properly written, would be a translation and interpretation thereof, must also have great value. It has been said that no Poet is equal to his Poem, which saying is partially true; but, in a deeper sense, it may also be asserted, and with still greater truth, that no Poem is equal to its Poet. Now, it is Biography that first gives us both Poet and Poem; by the significance of the one, elucidating and completing that of the other. That ideal outline of himself, which a man unconsciously shadows forth in his writings, and which, rightly deciphered, will be truer than any other representation of him, it is the task of the Biographer to fill up into an actual coherent figure, and bring home to our experience, or at least clear, undoubting admiration, thereby to instruct and edify us in many ways. Conducted on such principles, the Biography of great men, especially of great Poets, that is, of men in the highest degree noble-minded and wise, might become one of the most dignified and valuable species of composition. As matters stand, indeed,

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indeed, there are few Biographies that accomplish any thing of this kind; the most are mere Indexes of a Biography, which each reader is to write out for himself, as he peruses them; not the living body, but the dry bones of a body, which should have been alive. To expect any such Promethean virtue in a common Life-writer were unreasonable enough. How shall that unhappy Biographic brotherhood, instead of writing like Index-makers and Government-clerks, suddenly become enkindled with some sparks of intellect, or even of genial fire; and not only collecting dates and facts, but making use of them, look beyond the surface and economical form of a man's life, into its substance and spirit? The truth is, Biographies are in a similar case with Sermons and Songs: they have their scientific rules, their ideal of perfection and of imperfection, as all things have; but hitherto their rules are only, as it were, unseen Laws of Nature, not critical Acts of Parliament, and threaten us with no immediate penalty: besides, unlike Tragedies and Epics, such works may be something without being all: their simplicity of form, moreover, is apt to seem easiness of execution; and thus, for one artist in those departments, we have a thousand bunglers.

With regard to Richter, in particular, to say that his biographic treatment has been worse than usual, were saying much; yet worse than we expected it has certainly been. Various 'Lives of Jean Paul,' anxiously endeavouring to profit by the public excitement, while it lasted, and communicating, in a given space, almost a minimum of information, have been read by us, within the last four years, with no great disappointment. We strove to take thankfully what little they had to give; and looked forward, in hope, to that promised 'Autobiography,' wherein all deficiencies were to be supplied. Several years before his death, it would seem, Richter had determined on writing some account of his own life; and with his customary honesty, had set about a thorough preparation for this task. After revolving many plans, some of them singular enough, he at last determined on the form of composition; and with a half-sportful allusion to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit aus meinem Leben*, had prefixed to his work the title *Wahrheit aus meinem Leben* (Truth from my Life); having relinquished, as impracticable, the strange idea of 'writing, parallel to it, a *Dichtung* (Fiction) also, under cover of 'Nicolaus Margraf,'—a certain Apothecary, existing only as hero of one of his last Novels! In this work, which weightier avocations had indeed retarded or suspended, considerable progress was said to have been made; and on Richter's decease, Herr Otto, a man of talents,

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talents, who had been his intimate friend for half a life-time, undertook the editing and completing of it; not without sufficient proclamation and assertion, which in the meanwhile was credible enough, that to him only could the post of Richter's biographer belong.

Three little volumes of that *Wahrheit aus Jean Paul's Leben*, published in the course of as many years, are at length before us. The First volume, which came out in 1826, occasioned some surprise, if not disappointment; yet still left room for hope. It was the commencement of a real Autobiography, and written with much heartiness and even dignity of manner, though taken up under a quite unexpected point of view, in that spirit of genial humour, of gay earnestness, which, with all its strange fantastic accompaniments, often sat on Jean Paul so gracefully, and to which, at any rate, no reader of his works could be a stranger. By virtue of an autocratic ukase, Paul had appointed himself 'Professor of his own History,' and delivered to the Universe three beautiful 'Lectures' on that subject; boasting, justly enough, that, in his special department, he was better informed than any other man whatever. He was not without his oratorical secrets and professorial habits: thus, as Mr. Wortley, in writing his parliamentary speech to be read within his hat, had marked, in various passages, 'Here cough,' so Paul, with greater brevity, had an arbitrary hieroglyph introduced here and there, among his papers, and purporting, as he tells us, *Meine Herren, niemand scharre, niemand gähne!*—'Gentlemen, no scraping, no yawning!'—a hieroglyph, we must say, which many public speakers might stand more in need of than he.

Unfortunately, in the Second volume, no other Lectures came to light, but only a string of disconnected, indeed quite heterogeneous Notes, intended to have been fashioned into such; the full free stream of oratory dissipated itself into unsatisfactory drops. With the Third volume, which is by much the longest, Herr Otto appears more decidedly in his own person, though still rather with the scissars than with the pen; and, behind a multitude of circumvallations and outposts, endeavours to advance his history a little; the Lectures having left it still almost at the very commencement. His peculiar plan, and the too manifest purpose to continue speaking in Jean Paul's manner, greatly obstruct his progress; which, indeed, is so inconsiderable, that at the end of this third volume, that is, after some seven hundred small octavo pages, we find the hero, as yet, scarcely beyond his twentieth year, and the history proper still only, as it were, beginning. We cannot but regret that Herr Otto,

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Otto, whose talent and good purpose, to say nothing of his relation to Richter, demand regard from us, had not adopted some straight-forward method, and spoken out in plain prose, which seems a more natural dialect for him, what he had to say on this matter. Instead of a multifarious combination, tending so slowly, if at all, towards unity, he might, without omitting those 'Lectures,' or any 'Note' that had value, have given us a direct Narrative, which, if it had wanted the line of Beauty, might have had the still more indispensable line of Regularity, and been, at all events, far shorter. Till Herr Otto's work is completed, we cannot speak positively; but, in the meanwhile, we must say that it wears an unprosperous aspect, and leaves room to fear that, after all, Richter's Biography may still long continue a problem. As for ourselves, in this state of matters, what help, towards characterizing Jean Paul's practical Life, we can afford, is but a few slight facts gleaned from Herr Otto's and other meaner works; and which, even in our own eyes, are extremely insufficient.

Richter was born at Wonsiedel in Baireuth, in the year 1763; and as his birth-day fell on the 21st of March, it was sometimes wittily said that he and the Spring were born together. He himself mentions this, and with a laudable intention: 'this epigrammatic fact,' says he, 'that I the Professor and the Spring came into the world together, I have indeed brought out a hundred times in conversation, before now; but I fire it off here purposely, like a cannon-salute, for the hundred and first time, that so by printing I may ever henceforth be unable to offer it again as *bonmot-bonbon*, when, through the Printer's Devil, it has already been presented to all the world.' Destiny, he seems to think, made another witticism on him; the word *Richter* being appellative as well as proper, in the German tongue, where it signifies *Judge*. His Christian name, Jean Paul, which long passed for some freak of his own, and a pseudonym, he seems to have derived honestly enough, from his maternal grandfather, Johann Paul Kuhn, a substantial cloth-maker, in Hof; only translating the German *Johann* into the French *Jean*. The Richters, for at least two generations, had been schoolmasters, or very subaltern churchmen, distinguished for their poverty and their piety: the grandfather, it appears, is still remembered in his little circle, as a man of quite remarkable innocence and holiness; 'in Neustadt,' says his descendant, 'they will shew you a bench behind the organ, where he knelt on Sundays, and a cave he had made for himself in what is called the Little Culm, where he was wont to pray.' Holding, and laboriously discharging, three school or church offices, his yearly income scarcely amounted to fifteen

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fifteen pounds: 'and at this Hunger-fountain, common enough for Baireuth school-people, the man stood thirty-five years long, and cheerfully drew.' Preferment had been slow in visiting him: but at length, 'it came to pass,' says Paul, 'just in my birth-year, that, on the 6th of August, probably through special connexions with the *Higher Powers*, he did obtain one of the most important places; in comparison with which, truly, Rectorate, and Town, and cave in the Culmberg, were well worth exchanging; a place, namely, in the Neustadt Churchyard.*—His good wife had been promoted thither twenty years before him. My parents had taken me, an infant, along with them to his death-bed. He was in the act of departing, when a clergyman (as my father has often told me) said to them: Now, let the old Jacob lay his hand on the child, and bless him. I was held into the bed of death, and he laid his hand on my head.—Thou good old grandfather! Often have I thought of thy hand, blessing as it grew cold,—when Fate led me out of dark hours into clearer,—and already I can believe in thy blessing, in this material world, whose life, foundation, and essence is Spirit!'

The father, who at this time occupied the humble post of *Tertius* (under schoolmaster) and Organist at Wonsiedel, was shortly afterwards appointed Clergyman in the hamlet of Joditz; and thence, in the course of years, transferred to Schwarzenbach on the Saale. He too was of a truly devout disposition, though combining with it more energy of character, and, apparently, more general talent; being noted in his neighbourhood as a bold, zealous preacher; and still partially known to the world, we believe, for some meritorious compositions in Church-music. In poverty he cannot be said to have altogether equalled his predecessor, who through life ate nothing but bread and beer; yet poor enough he was; and no less cheerful than poor. The thriving burgher's daughter, whom he took to wife, had, as we guess, brought no money with her, but only habits little advantageous for a schoolmaster or parson; at all events, the worthy man, frugal as his household was, had continual difficulties, and even died in debt. Paul, who in those days was called Fritz, narrates gaily, how his mother used to despatch him to Hof, her native town, with a provender bag strapped over his shoulders, under pretext of purchasing at a cheaper rate there; but in reality to get his groceries and dainties furnished gratis by his grandmother. He was wont to kiss his grandfather's hand behind the loom, and speak with him; while the good old lady, parsimonious to all the world, but lavish to her own, privily filled his bag with the good things of this

* *Gottesacker* (God's-field), not *Kirchhof*, the more common term, and exactly corresponding to ours, is the word Richter uses here,—and almost always elsewhere, which in his writings he has often occasion to do.

life,

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life, and even gave him almonds for himself, which, however, he kept for a friend. One other little trait, quite new in ecclesiastical annals, we must here communicate. Paul, in summing up the joys of existence at Jodiz, mentions this among the number:

'In Autumn evenings (and though the weather were bad), the Father used to go in his night-gown, with Paul and Adam, into a potatoe-field lying over the Saale. The one younker carried a mattock, the other a hand-basket. Arrived on the ground, the Father set to digging new potatoes, so many as were wanted for supper; Paul gathered them from the bed into the basket, whilst Adam, clambering in the hazel thickets, looked out for the best nuts. After a time, Adam had to come down from his boughs into the bed, and Paul in his turn ascended. And thus, with potatoes and nuts, they returned contentedly home; and the pleasure of having run abroad, some mile in space, some hour in time, and then of celebrating the harvest-home, by candle light, when they came back,—let every one paint to himself as brilliantly as the receiver thereof.'

To such persons as argue that the respectability of the cloth depends on its price at the clothier's, it must appear surprising that a Protestant clergyman, who not only was in no case to keep fox-hounds, but even saw it convenient to dig his own potatoes, should not have fallen under universal odium, and felt his usefulness very considerably diminished. Nothing of this kind, however, becomes visible in the history of the Jodiz Parson: we find him a man powerful in his vocation; loved and venerated by his flock; nay associating at will, and ever as an honoured guest, with the gentry of Voigtland, not indeed in the character of gentleman, yet in that of priest, which he reckoned far higher. Like an old Lutheran, says his son, he believed in the great, as he did in ghosts; but without any shade of fear. The truth is, the man had a cheerful, pure, religious heart; was diligent in business, and fervent in spirit; and, in all the relations of his life, found this well nigh sufficient for him.

To our Professor, as to Poets in general, the recollections of childhood had always something of an ideal, almost celestial character. Often, in his fictions, he describes such scenes, with a fond minuteness; nor is poverty any deadly, or even unwelcome ingredient in them. On the whole, it is not by money, or money's worth, that man lives and has his being. 'Is not God's Universe *within* our head, whether there be a torn scull-cap or a king's diadem *without*?' Let no one imagine that Paul's young years were unhappy; still less that he looks back on them in a lachrymose, sentimental manner, with the smallest symptom either of boasting or whining. Poverty of a far sterner sort than this would

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would have been a light matter to him; for a kind mother, Nature herself, had already provided against it; and, like the mother of Achilles, rendered him invulnerable to outward things. There was a bold, deep, joyful spirit looking through those young eyes; and to such a spirit, the world *has* nothing poor, but all is rich, and full of loveliness and wonder. That our readers may glance with us into this foreign Parsonage, we shall translate some paragraphs from Paul's second Lecture, and thereby furnish, at the same time, a specimen of his professorial style and temper.

'To represent the Jodiz life of our Hans Paul,—for by this name we shall for a time distinguish him, yet ever changing it with others,—our best course, I believe, will be to conduct him through a whole Idyl-year; dividing the normal year into four seasons, as so many quarterly Idyls; four Idyls exhaust his happiness.

'For the rest, let no one marvel at finding an Idyl-kingdom, and pastoral-world in a little hamlet and parsonage. In the smallest bed, you can raise a tulip-tree which shall extend its flowery boughs over all the garden; and the life-breath of joy can be inhaled as well through a window, as in the open wood and sky. Nay, is not Man's Spirit (with all its infinite celestial-spaces) walled in within a six-feet Body, with integuments, and Malpighian mucuses, and capillary tubes; and has only five strait world-windows, of Senses, to open for the boundless, round-eyed, round-sunned All;—and yet it discerns and reproduces an All!

'Scarcely do I know with which of the four quarterly Idyls to begin; for each is a little heavenly forecourt to the next: however, the climax of joys, if we start with Winter and January, will perhaps be most apparent. In the cold, our Father had commonly, like an Alpine herdsman, come down from the upper altitude of his study; and, to the joy of the children, was dwelling on the plain of the general family-room. In the morning, he sat by a window, committing his Sunday's sermon to memory; and the three sons, Fritz (who I myself am), and Adam, and Gottlieb carried, by turns, the full coffee-cup to him, and still more gladly carried back the empty one, because the carrier was then entitled to pick the unmelted remains of the sugar-candy (taken against cough) from the bottom thereof. Out of doors, truly, the sky covered all things with silence; the brook with ice, the village with snow: but in our room, there was life: under the stove a pigeon-establishment; on the windows, finch cages; on the floor the invincible bull brach, our *Bonne*, the night-guardian of the court-yard; and a poodle, and the pretty *Scharmantel* (Poll), a present from the Lady von Plotho;—and close by, the kitchen, with two maids; and farther off, against the other end of the house, our stable, with all sorts of bovine, swinish, and feathered cattle, and their noises: the threshers with their flails, also at work within the court-yard, I might reckon as another item. In this way, with nothing but society on all hands, the whole male portion of the household easily spent their forenoon in tasks of memory,

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memory, not far from the female portion, as busily employed in cooking.

'Holidays occur in every occupation; thus I too had my airing holidays,—analogous to watering holidays,—so that I could travel out in the snow of the court-yard, and to the barn with its threshing. Nay, was there a delicate embassy to be transacted in the village,—for example, to the schoolmaster, to the tailor,—I was sure to be despatched thither in the middle of my lessons; and thus I still got forth into the open air and the cold, and measured myself with the new snow. At noon, before our own dinner, we children might also, in the kitchen, have the hungry satisfaction to see the threshers fall to and consume their victuals.

'The afternoon, again, was still more important, and richer in joys. Winter shortened and sweetened our lessons. In the long dusk, our Father walked to and fro; and the children, according to ability, trotted under his night-gown, holding by his hands. At sound of the Vesper bell, we placed ourselves in a circle, and in concert devotionally chaunted the hymn, *Die finstre Nacht bricht stark herein* (The gloomy Night is gathering round). Only in villages, not in towns, where properly there is more night than day labour,—have the evening chimes a meaning and beauty, and are the swan-song of the day: the evening-bell is as it were the muffle of the over loud heart, and, like a *rance des vaches* of the plains, calls men from their running and toiling, into the land of silence and dreams. After a pleasant watching about the kitchen door, for the moonrise of candle-light, we saw our wide room at once illuminated and barricaded; to wit, the window shutters were closed and bolted; and behind these window bastions and breastworks, the child felt himself snugly nestled, and well secured against Knecht Ruprecht,* who on the outside could not get in, but only in vain keep growling and humming.

'About this period too it was that we children might undress, and in long train-shirts skip up and down. Idyllic joys of various sorts alternated: our Father either had his quarto Bible, interleaved with blank folio sheets, before him, and was marking, at each verse, the book wherein he had read anything concerning it;—or more commonly he had his ruled music-paper; and, undisturbed by this racketting of children, was composing whole concerts of church-music, with all their divisions; constructing his internal melody without any help of external tones (as Reichard too advises), or rather in spite of all external mistones. In both cases, in the last with the more pleasure, I looked on as he wrote; and rejoiced specially, when, by pauses of various instruments, whole pages were at once filled up. The children all sat sporting *on* that long writing and eating table, or even *under* it * * *

'Then, at length, how did the winter evening, once a week, mount in worth, when the old errand-woman, coated in snow, with her fruit, flesh, and general ware basket, entered the kitchen from Hof;

* The *Rauhead* (with bloody bones) of Germany.

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and we all, in this case, had the distant town in miniature before our eyes, nay before our noses, for there were pastry cakes in it!'

Thus in dull winter imprisonment, among all manner of bovine, swinish, and feathered cattle, with their noises, may Idyllic joys be found, if there is an eye to see them, and a heart to taste them. Truly happiness is cheap, did we apply to the right merchant for it. Paul warns us elsewhere not to believe, for these Idyls, that there were no sour days, no chidings, and the like, at Jodiz: yet, on the whole, he had good reason to rejoice in his parents. They loved him well; his Father, he says, would 'shed tears' over any mark of quickness or talent in little Fritz: they were virtuous also, and devout, which after all is better than being rich. 'Ever and anon,' says he, 'I was hearing some narrative from my Father, how he and other clergymen had taken parts of their dress and given them to the poor; he related these things with joy, not as an admonition, but merely as a necessary occurrence: O God! I thank Thee for my Father!'

Richter's education was not of a more sumptuous sort, than his board and lodging. Some disagreement with the Schoolmaster at Jodiz had induced the Parson to take his sons from school, and determine to teach them himself. This determination he executed faithfully indeed, yet in the most limited style; his method being no Pestalozzian one, but simply the old scheme of task-work and force-work, operating on a Latin grammar and a Latin vocabulary: and the two boys sat all day, and all year, at home, without other preceptorial nourishment than getting by heart long lists of words. Fritz learned honestly nevertheless, and in spite of his brother Adam's bad example. For the rest, he was totally destitute of books, except such of his Father's theological ones as he could come at by stealth: these, for want of better, he eagerly devoured; understanding, as he says, nothing whatever of their contents. With no less impetuosity, and no less profit, he perused the antiquated sets of Newspapers, which a kind patroness, the Lady von Plotho, already mentioned, was in the habit of furnishing to his Father, not in separate sheets, but in sheaves monthly. This was the extent of his reading. Jodiz too was the most sequestered of all hamlets; had neither natural nor artificial beauty; no memorable thing could be seen there, in a lifetime. Nevertheless, under an immeasurable Sky, and in a quite wondrous World it did stand; and glimpses into the infinite spaces of the Universe, and even into the infinite spaces of Man's Soul, could be had there as well as elsewhere. Fritz had his own thoughts, in spite of schoolmasters: a little heavenly seed of Knowledge, nay of Wisdom, had been laid in him, and with no gardener, but Nature herself, it was silently growing. To some of

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of our readers, the following circumstance may seem unparalleled, if not unintelligible; to others nowise so:

'In the future Literary History of our hero, it will become doubtful whether he was not born more for Philosophy than for Poetry. In earliest times, the word *Weltweisheit* (Philosophy, *World-wisdom*),—yet also another word, *Morgenland* (East, *Morning-land*),—was to me an open Heaven's-gate, through which I looked in over long, long gardens of joy.—Never shall I forget that inward occurrence, till now narrated to no mortal, wherein I witnessed the birth of my Self-consciousness, of which I can still give the place and time. One forenoon, I was standing, a very young child, in the outer door, and looking leftward at the stack of fuel wood,—when, all at once, the internal vision,—I am a ME (*ich bin ein Ich*), came like a flash from heaven before me, and in gleaming light ever afterwards continued: then had my ME, for the first time, seen itself, and for ever. Deceptions of memory are scarcely conceivable here; for, in regard to an event occurring altogether in the veiled Holy-of-Holies of man, and whose novelty alone has given permanence to such everyday recollections accompanying it, no posterior description from another party would have mingled itself with accompanying circumstances at all.'

It was in his thirteenth year that the family removed to that better church-living at Schwarzenbach; with which change, so far as school education was concerned, prospects considerably brightened for him. The public Teacher there was no deep scholar or thinker, yet a lively, genial man, and warmly interested in his pupils; among whom he soon learned to distinguish Fritz, as a boy of altogether superior gifts. What was of still more importance, Fritz now got access to books; entered into a course of highly miscellaneous, self-selected reading; and what with Romances, what with Belles-Lettres works, and Hutchesonian Philosophy, and controversial Divinity, saw an astonishing scene opening round him on all hands. His Latin and Greek were now better taught; he even began learning Hebrew. Two clergymen of the neighbourhood took pleasure in his company, young as he was; and were of great service now and afterwards: it was under their auspices tha, he commenced composition, and also speculating on Theologyt wherein he 'inclined strongly to the heterodox side.'

In the 'family room,' however, things were not nearly so flourishing. The Professor's three Lectures terminate before this date; but we gather from his Notes that surly clouds hung over Schwarzenbach, that 'his evil days began there.' The Father was engaged in more complex duties than formerly, went often from home, was encumbered with debt, and lost his former cheerfulness of humour. For his sons he saw no outlet except

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except the hereditary craft of School-keeping; and let the matter rest there, taking little farther charge of them. In some three years, the poor man, worn down with manifold anxieties, departed this life; leaving his pecuniary affairs, which he had long calculated on rectifying by the better income of Schwarzenbach, sadly deranged.

Meanwhile, Friederich had been sent to the Hof *Gymnasium* (Town-school), where, notwithstanding this event, he continued some time, two years in all, apparently the most profitable period of his whole tuition; indeed, the only period when, properly speaking, he had any tutor but himself. The good old cloth-making grandfather and grandmother took charge of him, under their roof; and he had a body of teachers, all notable in their way. Herr Otto represents him as a fine, trustful, kindly, yet resolute youth, who went through his persecutions, preferments, studies, friendships, and other school-destinies in a highly creditable manner; and demonstrates this, at great length, by various details of facts, far too minute for insertion here. As a trait of Paul's intellectual habitudes, it may be mentioned that, at this time, he scarcely made any progress in History or Geography, much as he profited in all other branches; nor was the dull teacher entirely to blame, but also the indisposed pupil: indeed, it was not till long afterwards, that he overcame or suppressed his contempt for those studies, and with an effort of his own acquired some skill in them.* The like we have heard of other Poets and Philosophers, especially when their teachers chanced to be prosaists and unphilosophical. Richter boasts that he was never punished at school; yet between him and the Historico-geographical *Conrector* (Second Master) no good understanding could subsist. On one tragi-comical occasion, of another sort, they came into still more decided collision. The zealous Conrector, a most solid, painstaking man, desirous to render his Gymnasium as like a University as possible, had imagined that a series of 'Disputations,' some foreshadow of those held at College, might be a useful, as certainly enough it would be an ornamental thing. By ill luck, the worthy President had selected some church-article for the theme of such a Disputation: one boy was to defend, and it fell to Paul's lot to impugn the dogma, a task which, as hinted above, he was very

* 'All History,' thus he writes in his thirty-second year, 'in so far as it is an affair of memory, can only be reckoned a sapless, heartless thistle for pedantic chaffinches;—but, on the other hand, like Nature, it has highest value, in as far as we, by means of it, as by means of Nature, can divine and read the Infinite Spirit, who, with Nature and History, as with letters, legibly writes to us. He who finds a God in the physical world, will also find one in the moral, which is History. Nature forces on our heart a Creator; History a Providence.'

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specially qualified to undertake. Now, honest Paul knew nothing of the limits of this game; never dreamt but he might argue with his whole strength, to whatever results it might lead. In a very few rounds, accordingly, his antagonist was borne out of the ring, as good as lifeless; and the Conrector himself, seeing the danger, had, as it were, to descend from his presiding chair, and clap the gauntlets on his own more experienced hands. But Paul, nothing daunted, gave him also a Rowland for an Oliver; nay, as it became more and more manifest to all eyes, was fast reducing him also to the frightfullest extremity. The Conrector's tongue threatened cleaving to the roof of his mouth; for his brain was at a stand, or whirling in eddies, only his gall was in active play. Nothing remained for him but to close the debate abruptly by a 'Silence, Sirrah!'—and leave the room, with a face (like that of the much more famous Subrector Hans von Füchslein*) 'of a mingled colour, like red bole, green chalk, tinsel-yellow, and *vomissement de la reine.*'

With his studies in the Leipzig University, whither he proceeded in 1781, begins a far more important era for Paul; properly, the era of his manhood, and first entire dependance on himself. In regard to literary or scientific culture, it is not clear that he derived much furtherance from Leipzig; much more, at least, than the mere neighbourhood of libraries and fellow-learners might anywhere else have afforded him. Certain professorial courses he did attend, and with diligence; but too much in the character of critic, as well as of pupil: he was in the habit of 'measuring minds' with men so much older and more honourable than he; and ere long, his respect for many of them had not a little abated. What his original plan of studies was, or whether he had any fixed plan, we do not learn; at Hof, without election or rejection on his own part, he had been trained with some view to Theology; but this and every other professional view soon faded away in Leipzig, owing to a variety of causes; and Richter, now still more decidedly a self-teacher, broke loose from all corporate gilds whatsoever, and in intellectual culture, as in other respects, endeavoured to seek out a basis of his own. He read multitudes of books, and wrote down whole volumes of excerpts, and private speculations; labouring in all directions with insatiable eagerness; but from the University, he derived little guidance, and soon came to expect little. Ernesti, the only truly eminent man of the place, had died shortly after Paul's arrival there.

* See *Quintus Fixlein*, c. 7.

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Nay, it was necessity as well as choice that detached him from professions; he had not the means to enter any. Quite another and far more pressing set of cares lay round him; not how he could live easily in future years, but how he could live at all in the present, was the grand question with him. Whatever it might be in regard to intellectual matters, certainly, in regard to moral matters, Leipzig was his true seminary, where, with many stripes, Experience taught him the wisest lessons. It was here that he first saw Poverty, not in the shape of Parsimony, but in the far sterner one of actual Want; and, unseen and single handed, wrestling with Fortune for life or death, first proved what a rugged, deep-rooted, indomitable strength, under such genial softness, dwelt in him; and from a buoyant cloudcapt Youth, perfected himself into a clear, free, benignant, and lofty-minded Man.

Meanwhile the steps towards such a consummation were painful enough. His old Schoolmaster at Schwarzenbach, himself a Leipziger, had been wont to assure him that he might live for nothing in Leipzig, so easily were 'free-tables,' '*stipendia*,' private-teaching, and the like, to be procured there, by youths of merit. That Richter was of this latter species, the Rector of the Hof Gymnasium bore honourable witness; inviting the Leipzig dignitaries, in his *Testimonium*, to try the candidate themselves; and even introducing him in person (for the two had travelled together) to various influential men: but all these things availed him nothing. The Professors he found beleaguered by a crowd of needy sycophants, diligent in season, and out of season, whose whole tactics were too loathsome to him; on all hands, he heard the sad saying: *Lipsia vult expectari*, Leipzig preferments must be waited for. Now, waiting was of all things the most inconvenient for poor Richter. In his pocket he had little; friends, except one fellow-student, he had none; and at home the finance-department had fallen into a state of total perplexity, fast verging towards final ruin. The worthy old Cloth-manufacturer was now dead; his Wife soon followed him; and the Widow Richter, her favourite daughter, who had removed to Hof, though against the advice of all friends, that she might be near her, now stood alone there, with a young family, and in the most forlorn situation. She was appointed chief heir, indeed; but former benefactions had left far less to inherit than had been expected; nay, the other relatives contested the whole arrangement, and she had to waste her remaining substance in lawsuits, scarcely realizing from it in the shape of borrowed pittances, and by forced sales, enough to supply her with daily bread. Nor was it poverty alone that she had to suffer, but contumely

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contumely no less; the Hof public openly finding her guilty of Unthrift, and, instead of assistance, repeating to her dispraise, over their coffee, the old proverb, 'Hard got, soon gone;' for all which evils she had no remedy, but loud complaining to Heaven and Earth. The good woman, with the most honest dispositions, seems, in fact, to have had but a small share of wisdom; far too small for her present trying situation. Herr Otto says that Richter's portraiture of Lenette, in the *Blumen-Frucht- und Dornen-Stücke* (Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces), contains many features of his mother: Lenette is of 'an upright, but common and limited nature;' assiduous, even to excess, in sweeping and scouring; true-hearted, religious in her way, yet full of discontents, suspicion, and headstrong whims; a spouse for ever plagued and plaguing; as the brave Sebastian Siebenkäs, that true Diogenes of impoverished Poors'-Advocates, often felt, to his cost, beside her. Widow Richter's family, as well as her fortune, was under bad government, and sinking into lower and lower degradation: Adam, the brother, mentioned above, as Paul's yokefellow in Latin and potatoe-digging, had now fallen away even from the humble pretension of being a Schoolmaster, or, indeed, of being anything; for, after various acts of vagrancy, he had enlisted in a marching regiment; with which, or in other devious courses, he marched on, and only the grand billet-master, Death, found him fixed quarters. The Richter establishment had parted from its old moorings, and was now, with wind and tide, fast drifting towards fatal whirlpools.

In this state of matters, the scarcity of Leipzig could nowise be supplied from the fulness of Hof; but rather the two households stood like concave mirrors reflecting one another's keen Hunger into a still keener for both. What outlook was there for the poor Philosopher of nineteen? Even his meagre 'bread and milk' could not be had for nothing; it became a serious consideration for him that the shoemaker, who was to sole his boots, 'did not trust.' Far from affording him any sufficient monies, his straitened mother would willingly have made him borrow for her own wants; and was incessantly persuading him to get places for his brothers. Richter felt, too, that except himself, desolate, helpless as he was, those brothers, that old mother, had no stay on earth. There are men with whom it is as with Schiller's Friedland: 'Night must it be ere Friedland's star will beam.' On this forsaken youth Fortune seemed to have let loose her ban-dogs, and hungry Ruin had him in the wind; without was no help, no counsel: but there lay a giant force within; and so from the depths of that sorrow and abasement, his better soul rose purified and invincible, like Hercules

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from his long Labours. A high, cheerful Stoicism grew up in the man. Poverty, Pain, and all Evil, he learned to regard, not as what they seemed, but as what they were; he learned to despise them, nay, in kind mockery to sport with them, as with bright-spotted wild-beasts which he had tamed and harnessed. 'What is Poverty,' said he, 'who is the man that whines under it? The pain is but as that of piercing the ears is to a maiden, and you hang jewels in the wound.' Dark thoughts he had, but they settled into no abiding gloom: 'sometimes,' says Otto, 'he would wave his finger across his brow, as if driving back some hostile series of ideas;' and farther complaint he did not utter.* During this sad period, he wrote out for himself a little manual of practical philosophy, naming it *Andachtsbuch* (Book of Devotion), which contains such maxims as these:

'Every unpleasant feeling is a sign that I have become untrue to my resolutions.—Epictetus was not unhappy.—

'Not Chance, but I am to blame for my sufferings.

'It were an impossible miracle if none befel thee: look for their coming, therefore; each day make thyself sure of many.

'Say not, were my sorrows other than these, I should bear them better.

'Think of the host of Worlds, and of the plagues on this World-mote.—Death puts an end to the whole.—

'For virtue's sake I am here: but if a man, for his task, forgets and sacrifices all, why shouldst not thou?—

'Expect injuries, for men are weak, and thou thyself doest such too often.

'Mollify thy heart by painting out the sufferings of thy enemy; think of him as of one spiritually sick, who deserves sympathy.—

'Most men judge so badly; why wouldst thou be praised by a child?—No one would respect thee in a beggar's coat: what is a respect that is paid to woollen cloth, not to thee?'

These are wise maxims for so young a man; but what was wiser still, he did not rest satisfied with mere maxims, which, how true soever, are only a dead letter, till Action first gives them life and worth. Besides devout prayer to the gods, he set his own shoulder to the wheel. 'Evil,' says he, 'is like a nightmare, the instant you begin to strive with it, to bestir yourself, it has already ended.' Without farther parleying, there as he stood, Richter grappled with his Fate, and resolutely determined on self-help. His means, it is true, were of the most unpromising sort, yet the only means he had: the writing

* In bodily pain, he was wont to show the like endurance and indifference. At one period of his life, he had violent headaches, which forced him, for the sake of a slight alleviation, to keep his head perfectly erect; you might see him talking with a calm face, and all his old gaiety, and only know by this posture that he was suffering.

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of Books! He forthwith commenced writing them. The *Grönländische Prozesse* (Greenland Lawsuits), a collection of satirical sketches, full of wild, gay wit, and keen insight, was composed in that base environment of his, with unpaid milk-scores and unsoled boots; and even still survives, though the Author, besides all other disadvantages, was then only in his nineteenth year. But the heaviest part of the business yet remained; that of finding a purchaser and publisher. Richter tried all Leipzig with his manuscript, in vain; to a man, with that total contempt of Grammar which Jedidiah Clieshbotham also complains of, they 'declined the *article*.' Paul had to stand by, as so many have done, and see his sunbeams weighed on hay-scales, and the hay-balance give no symptoms of moving. But Paul's heart moved as little as the balance: Leipzig being now exhausted, the World was all before him where to try; he had nothing for it, but to search till he found, or till he died searching. One Voss of Berlin at length bestirred himself; accepted, printed the Book, and even gave him sixteen *Louis d'or* for it. What a Potosi was here! Paul determined to be an author henceforth, and nothing but an author; now that his soul might even be kept in his body by that trade. His mother, hearing that he had written a book, thought that perhaps he could even write a sermon, and was for him coming down to preach in the High Church of Hof. 'What is a sermon,' said Paul, 'which every miserable student can spout forth? Or, think you, there is a parson in Hof that, not to speak of writing my Book, can, in the smallest degree, understand it?'

But unfortunately his Potosi was like other mines; the metalliferous vein did not last; what miners call a *shift* or *trouble* occurred in it, and now there was nothing but hard rock to hew on. The *Grönländische Prozesse*, though printed, did not sell; the public was in quest of pap and treacle, not of fierce curry like this. The Reviewing world mostly passed it by without notice; one poor dog in Leipzig even lifted up his leg over it. 'For anything we know,' saith he, 'much, if not all of what the Author here, in bitter tone, sets forth on book-making, theologians, women, and so on, may be true; but throughout the whole work, the determination to be witty acts on him so strongly, that we cannot doubt but his book will excite in all rational readers so much disgust, that they will see themselves constrained to close it again without delay.' And herewith the ill-starred quadruped passes on, as if nothing special had happened. 'Singular!' adds Herr Otto, 'this review, which at the time pretended to some ephemeral attention, and likely enough obtained it, would have fallen into ever-

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lasting oblivion, had not its connexion with that very work, which every rational reader was to close again, or rather never to open, raised it up for a moment!' One moment, say we, is enough: let it drop again into that murky pool, and sink there to endless depths; for all flesh, and reviewer-flesh too, is fallible and pardonable.

Richter's next Book was soon ready; but, in this position of affairs, no man would buy it. The *Selection from the Papers of the Devil*, such was its wonderful title, lay by him, on quite another principle than the Horatian one, for seven long years. It was in vain that he exhibited, and corresponded, and left no stone unturned; ransacking the world for a publisher; there was none anywhere to be met with. The unwearied Richter tried other plans. He presented Magazine Editors with Essays, some one in ten of which might be accepted; he made joint stock with certain provincial literati of the Hof district, who had cash, and published for themselves; he sometimes borrowed, but was in hot haste to repay it; he lived as the young ravens; he was often in danger of starving. 'The prisoner's allowance,' says he, 'is bread and water, but I had only the latter.'

'Nowhere,' observes Richter on another occasion, 'can you collect the stress-memorials and siege-medals of Poverty more pleasantly and philosophically than at College: the Academic burgher exhibits to us how many Humorists and Diogeneses Germany has in it.'* Travelling through this parched Sahara, with nothing round him but stern sandy solitude, and no landmark on Earth, but only loadstars in the Heaven, Richter does not anywhere appear to have faltered in his progress; for a moment to have lost heart, or even to have lost good humour. 'The man who fears not death,' says the Greek Poet, 'will start at no shadows.' Paul had looked Desperation full in the face, and found that for him she was not desperate. Sorely pressed on from without, his inward energy, his strength both of thought and resolve did but increase, and establish itself on a surer and surer foundation; he stood like a rock amid the beating of

* By certain speculators on German affairs, much has been written and talked about what is, after all, a very slender item in German affairs, the *Burschenleben*, or manners of the young men at Universities. We must regret that in discussing this matter, since it was thought worth discussing, the true significance and soul of it should not have been, by some faint indication, pointed out to us. Apart from its duelling punctilios, and beer-songs, and tobacco-smoking, and other fopperies of the system, which are to the German student merely what coach-driving and horse-dealing, and other kindred fopperies, are to the English, Burschenism is not without its meaning more than Oxfordism or Cambridgeism. The Bursch strives to say in the strongest language he can: 'See! I am an unmonied scholar, and a free *man*;' the Oxonian and Cantab again endeavour to say: 'See! I am a monied scholar, and a spirited *gentleman*.' We rather think the Bursch's assertion, were it rightly worded, would be the more profitable of the two.

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continual tempests. Nay, a rock crowned with foliage; and in its clefts, nourishing flowers of sweetest perfume. For there was a passionate fire in him, as well as a stoical calmness; tenderest Love was there, and devout Reverence; and a deep genial Humour lay, like warm sunshine, softening the whole, blending the whole into light sportful harmony. In these its hard trials, whatever was noblest in his nature came out in still purer clearness. It was here that he learned to distinguish what is perennial and imperishable in man, from what is transient and earthly; and to prize the latter, were it king's crowns and conqueror's triumphal chariots, but as the wrappage of the jewel; we might say, but as the finer or coarser Paper on which the Heroic Poem of Life is to be written. A lofty indestructible faith in the dignity of man took possession of him, and a disbelief in all other dignities; and the vulgar world, and what it could give him, or withhold from him, was, in his eyes, but a small matter. Nay, had he not found a voice for these things; which, though no man would listen to it, he felt to be a true one, and that if true no tone of it could be altogether lost. Preaching forth the Wisdom, which in the dark deep wells of Adversity he had drawn up, he felt himself strong, courageous, even gay. He had 'an internal world wherewith to fence himself against the frosts and heats of the external.' Studying, writing, in this mood, though grim Scarcity looked in on him through the windows, he ever looked out again on that fiend with a quiet, half-satirical eye. Surely, we should find it hard to wish any generous nature such fortune: yet is one such man, nursed into manhood, amid these stern, truth-telling influences, worth a thousand popular ballad-mongers, and sleek literary gentlemen, kept in perpetual boyhood by influences that always lie.

'In my Historical Lectures,' says Paul, 'the business of Hungering will in truth more and more make its appearance,—with the hero it rises to a great height,—about as often as Feasting in *Thummel's Travels*, and Tea-drinking in Richardson's *Clarissa;* nevertheless I cannot help saying to Poverty: Welcome! so thou come not at quite too late a time! Wealth bears heavier on talent than Poverty: under gold-mountains and thrones, who knows how many a spiritual giant may lie crushed down and buried! When among the flames of youth, and above all of hotter powers as well, the oil of Riches is also poured in,—little will remain of the phœnix but his ashes; and only a Goethe has force to keep, even at the sun of good fortune, his phœnix-wings unsinged. The poor Historical Professor, in this place, would not, for much money, have had much money in his youth. Fate manages Poets, as men do singing birds; you overhang the cage of the singer and make it dark, till at length he has caught the tones you play to him, and can sing them rightly.'

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There have been many Johnsons, Heynes, and other meaner natures, in every country, that have passed through as hard a probation as Richter's was, and borne permanent traces of its good and its evil influences; some, with their modesty and quiet endurance, combining a sickly dispiritment, others a hardened dullness or even deadness of heart: nay, there are some whom Misery itself cannot teach, but only exasperate; who far from parting with the mirror of their Vanity, when it is trodden in pieces, rather collect the hundred fragments of it, and with more fondness and more bitterness than ever, behold not one but a hundred images of Self therein; to these men Pain is a pure evil, and as school-dunces their hard Pedagogue will only whip them to the end. But, in modern days, and even among the better instances, there is scarcely one that we remember who has drawn, from Poverty and suffering, such unmixed advantage as Jean Paul; acquiring under it not only Herculean strength, but the softest tenderness, of soul; a view of man and man's life not less cheerful, even sportful, than it is deep and calm. To Fear he is a stranger, not only the rage of men, 'the ruins of Nature would strike him fearless;' yet he has a heart vibrating to all the finest thrills of Mercy, a deep loving sympathy with all created things. There is, we must say, something Old-Grecian in this form of mind; yet Old-Grecian under the new conditions of our own time; not an Ethnic, but a Christian greatness. Richter might have stood beside Socrates, as a faithful, though rather tumultuous disciple; or better still, he might have bandied repartees with Diogenes, who, if he could nowhere find Men, must at least have admitted that this too was a Spartan Boy. Diogenes and he, much as they differed, mostly to the disadvantage of the former, would have found much in common: above all, that resolute self-dependance, and quite settled indifference to the 'force of public opinion.' Of this latter quality, as well as of various other qualities in Richter, we have a curious proof in the Episode, which Herr Otto here for the first time details with accuracy, and at large, 'concerning the Costume controversies.' There is something great as well as ridiculous in this whole story of the Costume, which we must not pass unnoticed. It was in the second year of his residence at Leipzig, and when, as we have seen, his necessities were pressing enough, that Richter, finding himself unpatronized by the World, thought it might be reasonable if he paid a little attention, as far as convenient, to the wishes, rational orders, and even whims of his only other Patron, namely, of Himself. Now the long visits of the hair-dresser, with his powders, puffs, and pomatums,

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tums, were decidedly irksome to him, and even too expensive; besides, his love of Swift and Sterne made him love the English and their modes; which things being considered, Paul made free to cut off his cue altogether, and with certain other alterations in his dress, to walk abroad in what was called the English fashion. We rather conjecture that, in some points, it was after all but Pseudo-English; at least, we can find no tradition of any such mode having then or ever been prevalent here in its other details. For besides the docked cue, he had shirts *à la Hamlet;* wore his breast open, without neckcloth: in such guise did he appear openly. Astonishment took hold of the minds of men. German students have more licence than most people in selecting fantastic garbs; but the bare neck and want of cue seemed graces beyond the reach of true art. We can figure the massive, portly cynic, with what humour twinkling in his eye he came forth among the elegant gentlemen; feeling, like that juggler-divinity Ramdass, well-known to Baptist Missionaries, that 'he had fire enough in his stomach to burn away *all the* sins of the world.' It was a species of pride, even of foppery, we will admit; but a tough, strong-limbed species, like that which in ragged gown 'trampled on the pride of Plato.'

Nowise in so respectable a light, however, did a certain *Magister*, or pedagogue dignitary, of Richter's neighbourhood, regard the matter. Poor Richter, poor in purse, rich otherwise, had, at this time, hired himself a small mean garden-house, that he might have a little fresh air, through summer, in his studies: the *Magister*, who had hired a large sumptuous one in the same garden, *naturally* met him in his walks, bare-necked, cue-less; and perhaps not *liking* the cast of his countenance, strangely twisted into Sardonic wrinkles, with all its broad honest benignity,—took it in deep dudgeon that such an unauthorized character should venture to enjoy Nature beside him. But what was to be done? Supercilious looks, even frowning, would accomplish nothing: the Sardonic visage was not to be frowned into the smallest terror. The Magister wrote to the landlord, demanding that this nuisance should be abated. Richter, with a praiseworthy love of peace, wrote to the Magister, promising to do what he could: he would not approach his (the Magister's) house so near as last night, would walk only in the evenings and mornings, and thereby for most part keep out of sight the apparel 'which convenience, health, and poverty had prescribed for him.' These were fair conditions of a boundary-treaty; but the Magister interpreted them in too literal a sense, and soon found reason to complain that they had been infringed. He again

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again took pen and ink, and in peremptory language represented that Paul had actually come past a certain Statue, which, without doubt, stood within the debateable land; threatening him, therefore, with Herr Körner, the landlord's vengeance, and withal openly testifying his own contempt and just rage against him. Paul answered, also in writing, that he had nowise infringed his promise, this Statue or any other Statue having nothing to do with it; but that now he did altogether revoke said promise, and would henceforth walk whensoever and wheresoever seemed good to him, seeing he too paid for the privilege. 'To me,' observed he, 'Herr Körner is not dreadful *(fürchterlich);*' and for the Magister himself he put down these remarkable words: 'You despise my mean name; *nevertheless take note of it; for you will not have done the latter long, till the former will not be in your power to do:* I speak ambiguously, that I may not speak arrogantly.' Be it noted, at the same time, that with a noble spirit of accommodation, Richter proposed yet new terms of treaty; which being accepted, he, pursuant thereto, with bag and baggage forthwith evacuated the garden, and returned to his 'town-room at the Three Roses, in Peterstrasse;' glorious in retreat, and 'leaving his Paradise,' as Herr Otto with some conceit remarks, 'no less guiltlessly than voluntarily, for a certain bareness of breast and neck; whereas our First Parents were only allowed to retain theirs, so long as they felt themselves innocent in total nudity.' What the Magister thought of the 'mean name' some years afterwards, we do not learn.

But if such tragical things went on in Leipzig, how much more when he went down to Hof in the holidays, where, at any rate, the Richters stood in slight esteem! It will surprise our readers to learn that Paul, with the mildest-tempered pertinacity, resisted all expostulations of friends, and persecutions of foes, in this great cause; and went about *à la Hamlet*, for the space of no less than seven years! He himself seemed partly sensible that it was affectation; but the man would have his humour out. 'On the whole,' says he, '*I hold the constant regard we pay, in all our actions, to the judgments of others, as the poison of our peace, our reason, and our virtue.* At this slave-chain I have long filed, and I scarcely ever hope to break it entirely asunder. I wish to accustom myself to the censure of others, and *appear* a fool that I may learn to endure fools.' So speaks the young Diogenes, embracing his frozen pillar, by way of 'exercitation;' as if the world did not give us frozen pillars enough in this kind without our wilfully stepping aside to seek them! Better is that other maxim: 'He who differs from the

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the world in important matters, should the more carefully conform to it in indifferent ones.' Nay, by degrees Richter himself saw into this, and having now proved satisfactorily enough that he could take his own way when he so pleased,—leaving, as is fair, the 'most sweet voices' to take theirs also,—he addressed to his friends (chiefly the Voigtland Literati above alluded to) the following circular:

'ADVERTISEMENT.

'The Undersigned begs to give notice, that whereas cropt hair has as many enemies as red hair, and said enemies of the hair are enemies likewise of the person it grows on; whereas farther, such a fashion is in no respect Christian, since otherwise Christian persons would have it; and whereas, especially, the Undersigned has suffered no less from his hair than Absalom did from his, though on contrary grounds; and whereas it has been notified that the public purposed to send him into his grave, since the hair grew there without scissors: he hereby gives notice that he will not push matters to such extremity. Be it known, therefore, to the nobility, gentry, and a discerning public in general, that the Undersigned proposes, on Sunday next, to appear in various important streets (of Hof) with a short false cue; and with this cue as with a magnet, and cord-of-love, and magic-rod, to possess himself forcibly of the affections of all and sundry, be they who they may.'

And thus ended 'gloriously,' as Herr Otto thinks, the long 'clothes-martyrdom;' from the course of which, besides its intrinsic comicality, we may learn two things: first, that Paul nowise wanted a due indifference to the popular wind, but, on fit or unfit occasion, could stand on his own basis stoutly enough, wrapping his cloak as himself listed; and secondly, that he had such a buoyant, elastic humour of spirit, that besides counter-pressure against Poverty, and Famine itself, there was still a clear overplus left to play fantastic tricks withal, at which the angels could not indeed weep, but might well shake their heads and smile. We return to our history.

Several years before the date of this 'Advertisement,' namely, in 1784, Paul, who had now determined on writing, with or without readers, to the end of the chapter, finding no furtherance in Leipzig but only hunger and hardship, bethought him that he might as well write in Hof beside his mother, as there. His publishers, when he had any, were in other cities; and the two households, like two dying embers, might perhaps shew some feeble point of red-heat between them, if cunningly laid together. He quitted Leipzig, after a three years residence there; and fairly commenced housekeeping on his own score. Probably there is not in the whole history of Literature any record of a literary establishment like this at Hof; so ruggedly independent,

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independent, so simple, not to say altogether unfurnished. Lawsuits had now done their work, and the Widow Richter, with her family, was living in a 'house containing one apartment.' Paul had no books, except 'twelve manuscript volumes of excerpts,' and the considerable library which he carried in his head; with which small resources, the public, especially as he had still no cue, could not well see what was to become of him. Two great furtherances, however, he had, of which the public took no sufficient note: a real Head on his shoulders, not as is more common, a mere hat-wearing, empty *effigies* of a head; and the strangest, stoutest, indeed, a quite noble Heart within him. Here, then, he could, as is the duty of man, 'prize his existence more than his manner of existence,' which latter was, indeed, easily enough disesteemed. Come of it what might, he determined, on his own strength, to try issues to the uttermost with Fortune; nay, while fighting like a very Ajax against her, to 'keep laughing in her face till she too burst into laughter, and ceased frowning at him.' He would nowise slacken in his Authorship, therefore, but continued stubbornly toiling, as at his right work, let the weather be sunny or snowy. For the rest, Poverty was written on the posts of his door, and within, on every equipment of his existence; he that ran might read in large characters: 'Good Christian people, you perceive that I have little money; what inference do you draw from it?' So hung the struggle, and as yet were no signs of victory for Paul. It was not till 1788 that he could find a publisher for his *Teufels Papieren;* and even then few readers. But no disheartenment availed with him: authorship was once for all felt to be his true vocation; and by it he was minded to continue at all hazards. For a short while, he had been tutor in some family, and had again a much more tempting offer of the like sort, but he refused it, purposing henceforth to 'bring up no children but his own,—his books,' let Famine say to it what she pleased.

'With his mother,' says Otto, 'and at times also with several of his brothers, but always with one, he lived in a mean house, which had only a single apartment; and this went on even when,—after the appearance of the *Mümien,*—his star began to rise, ascending higher and higher, and never again declining. * * *

'As Paul, in the characters of Walt and Vult* (it is his direct statement in these Notes), meant to depict himself; so it may be remarked, that in the delineation of Lenette, his mother stood before his mind, at the period when this down-pressed and humiliated

* *Gottwalt* and *Quoddeusvult*, two Brothers (see Paul's *Flegeljahre*) of the most opposite temperaments: the former a still, softhearted, tearful enthusiast, the other a madcap humorist, honest at bottom, but bursting out on all hands with the strangest explosions, speculative and practical.

woman

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woman began to gather heart, and raise herself up again ;* seeing she could no longer doubt the truth of his predictions, that Authorship must, and would prosper with him. She now the more busily, in one and the same room where Paul was writing and studying, managed the household operations; cooking, washing, scouring, handling the broom, and these being finished, spinning cotton. Of the painful income earned by this latter employment, she kept a written account. One such revenue-book, under the title, *Was ich ersponnen* (Earned by spinning), which extends from March 1793 to September 1794, is still in existence. 'The produce of March, the first year, stands entered there as 2 florins, 51 kreutzers, 3 pfennige, [somewhere about four shillings !] ; that of April,' &c. ; 'at last, that of September, 1794, as 2 fl. 1 kr. ; and on the last page of the little book, stands marked, that Samuel (the youngest son) had, on the 9th of this same September, got new boots, which cost 3 thalers,—almost a whole quarter's revenue !'

Considering these things, how mournful would it have seemed to Paul that Bishop Dogbolt could not get translated, because of Politics; and the *too* high-souled Viscount Plumcake, thwarted in courtship, was seized with a perceptible dyspepsia !

We have dwelt the longer on this portion of Paul's history, because we reckon it interesting in itself; and that if the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity be a fit one for the gods to look down on, much more must it be so for mean fellow-mortals to look up to. For us in Literary England, above all, such conduct as Richter's has a peculiar interest, in these times; the interest of entire novelty. Of all literary phenomena, that of a literary man daring to believe that he is *poor*, may be regarded as the rarest. Can a man without capital actually open his lips and speak to mankind? Had he no landed property, then: no connexion with the higher classes; did he not even keep a gig? By these documents it would appear so. This was not a nobleman, nor gentleman, nor gig-man ;† but simply a man !

On the whole, what a wondrous spirit of gentility does animate our British Literature at this era ! We have no Men of Letters now, but only Literary Gentlemen. Samuel Johnson was the last that ventured to appear in that former character, and

* 'Quite up indeed, she could never more rise ; and in silent humility, avoiding any loud expression of satisfaction, she lived to enjoy with timorous gladness, the delight of seeing her son's worth publicly recognised, and his acquaintance sought by the most influential men, and herself, too, honoured on this account, as she had never before been.'

† In Thurtell's trial (says the *Quarterly Review*) occurred the following colloquy : 'Q. What sort of person was Mr. Weare? A. He was always a respectable person. Q. What do you mean by respectable ? A. He kept a gig.'—Since then we have seen a '*Defensio Gigmanica*, or Apology for the Gigmen of Great Britain,' composed not without eloquence, and which we hope one day to prevail on our friend, a man of some whims, to give to the public.

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support himself, on his own legs, without any crutches, purchased or stolen: rough old Samuel, the last of all the Romans! Time was, when in English Literature, as in English Life, the comedy of 'Every Man in his Humour' was daily enacted among us; but now the poor French word, French in every sense, '*Qu'en dira-t-on?*' spell-binds us all, and we have nothing for it but to drill and cane each other into one uniform, regimental 'nation of gentlemen.' 'Let him who would write heroic poems,' said Milton, 'make his life a heroic poem.' Let him who would write heroic poems, say we, put money in his purse; or if he have no gold-money, let him put in copper-money, or pebbles, and chink with it as with true metal, in the ears of mankind, that they may listen to him. Herein does the secret of good writing now consist, as that of good living has always done. When we first visited Grub-street, and with bared head did reverence to the genius of the place, with a '*Salve, magna parens!*' we were astonished to learn, on inquiry, that the Authors did not dwell there now, but had all removed, years ago, to a sort of 'High Life below Stairs,' far in the West. For why, what remedy was there; did not the wants of the age require it? How can men write without High Life; and how, except below Stairs, as Shoulder-knot, or as talking Katerfelto, or by second-hand communication with these two, can the great body of men acquire any knowledge thereof? Nay, has not the Atlantis, or true Blissful Island of Poesy, been, in all times, understood to lie Westward, though never rightly discovered till now? Our great fault with writers used to be, not that they were intrinsically more or less completed Dolts, with no eye or ear for the 'open secret' of the world, or for anything, save the 'open display' of the world—for its gilt ceilings, marketable pleasures, war-chariots, and all manner, to the highest manner, of Lord Mayor shows, and Guildhall dinners, and their own small part and lot therein; but the head and front of their offence lay in this, that they had not 'frequented the society of the upper classes.' And now, with our improved age, and this so universal extension of 'High Life below Stairs,' what a change has been introduced, what benign consequences will follow! One consequence has already been a degree of Dapperism and Dilettantism and ricketty Debility unexampled in the history of Literature, and enough of itself to 'make us the envy of surrounding nations;' for hereby the Literary man, once so dangerous to the quiescence of society, has now become perfectly innoxious, so that a look will quail him, and he can be tied hand and foot by a spinster's thread. Hope there is, that henceforth neither Church nor State will be put

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put in jeopardy by Literature. The old Literary man, as we have said, stood on his own legs; had a whole heart within him, and might be provoked into many things. But the new Literary man, on the other hand, cannot stand at all, save in stays; he must first gird up his weak sides with the whalebone of a certain fashionable, knowing, half-squirarchal air,—be it inherited, bought, or, as is more likely, borrowed or stolen, whalebone; and herewith he stands a little without collapsing. If the man now twang his jew's-harp to please the children, what is to be feared from him; what more is to be required of him?

Seriously speaking, we must hold it a remarkable thing that every Englishman should be a 'gentleman;' that in so democratic a country, our common title of honour, which all men assert for themselves, should be one which professedly depends on station, on accidents rather than on qualities; or at best, as Coleridge interprets it, 'on a certain indifference to money matters,' which certain indifference again must be wise or mad, you would think, exactly as one possesses much money, or possesses little! We suppose it must be the commercial genius of the nation, counteracting and suppressing its political genius; for the Americans are said to be still more notable in this respect than we. Now, what a hollow, windy vacuity of internal character this indicates; how, in place of a rightly ordered heart, we strive only to exhibit a full purse; and all pushing, rushing, elbowing on towards a false aim, the courtier's kibes are more and more galled by the toe of the peasant; and on every side, instead of Faith, Hope, and Charity, we have Neediness, Greediness, and Vain-glory; all this is palpable enough. Fools that we are! Why should we wear our knees to horn, and sorrowfully beat our breasts, praying day and night to Mammon, who, if he would even hear us, has almost nothing to give? For granting that the deaf brute-god were to relent for our sacrificings; to change our gilt brass into solid gold, and instead of hungry actors of rich gentility, make us all in very deed Rothschild-Howards to-morrow, what good were it? Are we not already denizens of this wondrous England, with its high Shakspeares and Hampdens; nay, of this wondrous Universe, with its Galaxies and Eternities, and unspeakable Splendours, that we should so worry and scramble, and tear one another in pieces, for some acres, (nay, still oftener, for the *show* of some acres,) more or less, of clay property, the largest of which properties, the Sutherland itself, is invisible even from the Moon? Fools that we are! To dig, and bore like ground-worms in those acres of ours, even if we have acres; and far from beholding and enjoying the heavenly Lights, not to know of them except by unheeded

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heeded and unbelieved report! Shall certain pounds sterling that we have in the Bank of England, or the ghosts of certain pounds that we would fain seem to have, hide from us the treasures we are all born to in this the 'City of God'?

'My inheritance how wide and fair!
TIME is my estate, to TIME I'm heir.'

But leaving the money-changers, and honour-hunters, and gigmen of every degree, to their own wise ways, which they will not alter, we must again remark as a singular circumstance, that the same spirit should, to such an extent, have taken possession of Literature also. This is the eye of the world, enlightening all, and instead of the shows of things unfolding to us things themselves: has the eye too gone blind; has the Poet and Thinker adopted the philosophy of the Grocer and Valet in Livery? Nay, let us hear Lord Byron himself on the subject. Some years ago, there appeared in the Magazines, and to the admiration of most editorial gentlemen, certain extracts from Letters of Lord Byron's, which carried this philosophy to rather a high pitch. His Lordship, we recollect, mentioned, that 'all rules for Poetry were not worth a d—n,' (saving and excepting, doubtless, the ancient Rule-of-Thumb, which must still have place here); after which aphorism, his Lordship proceeded to state that the great ruin of all British Poets sprang from a very simple source; their exclusion from High Life in London, excepting only some shape of that High Life below Stairs, which, however, was nowise adequate: 'he himself and Thomas Moore were perfectly familiar in such upper life: he by birth, Moore by happy accident, and so they could both write Poetry; the others were not familiar, and so could not write it.'—Surely it is fast growing time that all this should be drummed out of our Planet, and forbidden to return.

Richter, for his part, was quite excluded from the West-end of Hof: for Hof too has its West-end; 'every mortal longs for his parade-place; would still wish, at banquets, to be master of some seat or other, wherein to overtop this or that plucked goose of the neighbourhood.' So poor Richter could only be admitted to the West-end of the Universe, where truly he had a very superior establishment. The legal, clerical, and other conscript fathers of Hof might, had they so inclined, have lent him a few books, told or believed some fewer lies of him, and thus positively and negatively shown the young adventurer many a little service; but they inclined to none of these things, and happily he was enabled to do without them. Gay, gentle, frolicksome as a lamb, yet strong, forbearant, and royally courageous

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rageous as a lion, he worked along, amid the scouring of kettles, the hissing of frying-pans, the hum of his mother's wheel;—and it is not without a proud feeling that our reader (for he too is a man) hears of victory being at last gained, and of Works, which the most reflective nation in Europe regards as classical, being written under such accompaniments.

However, it is at this lowest point of the Narrative that Herr Otto for the present stops short; leaving us only the assurance that better days are coming: so that concerning the whole ascendant and dominant portion of Richter's history, we are left to our own resources; and from these we have only gathered some scanty indications, which may be summed up with a very disproportionate brevity. It appears that the *Unsichtbare Loge* (Invisible Lodge), sent forth from the Hof spinning establishment in 1793, was the first of his works that obtained any decisive favour. A long trial of faith; for the man had now been besieging the literary citadel upwards of ten years, and still no breach visible! With the appearance of *Hesperus*, another wondrous Novel, which proceeded from the same 'single apartment,' in 1796, the siege may be said to have terminated by storm; and Jean Paul, whom the most knew not what in the world to think of, whom here and there a man of weak judgment had not even scrupled to declare half-mad, made it universally indubitable, that though encircled with dusky vapours, and shining out only in strange many-hued irregular bursts of flame, he was and would be one of the celestial Luminaries of his day and generation. The keen intellectual energy displayed in *Hesperus*, still more the nobleness of mind, the sympathy with Nature, the warm, impetuous, yet pure and lofty delineations of Friendship and Love; in a less degree perhaps, the wild boisterous Humour that every where prevails in it, secured Richter not only admirers, but personal well-wishers in all quarters of his country. Gleim, for example, though then eighty years of age, and among the last survivors of a quite different school, could not contain himself with rapture. 'What a divine genius (*Gottgenius*),' thus wrote he some time afterwards, 'is our Friedrich Richter! I am reading his *Blumenstücke* for the second time; here is more than Shakspeare, said I, at fifty passages I have marked. What a divine genius! I wonder over the human head, out of which these streams, these brooks, these Rhine-falls, these Blandusian fountains pour forth over human nature, to make human nature humane; and if to-day I object to the plan, object to phrases, to words, I am contented with all to-morrow.' The kind lively old man, it appears, had sent him a gay letter, signed 'Septimus Fixlein,'

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Fixlein,' with a present of money in it; to which Richter, with great heartiness and some curiosity to penetrate the secret, made answer in this very *Blumenstücke;* and so ere long a joyful acquaintance and friendship was formed; Paul had visited Halberstadt, with warmest welcomes, and sat for his picture there (an oil painting by Pfenninger), which is still to be seen in Gleim's *Ehrentempel* (Temple of Honour). About this epoch too, the Reviewing world, after a long conscientious silence, again opened its thick lips, and in quite another dialect, screeching out a rusty *Nunc Domine dimittas,* with considerable force of pipe, instead of its last monosyllabic and very unhandsome *grunt.* For the credit of our own guild, we could have wished that the Reviewing world had struck up its *Dimittas* a little sooner.

In 1797, the Widow Richter was taken away from the strange variable climate of this world, we shall hope, into a sunnier one; her kettles hung unscoured on the wall; and the spool, so often filled with her cotton-thread and wetted with her tears, revolved no more. Poor old weather-beaten, heavy-laden soul! And yet a 'light-beam from on high' was in her also; and the 'twelve shillings for Samuel's new boots' were more bounteous and more blessed than many a King's ransom. Nay she saw, before departing, that she, even she, had 'born a mighty man;' and her early sunshine, long drowned in deluges, again looked out at evening with farewel sweet.

The Hof household being thus broken up, Richter for some years led a wandering life. In the course of this same 1797, we find him once more in Leipzig; and truly under far other circumstances than of old. For instead of silk-stockinged, shovel-hatted, but too imperious Magisters, that would not let him occupy his own hired dog-hutch in peace, 'he here,' says Heinrich Doering,* 'became acquainted with the three Princesses, adorned with every charm of person and of mind, the daughters of the Duchess of Hildburghausen! The Duke, who also did justice to his extraordinary merits, conferred on him, some years afterwards, the title of *Legationsrath* (Councillor of Legation).' To Princes and Princesses, indeed, Jean Paul seems, ever henceforth, to have had what we should reckon a surprising access. For example:—'the social circles where the Duchess Amelia (of Weimar) was wont to assemble the most talented men, first, in Ettersburg, afterwards in Tiefurt;'—then the 'Duke of Meinungen at Coburg, who had with pressing kindness invited him;'—the Prince Primate Dalberg, who did much more than invite him;—late in life,

* *Leben Jean Paul's.* Gotha, 1826.

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'the gifted Duchess Dorothea, in Lobichau, of which visit he has himself commemorated the festive days,' &c. &c.;—all which small matters, it appears to us, should be taken into consideration by that class of British philosophers, troublesome in many an intellectual tea-circle, who deduce the 'German bad taste' from our own old everlasting 'want of intercourse;' whereby, if it so seemed good to them, their tea, till some less self-evident proposition were started, might be 'consumed with a certain stately silence.'

But next year (1798), there came on Paul a far grander piece of good fortune than any of these, namely, a good wife; which, as Solomon has long ago recorded, is a 'good thing.' He had gone from Leipzig to Berlin, still busily writing; 'and during a longer residence in this latter city,' says Doering, 'Caroline Mayer, daughter of the Royal Prussian Privy Councillor and Professor of Medicine, Dr. John Andrew Mayer' (these are all his titles) 'gave him her hand; nay even,' continues the microscopic Doering, 'as is said in a public paper, bestowed on him *(aufdrückte)* the bride-kiss of her own accord.' What is still more astonishing, she is recorded to have been a 'chosen one of her sex,' one that 'like a gentle, guardian, care-dispelling genius, went by his side through all his pilgrimage.'

Shortly after this great event, Paul removed with his new wife to Weimar, where he seems to have resided some years, in high favour with whatever was most illustrious in that city. His first impression on Schiller is characteristic enough. 'Of Hesperus,' thus writes Schiller, 'I have yet made no mention to you. I found him pretty much what I expected; foreign, like a man fallen from the Moon; full of good will, and heartily inclined to see things about him, but without the organ for seeing them. However, I have only spoken to him once, and so can say little of him.'* In answer to which, Goethe also expresses his love for Richter, but 'doubts whether in literary practice he will ever fall in with them two, much as his theoretical creed inclined that way.' Hesperus proved to have more 'organ' than Schiller gave him credit for; nevertheless Goethe's doubt had not been unfounded. It was to Herder that Paul chiefly attached himself here; esteeming the others as high-gifted, friendly men, but only Herder as a teacher and spiritual father; of which latter relation, and the warm love and gratitude accompanying it on Paul's side, his writings give frequent proof. 'If Herder was not a Poet,' says he once, 'he was something more,—a Poem!' With Wieland too

* *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe* (Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe). B. ii. 77.

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he stood on the friendliest footing, often walking out to visit him at Osmanstädt, whither the old man had now retired. Perhaps these years spent at Weimar, in close intercourse with so many distinguished persons, were, in regard to outward matters, among the most instructive of Richter's life: in regard to inward matters, he had already served, and with credit, a hard apprenticeship elsewhere. We must not forget to mention that *Titan*, one of his chief romances (published at Berlin in 1800) was written during his abode at Weimar; so likewise the *Flegeljahre* (Wild Oats); and the eulogy of *Charlotte Corday*, which last, though originally but a Magazine Essay, deserves notice for its bold eloquence, and the antique republican spirit manifested in it. With respect to *Titan*, which, together with its *Comic Appendix*, forms six very extraordinary volumes, Richter was accustomed, on all occasions, to declare it his masterpiece, and even the best he could ever hope to do; though there are not wanting readers who continue to regard *Hesperus* with preference. For ourselves, we have read *Titan* with a certain disappointment, after hearing so much of it; yet on the whole, must incline to the Author's opinion. One day we hope to afford the British public some sketch of both these works, concerning which, it has been said, 'there is solid metal enough in them to fit out whole circulating libraries, were it beaten into the usual filligree; and much which, attenuate it as we might, no Quarterly Subscriber could well carry with him.' Richter's other Novels published prior to this period are the *Invisible Lodge;* the *Siebenkäs* (or Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces); the *Life of Quintus Fixlein;* the *Jubelsenior* (Parson in Jubilee): *Jean Paul's Letters and future History;* the *Dejeuner in Kuhschnappel;* the *Biographical Recreations under the Cranium of a Giantess*, scarcely belong to this species. The Novels published afterwards, which we may as well catalogue here, are the *Leben Fibels* (Life of Fibel); *Katzenbergers Badereise* (Katzenberger's Journey to the Bath); *Schmelzle's Reise nach Flätz* (Schmelzle's Journey to Flätz); the *Comet*, named also *Nicolaus Margraf.*

It seems to have been about the year 1802, that Paul had a pension bestowed on him by the *Fürst Primas* (Prince Primate) von Dalberg, a prelate famed for his munificence, whom we have mentioned above. What the amount was we do not find specified, but only that it 'secured him the means of a comfortable life,' and was 'subsequently,' we suppose after the Prince Primate's decease, 'paid him by the King of Bavaria.' On the strength of which fixed revenue, Paul now established for himself a fixed household; selecting for this purpose, after various intermediate wanderings, the city of Baireuth, 'with its kind picturesque environment,'

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environment,' where, with only brief occasional excursions, he continued to live and write. We have heard that he was a man universally loved, as well as honoured there: a friendly, true, and high-minded man; copious in speech, which was full of grave genuine humour; contented with simple people and simple pleasures; and himself of the simplest habits and wishes. He had three children; and a guardian angel, doubtless not without her flaws, yet a reasonable angel notwithstanding. For a man with such obdured Stoicism, like triple steel, round his breast; and of such gentle, deep-lying, ever-living springs of Love within it,—all this may well have made a happy life. Besides, Paul was of exemplary, unwearied diligence in his vocation; and so had, at all times, 'perennial, fire-proof Joys, namely, Employments.' In addition to the latter part of the Novels named above, which, with the others, as all of them are more or less genuine poetical productions, we feel reluctant to designate even transiently by so despicable an English word,—his philosophical and critical performances, especially the *Vorschule der Æsthetik* (Introduction to Æsthetics), and the *Levana* (Doctrine of Education), belong wholly to Baireuth; not to enumerate a multitude of miscellaneous writings (on moral, literary, scientific subjects, but always in a humorous, fantastic, poetic dress), which of themselves might have made the fortune of no mean man. His heart and conscience, as well as his head and hand, were in the work; from which no temptation could withdraw him. 'I hold my duty,' says he in these Biographical Notes, 'not to lie in enjoying or acquiring, but in writing—whatever time it may cost, whatever money may be forborne,—nay whatever pleasure; for example, that of seeing Switzerland, which nothing but the sacrifice of time forbids.'—'I deny myself my evening meal *(Vesperessen)* in my eagerness to work, but the interruptions by my children I cannot deny myself.' And again: 'A Poet who presumes to give poetic delight, should contemn and willingly forbear all enjoyments, the sacrifice of which affects not his creative powers; that so he may perhaps delight a century and a whole people.' In Richter's advanced years, it was happy for him that he could say: 'When I look at what has been made out of me, I must thank God that I paid no heed to external matters, neither to time nor toil, nor profit nor loss; the thing is there, and the instruments that did it I have forgotten, and none else knows them. In this wise, has the unimportant series of moments been changed into something higher that remains.'—'I have described so much,' says he elsewhere, 'and I die without ever having seen Switzerland, and the Ocean, and so many other sights. But the Ocean of Eternity I shall in no case fail to see.'

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A heavy stroke fell on him in the year 1821, when his only son, a young man of great promise, died at the University. Paul lost not his composure; but was deeply, incurably wounded. 'Epistolary lamentations on my misfortune,' says he, 'I read unmoved, for the bitterest is to be heard within myself, and I must shut the ears of my soul to it; but a single new trait of Max's fair nature opens the whole lacerated heart asunder again, and it can only drive its blood into the eyes.' New personal sufferings awaited him: a decay of health, and what to so indefatigable a reader and writer was still worse, a decay of eye-sight, increasing at last into almost total blindness. This too he bore with his old steadfastness, cheerfully seeking what help was to be had; and when no hope of help remained, still cheerfully labouring at his vocation, though in sickness and in blindness.* Dark without, he was inwardly full of light; busied on his favourite theme the *Immortality of the Soul;* when (on the 14th of November, 1825) Death came, and Paul's work was all accomplished, and that great question settled for him on far higher and indisputable evidence. The unfinished Volume (which under the title of *Selina* we now have) was carried on his bier to the grave: for his funeral was public, and in Baireuth, and elsewhere, all possible honour was done to his memory.

In regard to Paul's character as a man we have little to say, beyond what the facts of this Narrative have already said more plainly than in words. We learn from all quarters, in one or the other dialect, that the pure high morality which adorns his writings, stamped itself also on his life and actions. 'He was a tender husband and father,' says Doering, 'and goodness itself towards his friends and all that was near him.' The significance of such a spirit as Richter's, practically manifested in such a life, is deep and manifold, and at this era will merit careful study. For the present, however, we must leave it, in this degree of clearness, to the reader's own consideration; another and still more immediately needful department of our task still remains for us.

Richter's intellectual and Literary character is, perhaps, in a singular degree the counterpart and image of his practical and moral character: his Works seem to us a more than usually faithful transcript of his mind; written with great warmth direct

* He begins a letter applying for spectacles (August, 1824) in these terms:—'Since last winter, my eyes (the left had, already without cataract, been long half blind, and like Reviewers and *Litterateurs*, read nothing but title-pages) have been seized by a daily increasing Night-Ultra and Enemy-to-Light, who, did I not withstand him, would shortly drive me into the Orcus of Amaurosis. Then, *Addio, opera omnia!*'—*Doering*, 32.

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from the heart, and, like himself, wild, strong, original, sincere. Viewed under any aspect, whether as Thinker, Moralist, Satirist, Poet, he is a phenomenon; a vast, many-sided, tumultuous, yet noble nature; for faults as for merits 'Jean Paul the Unique.' In all departments, we find in him a subduing force; but a lawless, untutored, as it were, half savage force. Thus, for example, few understandings known to us are of a more irresistible character than Richter's; but its strength is a natural, unarmed, Osion-like strength: he does not cunningly undermine his subject, and lay it open, by syllogistic implements, or any rule of art; but he crushes it to pieces in his arms, he treads it asunder, not without gay triumph, under his feet; and so in almost monstrous fashion, yet with piercing clearness, lays bare the inmost heart and core of it to all eyes. In passion again, there is the same wild vehemence: it is a voice of softest pity, of endless boundless wailing, a voice as of Rachel weeping for her children;—or the fierce bellowing of lions amid savage forests. Thus, too, he not only loves Nature, but he revels in her; plunges into her infinite bosom, and fills his whole heart to intoxication with her charms. He tells us that he was wont to study, to write, almost to live, in the open air; and no skyey aspect was so dismal that it altogether wanted beauty for him. We know of no Poet with so deep and passionate and universal a feeling towards Nature: 'from the solemn phases of the starry heaven to the simple floweret of the meadow, his eye and his heart are open for her charms and her mystic meanings.' But what most of all shadows forth the inborn, essential temper of Paul's mind, is the sportfulness, the wild heartfelt Humour, which, in his highest as in his lowest moods, ever exhibits itself as a quite inseparable ingredient. His Humour, with all its wildness, is of the gravest and kindliest, a genuine Humour; 'consistent with utmost earnestness, or rather, inconsistent with the want of it.' But on the whole, it is impossible for him to write in other than a humorous manner, be his subject what it may. His Philosophical Treatises, nay, as we have seen, his Autobiography itself, everything that comes from him, is encased in some quaint fantastic framing; and roguish eyes (yet with a strange sympathy in the matter, for his Humour, as we said, is heartfelt and true) look out on us through many a grave delineation. In his Novels, above all, this is ever an indispensable quality, and, indeed, announces itself in the very entrance of the business, often even on the title-page. Think, for instance, of that *Selection from the Papers of the Devil; Hesperus,* OR *the Dog-post-days; Siebenkäs's Wedded-life, Death* AND *Nuptials*'!

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'The first aspect of these peculiarities,' says one of Richter's English critics, 'cannot prepossess us in his favour; we are too forcibly reminded of theatrical clap-traps and literary quackery: nor on opening one of the works themselves, is the case much mended. Piercing gleams of thought do not escape us; singular truths, conveyed in a form as singular; grotesque, and often truly ludicrous delineations; pathetic, magnificent, far-sounding passages; effusions full of wit, knowledge, and imagination, but difficult to bring under any rubrick whatever; all the elements, in short, of a glorious intellect, but dashed together in such wild arrangement, that their order seems the very ideal of confusion. The style and structure of the book appear alike incomprehensible. The narrative is every now and then suspended, to make way for some "Extra-leaf," some wild digression upon any subject but the one in hand; the language groans with indescribable metaphors, and allusions to all things human and divine; flowing onward, not like a river, but like an inundation; circling in complex eddies, chafing and gurgling, now this way, now that, till the proper current sinks out of view, amid the boundless uproar. We close the work with a mingled feeling of astonishment, oppression, and perplexity; and Richter stands before us in brilliant cloudy vagueness, a giant mass of intellect, but without form, beauty, or intelligible purpose.

'To readers who believe that intrinsic is inseparable from superficial excellence, and that nothing can be good or beautiful which is not to be seen through in a moment, Richter can occasion little difficulty. They admit him to be a man of vast natural endowments, but he is utterly uncultivated, and without command of them; full of monstrous affectation, the very high-priest of Bad Taste; knows not the art of writing, scarcely that there is such an art; an insane visionary, floating for ever among baseless dreams that hide the firm earth from his view: an intellectual Polyphemus, in short, a *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens,* (carefully adding) *cui lumen ademptum;* and they close their verdict reflectively with his own praise-worthy maxim: "Providence has given to the English the empire of the sea, to the French that of the land, to the Germans that of—the air."

'In this way the matter is adjusted; briefly, comfortably, and wrong. The casket was difficult to open: did we know, by its very shape, that there was nothing in it, that so we should cast it into the sea? Affectation is often singularity, but singularity is not always affectation. If the nature and condition of a man be really and truly, not conceitedly and untruly, singular, so also will his manner be, so also ought it to be. Affectation is the product of Falsehood, a heavy sin, and the parent of numerous heavy sins; let it be severely punished, but not too lightly imputed. Scarcely any mortal is absolutely free from it, neither most probably is Richter; but it is in minds of another substance than his that it grows to be the ruling product. Moreover, he is actually not a visionary; but, with all his visions, will be found to see the firm Earth, in its whole figures

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figures and relations, much more clearly than thousands of such critics, who too probably can see nothing else. Far from being untrained or uncultivated, it will surprise these persons to discover that few men have studied the art of writing, and many other arts besides, more carefully than he; that his *Vorschule der Æsthetik* abounds with deep and sound maxims of criticism; in the course of which, many complex works, his own among others, are rigidly and justly tried, and even the graces and minutest qualities of style are by no means overlooked or unwisely handled.

'Withal, there is something in Richter that incites us to a second, to a third perusal. His works are hard to understand, but they always *have* a meaning, often a true and deep one. In our closer, more comprehensive glance, their truth steps forth with new distinctness, their error dissipates and recedes, passes into veniality, often even into beauty; and at last the thick haze which encircled the form of the writer melts away, and he stands revealed to us in his own steadfast features, a colossal spirit, a lofty and original thinker, a genuine poet, a high-minded, true, and most amiable man.

'I have called him a colossal spirit, for this impression continues with us: to the last we figure him as something gigantic; for all the elements of his structure are vast, and combined together in living and life-giving, rather than in beautiful or symmetrical order. His Intellect is keen, impetuous, far-grasping, fit to rend in pieces the stubbornest materials, and extort from them their most hidden and refractory truth. In his Humour he sports with the highest and the lowest, he can play at bowls with the Sun and Moon. His Imagination opens for us the Land of Dreams; we sail with him through the boundless Abyss; and the secrets of Space, and Time, and Life, and Annihilation, hover round us in dim cloudy forms; and darkness, and immensity, and dread encompass and overshadow us. Nay, in handling the smallest matter, he works it with the tools of a giant. A common truth is wrenched from its old combinations, and presented us in new, impassable, abysmal contrast with its opposite error. A trifle, some slender character, some jest, or quip, or spiritual toy, is shaped into most quaint, yet often truly living form; but shaped somehow as with the hammer of Vulcan, with three strokes that might have helped to forge an Ægis. The treasures of his mind are of a similar description with the mind itself; his knowledge is gathered from all the kingdoms of Art, and Science, and Nature, and lies round him in huge unwieldy heaps. His very language is Titanian; deep, strong, tumultuous; shining with a thousand hues, fused from a thousand elements, and winding in labyrinthic mazes.

'Among Richter's gifts,' continues this critic, 'the first that strikes us as truly great is his Imagination; for he loves to dwell in the loftiest and most solemn provinces of thought; his works abound with mysterious allegories, visions, and typical adumbrations; his Dreams, in particular, have a gloomy vastness, broken here

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here and there by wild far-darting splendour; and shadowy forms of meaning rise dimly from the bosom of the void Infinite. Yet, if I mistake not, Humour is his ruling quality, the quality which lives most deeply in his inward nature, and most strongly influences his manner of being. In this rare gift, for none is rarer than true Humour, he stands unrivalled in his own country, and among late writers, in every other. To describe Humour is difficult at all times, and would perhaps be more than usually difficult in Richter's case. Like all his other qualities, it is vast, rude, irregular; often perhaps overstrained and extravagant: yet, fundamentally, it is genuine Humour, the Humour of Cervantes and Sterne; the product not of Contempt but of Love, not of superficial distortion of natural forms, but of deep though playful sympathy with all forms of Nature. * * *

'So long as Humour will avail him, his management even of higher and stronger characters may still be pronounced successful; but wherever Humour ceases to be applicable, his success is more or less imperfect. In the treatment of heroes proper he is seldom completely happy. They shoot into rugged exaggeration in his hands; their sensibility becomes too copious and tearful, their magnanimity too fierce, abrupt, and thorough-going. In some few instances, they verge towards absolute failure: compared with their less ambitious brethren, they are almost of a vulgar cast; with all their brilliancy and vigour, too like that positive, determinate, volcanic class of personages whom we meet with so frequently in Novels; they call themselves Men, and do their utmost to prove the assertion, but they cannot make us believe it; for after all their vapouring and storming, we see well enough that they are but Engines, with no more life than the Freethinkers' model in *Martinus Scriblerus*, the Nuremberg Man, who operated by a combination of pipes and levers, and though he could breathe and digest perfectly, and even reason as well as most country parsons, was made of wood and leather. In the general conduct of such histories and delineations, Richter seldom appears to advantage: the incidents are often startling and extravagant; the whole structure of the story has a rugged, broken, huge, artificial aspect, and will not assume the air of truth. Yet its chasms are strangely filled up with the costliest materials; a world, a universe of wit, and knowledge, and fancy, and imagination has sent its fairest products to adorn the edifice; the rude and rent Cyclopean walls are resplendent with jewels and beaten gold; rich stately foliage screens it, the balmiest odours encircle it; we stand astonished if not captivated, delighted if not charmed, by the artist and his art.'

With these views, so far as they go, we see little reason to disagree. There is doubtless a deeper meaning in the matter, but perhaps this is not the season for evolving it. To depict, with true scientific accuracy, the essential purport and character of Richter's genius and literary endeavour; how it originated,

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originated, whither it tends, how it stands related to the general tendencies of the world in this age; above all, what is its worth and want of worth to ourselves,—may one day be a necessary problem; but, as matters actually stand, would be a difficult, and no very profitable one. The English public has not yet seen Richter; and must know him before it can judge him. For us, in the present circumstances, we hold it a more promising plan to exhibit some specimens of his workmanship itself, than to attempt describing it anew or better. The general outline of his intellectual aspect, as sketched in few words by the writer already quoted, may stand here by way of preface to these Extracts: as was the case above, whatever it may want, it contains nothing that we dissent from.

'To characterize Jean Paul's works,' says he, 'would be difficult after the fullest inspection: to describe them to English readers would be next to impossible. Whether poetical, philosophical, didactic, fantastic, they seem all to be emblems, more or less complete, of the singular mind where they originated. As a whole, the first perusal of them, more particularly to a foreigner, is almost infallibly offensive; and neither their meaning nor their no-meaning is to be discerned without long and sedulous study. They are a tropical wilderness, full of endless tortuosities; but with the fairest flowers and the coolest fountains; now overarching us with high umbrageous gloom, now opening in long gorgeous vistas. We wander through them, enjoying their wild grandeur; and, by degrees, our half-contemptuous wonder at the Author passes into reverence and love. His face was long hid from us; but we see him, at length, in the firm shape of spiritual manhood; a vast and most singular nature, but vindicating his singular nature by the force, the beauty, and benignity which pervade it. In fine, we joyfully accept him for what he is and was meant to be. The graces, the polish, the sprightly elegancies, which belong to men of lighter make, we cannot look for or demand from him. His movement is essentially slow and cumbrous, for he advances not with one faculty, but with a whole mind; with intellect, and pathos, and wit, and humour, and imagination, moving onward like a mighty host, motley, ponderous, irregular, irresistible. He is not airy, sparkling, and precise; but deep, billowy, and vast. The melody of his nature is not expressed in common note-marks, or written down by the critical gamut: for it is wild and manifold; its voice is like the voice of cataracts, and the sounding of primeval forests. To feeble ears it is discord, but to ears that understand it deep majestic music.' *

As our first specimen, which also may serve for proof that Richter, in adopting his own extraordinary style, did it with clear

* *German Romance*, iii. 6, 18.

knowledge

knowledge of what excellence in style, and the various kinds and degrees of excellence therein, properly signified, we select, from his *Vorschule der Æsthetik* (above mentioned and recommended), the following miniature sketches: the reader acquainted with the persons, will find these sentences, as we believe, strikingly descriptive and exact.

'Visit Herder's creations, where Greek life-freshness, and Hindoo life-weariness are wonderfully blended: you walk, as it were, amid moonshine, into which the red dawn is already falling; but one hidden sun is the painter of both.'

'Similar, but more compacted into periods, is Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's vigorous, German-hearted prose; musical in every sense, for even his images are often derived from tones. The rare union between cutting force of intellectual utterance, and infinitude of sentiment, gives us the tense metallic chord with its soft tones.'

'In Goethe's prose, on the other hand, his fixedness of form gives us the Memnon's-tone. A plastic rounding, a pictorial determinateness, which even betrays the manual artist, make his works a fixed still gallery of figures and bronze statues.'

'Luther's prose is a half-battle; few deeds are equal to his words.'

'Klopstock's prose frequently evinces a sharpness of diction bordering on poverty of matter; a quality peculiar to Grammarians, who most of all know *distinctly*, but least of all know *much*. From want of matter, one is apt to think too much of language. New views of the world, like these other poets, Klopstock scarcely gave. Hence the naked winter-boughs, in his prose; the multitude of circumscribed propositions; the brevity; the return of the same small sharp-cut figures, for instance, of the Resurrection, as of a Harvest-field.'

'The perfection of pomp-prose we find in Schiller: what the utmost splendour of reflexion in images, in fulness and antithesis can give, he gives. Nay, often he plays on the poetic strings with so rich and jewel-loaded a hand, that the sparkling mass disturbs, if not the playing, yet our hearing of it.'—*Vorschule*, s. 545.

That Richter's own playing and painting differed widely from all of these, the reader has already heard, and may now convince himself. Take, for example, the following of a fair-weather scene, selected from a thousand such that may be found in his writings nowise; as the best, but simply as the briefest. It is in the May season, the last evening of Spring:

'Such a May as the present, (of 1794) Nature has not in the memory of man—begun; for this is but the fifteenth of it. People of reflection have long been vexed once every year, that our German singers should indite May-songs, since several other months deserve such a poetical Night-music better; and I myself have often gone so far as to adopt the idiom of our market-women, and instead of May butter to say June butter, as also June, March, April songs. But thou, kind

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kind May of this year, thou deservest to thyself all the songs which were ever made on thy rude namesakes!—By Heaven! when I now issue from the wavering chequered acacia-grove of the Castle, in which I am writing this Chapter, and come forth into the broad living light, and look up to the warming Heaven, and over its Earth budding out beneath it,—the Spring rises before me like a vast full cloud, with a splendour of blue and green. I see the Sun standing amid roses in the western sky, into which he has *thrown his ray-brush wherewith he has to-day been painting the Earth*;—and when I look round a little in our picture exhibition,—his enamelling is still hot on the mountains; on the moist chalk of the moist earth, the flowers, full of sap colours, are laid out to dry, and the forget-me-not with miniature colours; under the varnish of the streams the skyey Painter has pencilled his own eye; and the clouds, like a decoration-painter, he has touched off with wild outlines, and single tints; and so he stands at the border of the Earth, and looks back on his stately Spring, whose robe-folds are vallies, whose breast-bouquet is gardens, and whose blush is a vernal evening, and who, when she arises, will be—Summer!'—*Fixlein*, z. 11.

Or the following, in which moreover are two happy living figures, a bridegroom and a bride on their marriage-day:

'He led her from the crowded dancing-room into the cool evening. Why does the evening, does the night, put warmer love in our hearts? Is it the nightly pressure of helplessness; or is it the exalting separation from the turmoils of life, that veiling of the world, in which for the soul nothing then remains but souls:—is it, therefore, that the letters in which the loved name stands written on our spirit, appear, like phosphorus writing, by night, *on fire*, while by day in their *cloudy* traces they but smoke?

'He walked with his bride into the Castle-garden: she hastened quickly through the Castle, and past its servants'-hall, where the fair flowers of her young life had been crushed broad and dry, under a long dreary pressure; and her soul expanded, and breathed in the free open garden, on whose flowery soil Destiny had cast forth the first seeds of the blossoms which to-day were gladdening her existence. Still Eden! Green, flower-chequered *chiaroscuro!*—The Moon is sleeping under ground, like a dead one; but beyond the garden, the sun's red evening-clouds have fallen down like rose-leaves; and the evening-star, the brideman of the sun, hovers like a glancing butterfly above the rosy red, and, modest as a bride, deprives no single starlet of its light.'

'The wandering pair arrived at the old gardener's-hut; now standing locked and dumb, with dark windows in the light garden, like a fragment of the Past surviving in the Present. Bared twigs of trees were folding, with clammy half formed leaves, over the thick intertwisted tangles of the bushes. The Spring was standing, like a conqueror, with Winter at his feet. In the blue pond, now bloodless, a dusky evening-sky lay hollowed out; and the gushing waters were moistening

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moistening the flower-beds. The silver sparks of stars were rising on the altar of the East, and falling down extinguished in the red-sea of the West.'

'The wind whirred, like a night bird, louder through the trees; and gave tones to the acacia-grove, and the tones called to the pair who had first become happy within it: "Enter, new mortal pair, and think of what is past, and of my withering and your own; and be holy as Eternity, and weep, not for joy only, but for gratitude also!" * * *

'They reached the blazing, rustling marriage-house, but their softened hearts sought stillness; and a foreign touch, as in the blossoming vine, would have disturbed the flower-nuptials of their souls. They turned rather, and winded up into the churchyard, to preserve their mood. Majestic on the groves and mountains stood the Night before man's heart, and made it also great. Over the white steeple-obelisk the sky rested bluer and darker; and behind it, wavered the withered summit of the Maypole with faded flag. The son noticed his father's grave, on which the wind was opening and shutting, with harsh noise, the small lid on the metal cross, to let the year of his death be read on the brass plate within. An overpowering grief seized his heart with violent streams of tears, and drove him to the sunk hillock; and he led his bride to the grave, and said: "Here sleeps he, my good father; in his thirty-second year he was carried hither to his long rest. O thou good dear father, couldst thou to-day but see the happiness of thy son, like my mother! But thy eyes are empty, and thy breast is full of ashes, and thou seest us not."—He was silent. The bride wept aloud; she saw the mouldering coffins of her parents open, and the two dead arise, and look round for their daughter, who had staid so long behind them, forsaken on the earth. She fell on his neck and faltered: "O beloved, I have neither father nor mother, do not forsake me!"

'O thou who hast still a father and a mother, thank God for it on the day when thy soul is full of glad tears, and needs a bosom wherein to shed them. . . . . .

'And with this embracing at a father's grave, let this day of joy be holily concluded.'—*Fixlein*, z. 9.

In such passages, slight as they are, we fancy an experienced eye will trace some features of originality, as well as of uncommonness: an open sense for Nature, a soft heart, a warm rich fancy, and here and there some undercurrent of Humour are distinctly enough discernible. Of this latter quality, which, as has been often said, forms Richter's grand characteristic, we would fain give our readers some correct notion; but see not well how it is to be done. Being genuine poetic humour, not drollery or vulgar caricature, it is like a fine essence, like a soul; we discover it only in whole works and delineations; as the soul is only to be seen in the living body, not in detached limbs and fragments. Richter's Humour takes a great variety of forms, some

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some of them sufficiently grotesque and piebald; ranging from the light kindly-comic vein of Sterne in his *Trim* and *Uncle Toby*, over all intermediate degrees, to the rugged grim farce-tragedy often manifested in Hogarth's pictures; nay to still darker and wilder moods than this. Of the former sort are his characters of Fixlein, Schmelzle, Fibel; of the latter his Vult, Giannozzo, Leibgeber, Schoppe, which last two are indeed one and the same. Of these, of the spirit that reigns in them, we should despair of giving other than the most inadequate and even incorrect idea, by any extracts or expositions that could possibly be furnished here. Not without reluctance we have accordingly renounced that enterprise; and must content ourselves with some 'Extra-leaf,' or other separable passage, which if it afford no emblem of Richter's Humour, may be, in these circumstances, our best appoximation to such. Of the 'Extra-leaves' in *Hesperus* itself, a considerable volume might be formed, and truly one of the strangest. Most of them, however, are national; could not be apprehended without a commentary; and even then, much to their disadvantage, for Humour must be seen, not through a glass, but face to face. The following is nowise one of the best; but it turns on what we believe is a quite European subject, at all events is certainly an English one.

'*Extra-leaf on Daughter-full Houses.*

'The Minister's house was an open bookshop, the books in which (the daughters) you might read there, but could not take home with you. Though five other daughters were already standing in five private libraries as wives, and one under the ground at Maienthal was sleeping off the child's-play of life, yet still in this daughter-warehouse there remained three gratis copies to be disposed of to good friends. The Minister was always prepared, in drawings from the office-lottery, to give his daughters as premiums to winners, and holders of the lucky ticket. Whom God gives an office, he also gives, if not sense for it, at least a wife. In a daughter-full house, there must, as in the Church of St. Peter's, be *confessionals* for all nations, for all characters, for all faults; that the daughters may sit as confessoresses therein, and absolve from all, bachelorship only excepted. As a Natural-Philosopher, I have many times admired the wise methods of Nature for distributing daughters and plants: is it not a fine arrangement, said I to the Natural-Historian Goeze, that Nature should have bestowed specially on young women, who for their growth require a rich mineralogical soil, some sort of hooking apparatus, whereby to stick themselves on miserable marriage-cattle, that may carry them to fat places? Thus Linnæus,* as you know, observes that such seeds as can flourish only in fat earth

* His *Amoen. Acad.*—The Treatise on the Habitable Globe.

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are furnished with barbs, and so fasten themselves the better on grazing quadrupeds, which transport them to stalls and dunghills. Strangely does Nature, by the wind—which father and mother must raise,—scatter daughters and fir-seeds into the arable spots of the forest. Who does not remark the final cause here, and how Nature has equipped many a daughter with such and such charms, simply that some Peer, some mitred Abbot, Cardinal-deacon, apanaged Prince, or mere country Baron, may lay hold of said charmer, and in the character of Father or Brideman, hand her over ready-made to some gawk of the like sort, as a wife acquired by purchase? And do we find in bilberries a slighter attention on the part of Nature? Does not the same Linnæus notice, in the same treatise, that they, too, are cased in a nutritive juice to incite the Fox to eat them; after which, the villain,—digest them he cannot,—in such sort as he may, becomes their sower?—

'O, my heart is more in earnest than you think; the parents anger me, who are soul-brokers; the daughters sadden me, who are made slave-Negresses.—Ah, is it wonderful that these, who, in their West-Indian market-place, must dance, laugh, speak, sing, till some lord of a plantation take them home with him,—that these, I say, should be as slavishly treated, as they are sold and bought? Ye poor lambs!—And yet ye, too, are as bad as your sale-mothers and sale-fathers:—what is one to do with his enthusiasm for your sex, when one travels through German towns, where every heaviest-pursed, every longest-tilled individual, were he second cousin to the Devil himself, can point with his finger to thirty houses, and say: "I know not, shall it be from the pearl-coloured, or the nut-brown, or the steel-green house, that I wed; open to customers are they all!"—How, my girls, is your heart so little worth that you cut it, like old clothes, after any fashion, to fit any breast; and does it wax or shrink, then, like a Chinese ball, to fit itself into the ball-mould and marriage ring-case of any male heart whatever?—"Well, it must; unless we would sit at home, and grow Old Maids," answer they; whom I will not answer, but turn scornfully away from them, to address that same Old Maid in these words:

'"Forsaken, but patient one! misknown and mistreated! Think not of the times when thou hadst hope of better than the present are, and repent the noble pride of thy heart never! It is not always our duty to marry, but it is always our duty to abide by right, not to purchase happiness by loss of honour, not to avoid unweddedness by untruthfulness. Lonely, unadmired heroine! in thy last hour, when all Life and the bygone possessions and scaffoldings of Life shall crumble in pieces, ready to fall down; in that hour thou wilt look back on thy untenanted life; no children, no husband, no wet eyes will be there; but in the empty dusk, one high, pure, angelic, smiling, beaming Figure, godlike and mounting to the Godlike, will hover, and beckon thee to mount with her,—mount thou with her, the Figure is thy Virtue."'

We have spoken above, and warmly, of Jean Paul's Imagination,

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nation, of his high devout feeling, which it were now a still more grateful part of our task to exhibit. But in this also our readers must content themselves with some imperfect glimpses. What religious opinions and aspirations he specially entertained, how that noblest portion of man's interests represented itself in such a mind, were long to describe, did we even know it with certainty. He hints somewhere that 'the soul, which by nature looks Heavenward, is without a Temple, in this age;' in which little sentence, the careful reader will decipher much.

'But there will come another era,' says Paul, 'when it shall be light, and man will awaken from his lofty dreams, and find—his dreams still there, and that nothing is gone save his sleep.

'The stones and rocks, which two veiled Figures (Necessity and Vice), like Deucalion and Pyrrha, are casting behind them, at Goodness, will themselves become men.

'And on the Western-gate (*Abendthor*, evening-gate) of this century stands written: Here is the way to Virtue and Wisdom; as on the Western-gate at Cherson stands the proud Inscription: Here is the way to Byzance.

'Infinite Providence, Thou wilt cause the day to dawn.

'But as yet, struggles the twelfth-hour of the Night: the nocturnal birds of prey are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream.'—*Hesperus. Preface.*

Connected with this, there is one other piece, which also for its singular poetic qualities, we shall translate here. The reader has heard much of Richter's Dreams, with what strange prophetic power he rules over that chaos of spiritual Nature, bodying forth a whole world of Darkness, broken by pallid gleams, or wild sparkles of light, and peopled with huge, shadowy, bewildered shapes, full of grandeur and meaning. No Poet known to us, not Milton himself, shews such a vastness of Imagination; such a rapt, deep, old Hebrew spirit, as Richter in these scenes. He mentions in his Biographical Notes the impression which these lines of the *Tempest* had on him, as recited by one of his companions:

'We are such stuff
As Dreams are made on, and our little Life
Is rounded with a sleep.'

'The passage of Shakspeare,' says he, '*rounded with a sleep* (*mit Schlaf umgeben*), in Plattner's mouth, created whole books in me.'—The following Dream is perhaps his grandest, as, undoubtedly, it is among his most celebrated. We shall give it entire, long as it is, and therewith finish our quotations. What value he himself put on it, may be gathered from the following Note: 'If ever my heart,' says he, 'were to grow so wretched and so dead that all feelings in it which announce the being

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being of a God were extinct there, I would terrify myself with this sketch of mine; it would heal me, and give me my feelings back.' We translate from *Siebenkäs*, where it forms the first Chapter, or *Blumenstück* (Flower-piece).

'The purpose of this Fiction is the excuse of its boldness. Men deny the Divine Existence with as little feeling as the most assert it. Even in our true systems we go on collecting mere words, playmarks, and medals, as misers do coins;—and not till late do we transform the words into feelings, the coins into enjoyments. A man may, for twenty years, believe the Immortality of the Soul;—in the one-and-twentieth, in some great moment, he for the first time discovers with amazement, the rich meaning of this belief, the warmth of this Naphtha-well.

'Of such sort, too, was my terror, at the poisonous stifling vapour which floats out round the heart of him who for the first time enters the school of Atheism. I could with less pain deny Immortality, than Deity; there I should lose but a world covered with mists, here I should lose the present world, namely, the Sun thereof: the whole spiritual Universe is dashed asunder by the hand of Atheism into numberless quicksilver-points of *Me's*, which glitter, run, waver, fly together or asunder, without unity or continuance. No one in Creation is so alone, as the denier of God; he mourns, with an orphaned heart that has lost its great Father, by the Corpse of Nature, which no World-spirit moves and holds together, and which grows in its grave; and he mourns by that Corpse till he himself crumble off from it. The whole world lies before him, like the Egyptian Sphinx of stone, half-buried in the sand; and the All is the cold iron mask of a formless Eternity. * * *

'I merely remark farther, that with the belief of Atheism, the belief of Immortality is quite compatible; for the same Necessity, which in this Life threw my light dew-drop of a *Me* into a flower-bell and—under a Sun, can repeat that process in a second life;—nay, more easily embody me—the second time—than the first.

'If we hear, in childhood, that the dead, about midnight, when our *sleep reaches near the soul*, and darkens even our dreams, awake out of theirs, and in the church mimic the worship of the living, we shudder at Death by reason of the dead, and in the night-solitude turn away our eyes from the long silent windows of the church, and fear to search in their gleaming, whether it proceed from the moon.

'Childhood, and rather its terrors than its raptures, take wings and radiance again in dreams, and sport like fire-flies in the little night of the soul. Crush not these flickering sparks!—Leave us even our dark painful dreams as higher half-shadows of reality!—And wherewith will you replace to us *those* dreams, which bear us away from under the tumult of the waterfall into the still heights of childhood, where the stream of life yet ran silent in its little plain, and flowed towards its abysses, a mirror of the Heaven?—

'I was

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'I was lying once, on a summer-evening, in the sunshine; and I fell asleep. Methought I awoke in the Churchyard. The down-rolling wheels of the steeple-clock, which was striking eleven, had awoke me. In the emptied night-heaven I looked for the Sun; for I thought an eclipse was veiling him with the Moon. All the Graves were open, and the iron doors of the charnel-house were swinging to and fro by invisible hands. On the walls, flitted shadows, which proceeded from no one, and other shadows stretched upwards in the pale air. In the open coffins none now lay sleeping, but the Children. Over the whole heaven hung, in large folds, a grey sultry mist, which a giant shadow like vapour was drawing down, nearer, closer, and hotter. Above me I heard the distant fall of avalanches; under me the first step of a boundless earthquake. The Church wavered up and down with two interminable Dissonances, which struggled with each other in it; endeavouring in vain to mingle in unison. At times, a grey glimmer hovered along the windows, and under it the lead and iron fell down molten. The net of the mist, and the tottering Earth brought me into that hideous Temple; at the door of which, in two poison-bushes, two glittering Basilisks lay brooding. I passed through unknown Shadows, on whom ancient centuries were impressed.—All the Shadows were standing round the empty Altar; and in all, not the heart, but the breast quivered and pulsed. One dead man only, who had just been buried there, still lay on his coffin without quivering breast; and on his smiling countenance, stood a happy dream. But at the entrance of one Living, he awoke, and smiled no longer; he lifted his heavy eyelids, but within was no eye; and in his beating breast there lay, instead of heart, a wound. He held up his hands, and folded them to pray; but the arms lengthened out, and dissolved; and the hands, still folded together, fell away. Above, on the Church-dome, stood the dial-plate of *Eternity*, whereon no number appeared, and which was its own index: but a black finger pointed thereon, and the Dead sought to see the time by it.

'Now sank from aloft a noble, high Form, with a look of uneffaceable sorrow, down to the Altar, and all the Dead cried out, "Christ! is there no God?" He answered "There is none!" The whole Shadow of each then shuddered, not the breast alone; and one after the other, all, in this shuddering, shook into pieces.

'Christ continued: "I went through the Worlds, I mounted into the Suns, and flew with the Galaxies through the wastes of Heaven; but there is no God! I descended as far as Being casts its shadow, and looked down into the Abyss and cried, Father, where art thou? But I heard only the everlasting storm which no one guides, and the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss, and trickled down. And when I looked up to the immeasurable world for the Divine *Eye*, it glared on me with an empty, black, bottomless *Eye-socket*; and Eternity lay upon Chaos, eating it and ruminating it. Cry on, ye Dissonances; cry away the Shadows, for He is not!

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'The pale-grown Shadows flitted away, as white vapour which frost has formed with the warm breath disappears; and all was void. O, then came, fearful for the heart, the dead Children who had been awakened in the Churchyard, into the Temple, and cast themselves before the high Form on the Altar, and said, "Jesus, have we no Father?" And he answered, with streaming tears, "We are all orphans, I and you; we are without Father!"

'Then shrieked the Dissonances still louder,—the quivering walls of the Temple parted asunder; and the Temple and the Children sank down, and the whole Earth and the Sun sank after it, and the whole Universe sank with its immensity before us; and above on the summit of immeasurable Nature, stood Christ, and gazed down into the Universe chequered with its thousand Suns, as into the Mine bored out of the Eternal Night, in which the Suns run like mine-lamps, and the Galaxies like silver veins.

'And as he saw the grinding press of Worlds, the torch-dance of celestial wildfires, and the coral-banks of beating hearts; and as he saw how world after world shook off its glimmering souls upon the Sea of Death, as a water-bubble scatters swimming lights on the waves, then majestic as the Highest of the Finite, he raised his eyes towards the Nothingness, and towards the void Immensity, and said: "Dead, dumb Nothingness! Cold, everlasting Necessity! Frantic Chance! Know ye what this is that lies beneath you? When will ye crush the Universe in pieces, and me? Chance, knowest thou what thou doest, when with thy hurricanes thou walkest through that snow-powder of Stars, and extinguishest Sun after Sun, and that sparkling dew of heavenly lights goes out, as thou passest over it? How is each so solitary in this wide grave of the All! I am alone with myself! O Father, O Father! where is thy infinite bosom that I might rest on it? Ah, if each soul is its own father and creator, why can it not be its own destroyer too?

'"Is this beside me yet a Man? Unhappy one! Your little life is the sigh of Nature, or only its echo; a convex-mirror throws its rays into that dust-cloud of dead men's ashes, down on the Earth; and thus you, cloud-formed wavering phantasms, arise.—Look down into the Abyss, over which clouds of ashes are moving; mists full of Worlds reek up from the Sea of Death; the *Future* is a mounting mist, and the *Present* is a falling one.—Knowest thou thy Earth again?"

'Here Christ looked down, and his eye filled with tears, and he said: "Ah, I was once there; I was still happy then; I had still my Infinite Father, and looked up cheerfully from the mountains, into the immeasurable Heaven, and pressed my mangled breast on his healing form, and said even in the bitterness of death: Father, take thy son from this bleeding hull, and lift him to thy heart!—Ah, ye too happy inhabitants of Earth, ye still believe in *Him*. Perhaps even now your Sun is going down, and ye kneel amid blossoms, and brightness, and tears, and lift trustful hands, and cry with joy-streaming eyes, to the opened Heaven: 'Me too thou knowest, Omnipotent, and all my

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my wounds; and at death thou receivest me, and closest them all!' Unhappy creatures, at death they will not be closed! Ah, when the sorrow-laden lays himself, with galled back, into the Earth, to sleep till a fairer Morning full of Truth, full of Virtue and Joy,—he awakens in a stormy Chaos, in the everlasting Midnight,—and there comes no Morning, and no soft healing hand, and no Infinite Father!—Mortal, beside me! if thou still livest, pray to *Him*; else hast thou lost him for ever!"

'And as I fell down, and looked into the sparkling Universe, I saw the upborne Rings of the Giant-Serpent, the Serpent of Eternity, which had coiled itself round the All of Worlds,—and the Rings sank down, and encircled the All doubly;—and then it wound itself, innumerable ways, round Nature, and swept the Worlds from their places, and crashing, squeezed the Temple of Immensity together, into the Church of a Burying-ground,—and all grew strait, dark, fearful,—and an immeasurably extended Hammer was to strike the last hour of Time, and shiver the Universe asunder, . . . WHEN I AWOKE.

'My soul wept for joy that I could still pray to God; and the joy and the weeping, and the faith on Him were my prayer. And as I arose, the Sun was glowing deep behind the full purpled corn-ears, and casting meekly the gleam of its twilight-red on the little Moon, which was rising in the East without an Aurora; and between the sky and the earth, a gay transient air-people was stretching out its short wings and living, as I did, before the Infinite Father; and from all Nature around me flowed peaceful tones, as from distant evening-bells.'

Without commenting on this singular piece, we must here for the present close our lucubrations on Jean Paul. To delineate, with any correctness, the specific features of such a genius, and of its operations and results in the great variety of provinces where it dwelt and worked, were a long task; for which, perhaps, some groundwork may have been laid here, and which, as occasion serves, it will be pleasant for us to resume.

Probably enough, our readers, in considering these strange matters, will too often bethink them of that 'Episode concerning Paul's Costume;' and conclude that, as in living, so in writing, he was a Mannerist, and man of continual Affectations. We will not quarrel with them on this point; we must not venture among the intricacies it would lead us into. At the same time, we hope, many will agree with us in honouring Richter, such as he was; and 'in spite of his hundred real, and his ten thousand seeming faults,' discern under this wondrous guise the spirit of a true Poet and Philosopher. A Poet, and among the highest of his time, we must reckon him, though he wrote no verses; a Philosopher, though he promulgated no systems: for on the whole, that 'Divine Idea of the World'

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stood in clear ethereal light before his mind; he recognized the Invisible, even under the mean forms of these days, and with a high, strong, not uninspired heart, strove to represent it in the Visible, and publish tidings of it to his fellow men. This one virtue, the foundation of all other virtues, and which a long study more and more clearly reveals to us in Jean Paul, will cover far greater sins than his were. It raises him into quite another sphere than that of the thousand elegant sweet-singers, and cause-and-effect *philosophes*, in his own country, or in this; the million Novel-manufacturers, Sketchers, practical Discoursers, and so forth, not once reckoned in. Such a man we can safely recommend to universal study; and for those who, in the actual state of matters, may the most blame him, repeat the old maxim: 'What is extraordinary try to look at with your own eyes.'

ART. II.—*De Adamante Commentatio Antiquaria. Scripsit Mauricius Pinder*, Ph. Dr. Bibliothecae Regiae Berolinensis Custos. Berolini, typis Academicis. 1829. 8vo.

AMONGST the various treasures of the mineral kingdom, there is, perhaps, none to which society has attached so high a value as to the diamond. The ocean alone hides as precious riches in its depths: jewels and pearls are not only the main objects to which grandeur and vanity aspire as to the most enviable adornments: they maintain an influence more or less visible on the classes and ranks of society; and even the austere moralist, who strives to detach his mind from the treasures of the existing world, is not entirely free from the chains which he endeavours to contemn. Hence we think that Dr. Pinder needed no excuse for having made so isolated a theme as the history of the diamond the object of a particular treatise. We cannot more advantageously show the interesting nature of his performance than by giving a detailed account of its contents.

Dr. Pinder begins with some observations on the small amount of knowledge possessed by the ancients in all branches of mineralogy. The belief that stones grew and produced their like, was very common amongst them. In distinguishing the various kinds of gems, they almost exclusively regarded their exterior qualities, and more particularly their hue, and this may account for the names of many of them being originally expressive of a colour. Of crystallizations the ancients had no knowledge whatever. A few passages are quoted by Dr. Pinder, wherein

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wherein crystallization is mentioned, though in a very rude and superficial manner. The method of examining gems by weight was likewise unknown to them; and it would appear that it was first employed by the Arabs in the thirteenth century. More attention was paid to the coloured reflexion of light than to the clearness and purity of the jewels themselves. We find that Plato, Strabo, Pliny, and Saint Augustine confounded the attractive power of the magnet with that of amber. Saint Augustine, in a passage quoted by Dr. Pinder, is astonished at the magnet,—'*quod nescio qua insensibili sorbitione stipulam non moveat, et ferrum rapiat.*' De Civit. Dei, l. 21, c. 7.

Of chemical analysis the ancients were, of course, entirely ignorant. If they attended but little to a knowledge of the respective veins from which precious stones were received, this is partly owing to the skilful secrecy of the tradesmen. Pliny mentions India as the country richest in gems: besides which the island of Cyprus enjoyed an early fame for the treasures supposed to be buried in its soil. The author concludes his introductory remarks by pointing at some remarkable instances of Pliny's ignorance in mineralogy; and then proceeds to treat of the diamond itself. He accedes to the usual etymology of the word *adamas* (ἀδάμας) from the verb δαμάω, and the privative α, implying something *indestructible:* whence the same name was, according to the Greek lexicographers and scholiasts, given also to a certain description of the hardest steel; and refutes the opinion of those who would derive the Greek word ἀδάμας from the Arabic and Rabbinic word *elmas.* The Greek ἀδάμας is the source of all the modern European names given to this precious stone: *sed ita,* observes Dr. Pinder, *ut gemma olim igne ferroque illaesa, nunc vero non amplius indomita, quasi justo quodam fato illud α quod eam vinci negabat, in principio nominis, amiserit;* alluding to the circumstance that Lewis de Berquen was the first who polished one diamond with the aid of another, which he did in the year 1476. The earliest author in whose works the expression *diamas* occurs, is Albertus Magnus, who died in 1280.

Dr. Pinder observes, that in all passages of the more ancient Greek writers down to the third century before our era, where the expression ἀδάμας is used, it invariably signifies steel, and never the diamond.* The earliest instance where our gem is expressly mentioned, is in a passage of Theophrastus. This author, having treated at length of those species of minerals which cannot resist the influence of fire, passes

* Homer mentions no jewels whatever,

over

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over to the ἄνθραξ (*anthrax*), which Dr. Pinder proves to be the same with the *carbunculus* of the Romans, and the *ruby* or *spinel* of the modern mineralogists. Anthrax, according to Theophrastus, is incombustible, and of a sexangular form: and strange it is, says he, that this is the case also with the diamond. Pliny seems to follow this passage of Theophrastus when, like him, describing the diamond as a gem of a sexangular form. The combustible nature of the diamond was wholly unknown to the ancients. Pliny and Apollonius Dyscolus went so far as to believe that a diamond placed in the fire does not even grow hot.

The passage next in antiquity to that of Theophrastus, just alluded to, occurs in the Septuagint, Jerem. xvii. 1, where the Hebrew words *ketubah beziporen hamir* are rendered γεγραμμένον ἐν ὄνυχι ἀδαμαντίνῳ.

A further instance is found in a letter of Augustus to Maecenas, quoted by Macrobius. Moreover, Dr. Pinder adverts to Juvenal's

> . . . . . '*Adamas notissimus et Berenices*
> *In digito factus pretiosior:*'

and to a passage of Seneca the philosopher, where the diamond is not expressly mentioned, but where its extreme hardness and durability is evidently alluded to.

There can be no doubt that these diamonds came from India. Strabo, in his account of India, relying on the authority of Eudoxus, who lived in the second century before our era, mentions only λίθους πολυτελεῖς, πεπηγότας ἐξ ὑγροῦ καθάπερ τὰ κρυστάλλινα παρ' ἡμῖν; and, in another passage, λιθίαν κρυστάλλων καὶ ἀνθράκων πολυτελῶν: the diamond is never expressly named. More definite are the expressions used by the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, who distinctly mentions diamonds and hyacinths. We must not, however, omit to notice that Bernhardy, in his recent edition of Dionysius Periegetes, prefers taking ἀδάμας in this passage for Indian steel. Pliny also assigns India to the diamond as its native place. He calls it the most precious of all things: he describes it as hard and incombustible, and mentions its sexangular form. But, unfortunately, this chapter of Pliny's work is particularly fertile in errors. We know of no such diamonds as those mentioned by him, which must have been found in Ethiopia, near the island of Meroë. Dr. Pinder is of opinion that this mistake may have arisen from the mercantile towns on the coast of Ethiopia, towards the Red Sea, where a flourishing trade in Indian products, and especially in Indian jewels, was carried on. Pliny also mentions Arabia among the native places of the diamond;

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diamond; probably from an erroneous notion similar to that which, even in the time of Augustus, supposed cinnamon to be a product of Arabia. Pliny's Cyprian diamonds were, unquestionably, crystals, such as are still found, and of exquisite beauty, near the town of Baffa (Paphos). As to some other accounts given by Pliny on different kinds of diamond, Dr. Pinder shows that he must have been misinformed. Several other of Pliny's remarks betray a high degree of credulity. He, for instance, believes that the diamond could deprive poison of its obnoxious power, relieve the mind from fear, &c.

After the time of Pliny we find that the native place of the diamond became gradually known. For details we must refer the reader to Dr. Pinder's book itself. We shall here allude, in a few remarks, to the use made of the diamond. Pliny, Solinus, Augustine, and Albertus Magnus tell us that sculptors used small fragments, or the dust of diamonds, in executing their designs. The diamond was not employed to cut glass before the sixteenth century; before that time red-hot steel was used for that purpose.

Dr. Pinder does not enter into the question, whether diamonds made part of the ornaments of the high-priest of the Jews. From the passages above adverted to, it will appear, that diamonds were held in the highest estimation at the time of Augustus: but according to a passage of Theophylactus, quoted by Dr. Pinder, it is manifest that the art of polishing the diamond was entirely unknown in those days.

It seems, that between the third and eleventh century, the diamond had somewhat lost in its valuation. Solinus praises not its brilliancy, but its medical virtues; and Augustin, Epiphanus, and Bellus, do not mention it as an ornament. Albertus Magnus calls it less pellucid than crystal rock.

In later times, we find diamonds, though rude and unpolished, employed as ornaments: for instance, in the buckle of the mantle of Louis IX., at St. Denys. They were almost numberless in the treasuries of eastern princes. Shehabeddin ben Sam, the fourth Sultan of the Gauride dynasty, who about the year 1200, extended his power over India so far as Delhi, is reported to have had three thousand pounds of diamonds in his possession. In many passages of the old German poems, diamonds are mentioned, particularly as worn in rings.

The diamond is also sometimes referred to by the Italian poets of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: but it is not quite clear whether they allude to our gem, or to the adamas of the ancient Greek poems.

We regret that we cannot further enlarge on Dr. Pinder's remarks,

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remarks, concerning the *adamas* of the ancients, in its meaning as a metal. The result of his enquiries is, that it signifies no sort of metal, which has really existed, but that it is a mere fiction of the ancient Greek poets, which was adopted by those of the later times, and thus gained a sort of fictitious existence in the poetical language of the Greeks, from which it was afterwards introduced into Latin.

Such is a rough sketch of the contents of this little volume, which we wish to recommend to the attention of all those who take an interest in enquiries of this kind. We venture to promise, that none will peruse it without satisfaction, nor lay it aside without acknowledging the merit of its author.

ART. III.—*Le Globe, Recueil Philosophique, Politique, et Littéraire, paraissant les Mercredi et Samedi.* Paris.

CONTRARY to all reasonable expectations, the Turk has proved craven before the Russian. Prussia, the great potentate of central Europe—which, like the sword of the bold Roman, will prove the turning weight in the scales of Muscovite and British diplomacy—has attached her interests to the fortunes of the northern Autocrat;—nay, by the acuteness of her agent Müffling, has been mainly instrumental in inducing the late treaty of Adrianople. Austria must, not only on account of the peculiar situation of her territories proper and *improper*, but also of the commencing clamours of the higher orders of her subjects, follow in the wake of Nicolas and Frederic; and the issue will be, that some innovation in her internal administration will be forced on the emperor, (if Prussia, as the report goes, be about to set the example of a constitution, long promised—and, of course, at the outset, of a puerile and nugatory construction): and this very act of necessity will but the more strongly bind the chain of conciliation between the House of Hapsburg, and the descendants of the warlike Frederic and the Empress Catherine. What then, under such circumstances, and in all likelihood, will be the direction of French policy? This question, which should have been long since put and considered, is now capable of easy solution. France, too, is a dependent of the Russian—little heeding the future destinies of England—little regardful whether she sink or swim on that ocean whose impetuous waves her rocky coasts have, in their pride of strength, repelled for so many succeeding centuries.

France is necessitated to such a predilection. Her ministers were weak and shallow, and could not discover the obvious course

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course of policy for adoption. Our ministers were stiff-necked and stubborn, and neglected to bind France to our fortunes. The millstone of policy, however, has proved too indurated for even their piercing sight; and now they are in the enviable situation of being obliged to chew the cud of their disappointment. For what has France to gain by her co-operation with England? Nothing! What has she to gain by her favouring dispositions towards Russia? Everything! Unless England be the ruling power in the Mediterranean, she is a cypher for all purposes of counteraction. She is not the ruling power; the Russians are as powerful there as the navy of that gay Britannia, once 'the ruler of the waves.' Besides England cannot, single-handed, make preparations for a war in the Mediterranean. France, therefore, is under no dread of chastisement from this country, and she will naturally look towards that quarter, whence rewards will be distributed for her obedience. That quarter is occupied by Russia, the conqueror of the Lord of Byzantium, and whose coming and achievements, *though not* vaticinated by the wrinkled Sybil, is more ominous than the sacking of the imperial capital by the western knights of the Octogenarian of Venice! France, too, is overawed by smiling foes at her very threshold. These are impersonated by Prussia and the Netherlands, allied with the autocrat by marriage, and allured and riveted by his enticing offers. We had, in the coolness of our reflection, thought that the former would, spite of all consanguinity, have taken the better and the nobler part,—that of resistance to the great overwhelming dominator of the North. But sublunary hopes partake of the instability of water. Yet why need the sovereign Black Eagle bend the neck of humiliation, or fawn or flatter in any wise; or take that as a boon, which will be hers by the right of the strong arm and possession? Prussia will be the Princedom dominant of Europe, when Russia, which now towers so loftily in its scornful pride, will be shattered by revolutions, into a hundred fragments! Such is the fact. France is, however, made an unwilling sycophant by superior force,—like the fallen spirit of 'first time,' who

> Like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,
> Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
> He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd
> His heart, not else dismayed.——

The price of her humiliation will be the Rhenish provinces—(which King Frederic would, doubtless, willingly exchange for country more proximate to his hereditary dominions), and Egypt and the carrying trade of the Levant and the Black Sea. The

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The Greeks and the Asiatic traffickers in this business, will be, by far, over-matched by the more experienced seamen of Marseilles—and the ports of France. Our Gallican neighbour, therefore, has an incentive to action in this line—and as selfishness works similarly with nations as with individuals—we need scarcely hesitate in concluding, that she is bound to the Northern Autocrat by inclination—if not by secret compact.

Speaking of the treaty of Adrianople, the journal with which we have headed this article—contains the following observations:—

'On verra de quelle paix on s'est vanté; si résigné qu'on soit, on en sentira l'affront; si courte qu'on a la vue, on entreverra les brages. En effet, est-ce bien une paix qu'un traité qui détruit un empire, le livre tout entier à la merci d'un autre, ou le condamne à périr dans les horreurs de l'anarchie, et de la guerre civile? Est-ce une paix qu'un traité qui abaisse le commerce de toutes les nations devant le caprice d'une seule et jette ainsi des semences de querelle où elles n'étaient pas hier? Car hier, nous tous, peuples continentaux, nous avions le passage du Bosphore libre; et d'aujourd'hui nous ne l'avons plus que sous condition de bonne amitié avec la Russie? Est-ce une paix, enfin, qu'un traité qui frappe l'Angleterre au cœur, l'attaquant à la fois dans l'Inde et dans la Méditerranée? et qui borne l'Autriche vers l'Orient, en fortifiant la Servie, affranchissant les principautés, assurant la Grèce, et réunissant ainsi toutes les races Slaves sous la protection d'une puissance de même origine et de même religion?

'Voilà pourtant les consequences éclatantes du traité d'Adrianople, sans compter ses autres conditions non moins fecondes en désordre; ici des indemnités impossibles à payer par un prince sans trésor, qui a fondu jusqu' à sa vaisselle et aux bijoux de ses femmes, sans ressources de tributs, puisqu'il n'a plus d'armée; ailleurs l'appel à l'émigration fait à toutes les races dissidentes de la race ottomane, et l'isolement de trois millions de Turcs, seule population vraimant pure, au milieu de huît millions de Grees, de Juifs, d'Arminiens, de Bulgares, toutes hordes qu'on élève à légalité avec leurs maitrés, sous l'abri des camps russes, et qu'on encourage à la révolte, en leur montrant la frontière comme asyle en cas de défaite. Certainement notre intention n'est pas de nous appitoyer sur le sort de Mahmoud et des Turcs, ni d'envier à la civilisation chrétienne une terre où elle rentre victorieuse; mais il est permis du moins de s'étonnerque le grand seigneur diplomate qui à etudié à Londres n'ait pas été mieux instruit de l'état du pays qu'il entreprenait de sauver avec son ami Wellington; il est permis de s'étonner qu'avant de prendre rôle on n'ait pas même prévu des chances qui sautent aux yeux de tous. Et si on les à prévues, à quel dégré donc d'humiliation les plénipotentiaires anglais et français ont-ils été réduits! Tout s'est 'fait *à leur barbe*, comme on l'a dit avec une énergique trivialité, sous l'ordre du général russe, et par le ministère des envoyés de Prusse et des Pays-Bas

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Pays-Bas, deux puissances alliées de la Russie, traitant et travaillant pour lui, qui la servaient auprès de Mahmoud en Orient, et l'assuraient contre l'Autriche et contre la France en Occident. Aussi voyez comme le bon sens à saisi vite a ridicule et cette lâcheté. A Londres, il n'y a qu'un cri: C'est vous qui avez perdu notre vieil allié du Bosphore, dit-on à Milord Duc; et sur le continent la diplomatie, ennemie de l'Angleterre, la prouve avec des arguments d'une logique irrésistible, et d'une amère ironie.'

Certainly such a cry of dismay, as the Globe mentions, was raised by the Ultra Tory party of England—though, strange to say, the Whigs and Liberals of the day applauded and sang exultant pæans to the measure. Absurd contradiction and a want of uniformity in conduct and opinion have not unfrequently been characteristic of the latter parties—whereas the former have certainly the merit of consistency, however erroneous may be their principles of action. This confession will, perhaps, be recognised as proceeding from the old leaven of bigotry,—no matter—and let it pass. But to return to the '*Io triumphes*' and jubilations of the Liberals,—we would ask, how came they to manifest their satisfaction at measures, which can only tend to spread more widely, and in closer approximation with the condition of Western Europe—the reign of absolutism? Is not this in contradiction and to the utter confusion of the very first axiom of their political faith—the levelling of sovereigns and the upraising of the majesty of the people? Better, say they, exchange a Tartar or Barbarian sway, for an European protection. Better, say we, a Tartar or Barbarian sway, than the yoke of Russia, if it were only for the clipping and curtailing, and paring down the lion-claws, and breaking out the strong teeth of absolutism. With the possession of European Turkey and the Asiatic borders of the Black Sea,—with the enjoyment of its commerce, and Greece, and the passage of the Bosphorus, and the lordship of the thousand Islands of the Archipelago—is not Russia likely to become more formidable than if she had been confined within her ancient boundaries? How many more states will she not now, by the extension of her capacities, dictate to, command, over-bear, over-reach, possess, and destroy? However,—regret is vain; the Treaty of Adrianople has been signed and perfected, and Mahmoud is now a vassal of the house of Romanoff. France, doubtless, might have saved him by her remonstrances and opposition, had she been under the guidance of an able administration. But she was cursed with vacillating councils and undecided leaders, who were quarrelling among themselves for pre-eminence, while the administration of England was too fully occupied by the troubles and anxieties of our home

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home policy, in the conciliation of animosities, and in organizing and strengthening its own ranks. And so Turkey fell, contrary to all human belief, and all human and blind prophecy. And to add to her dishonour, the disgrace of her fall was aggravated by her rank cowardice, and her cold-blooded treachery to herself. The malison of our own Richard Crook-back, and in his own words, were no unfitting judgment for that crime which has thus laid her prostrate.

'Then let *her* sink, and be the seas on her—
White-livered renegade!'—

It will, however, be some time forced on the consideration of England, what, in all probability, will be the ultimate fate of Turkey? And as diplomacy is now reduced from what it heretofore was, a game of chance—and may, with some truth, be assimilated to a well appointed and patent machine; the settlement of all doubtful points will not require any very long-headed *Talleyrand*, when a Congress shall be called,—the necessity for such a meeting daily becoming more obvious and more urgent.

The extract, which we have given from the Globe, contains many truths, in which we heartily concur, though it slurs over, as is very natural for a native writer, that undercurrent of French predilection, which we call subserviency to Russia. There is no doubt that the greater portion of the people will deprecate the existence of the fact, but this is no reason why there is less likelihood for its existence. And France, in this, is only conforming to what is notoriously the order of nature, that is, the rule of gravitation. The greater body is attracting, and will, if not timously prevented, absorb the lesser. Would our readers enquire how the prevention may be induced?—the question is capable of easy solution—the close co-operation of Great Britain and France.

The settlement of the French ministry has been very opportune for a right understanding between the two neighbouring countries. Prince Polignac has, by a recent fiat of the king, been appointed President of the Council—that is, he is virtually the Prime Minister of France. M. de la Bourdonnaye, who was his active opponent, has been dismissed from his employment, with certain titular honours, indeed; though, we fancy, they will yield him little satisfaction. By the dismissal of this gentleman, the ministry have lost, it is said, upwards of forty members—a serious diminution of a body, which, so far from requiring a lowering of the system, absolutely stood in need of an infusion of fresh blood. The minister, then, is in a considerable minority: to obviate the evils of this minority will be no easy

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easy task. He must either take a portion of the liberals into power, or dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and appeal to the electors for assistance in his extremity. The Liberals, however, will, *primâ facie*, be very loth to grant aid to the minister; and this refusal will proceed from a persuasion, that the country is too *liberalized* to assist an absolutist and a congregationalist; the Associations of Britany and other places, together with that of Paris, having been a true and certain indication of public opinion. The Liberals, of which the Globe is a respectable mouth-piece, thus expressed themselves on the announcement of the new ministry.

'Quelle était notre simplicité! où nous égarait le besoin d'espérer, l'ennui de soupçonner, la crainte de haïr! avions nous oublié, qu'il est un lieu où la raison est sans voix, l'évidence sans clarté, la nécessité sans empire; un lieu où dominent le caprice et la prévention, l'entêtement et l'étourderie; un lieu où ne sont écoutées ni comprises les leçons les plus frappantes et les plus dures; un lieu où l'histoire nous dit que se sont décidés tant de fois, entre les courtisans et les soupers, entre la chasse et le confessional, des coups d'état qui agitent les nations et emportent les dynasties? Ce lieu, c'est la cour. De là vient en effet, et de là seulement, le ministère nouveau. L'intrigue l'a préparé, le bon plaisir l'a formé. Son avènement sépare la France en deux: la cour d'un côté, et de l'autre, la nation.

'Laissons le passé, l'avenir est trop sérieux. Cette fois, nul ne peut s'y méprendre, et la destinée du nouveau ministère n'échappe à personne. On dit souvent à la naissance d'une nouvelle administration qu'on attend ses œuvres pour la juger: c'est une politesse qui donne un air d'impartialité. Mais ici la réserve serait pure duperie, et le nom des ministres dispense chacun d'attendre l'expérience pour savoir que penser de leur gouvernement. Et plût au ciel que nous pussions l'ajourner à jamais l'expérience, et les juger toujours par avance, et sur leur seule renommée!

Cette renommée suffit en effet pour nous apprendre que nous avons enfin un ministère de l'extrême droite, c'est-à-dire un ministère de congrégation et d'émigration. Elle nous apprend que les deux hommes regardés comme les chefs de l'absolutisme, l'un au nom du parti-prêtre, l'autre au nom de l'aristocratie de province, viennent d'être placés à la tête du gouvernement. Qu'est-il besoin d'en savoir davantage? Leur conduite future n'est-elle pas écrite dans leurs opinions passées? La France est rajeunie de quatorze ans: les souvenirs de 1815 peuvent servir de programme au gouvernement qui l'attend.

'MM. de Polignac et de Labourdonnaye sont en effet les deux hommes considérables du cabinet nouveau. Parmi leurs collègues, M. de Bourmont seul peut être remarqué. Le choix d'un tel ministre est insensé, s'il n'est pas le signe de quelque projet audacieux et secret. Chacun sait en effet quelle est la position désespérée de M. de

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de Bourmont. Il avait, il est vrai, une certaine réputation de capacité; mais sa conduite en Espagne l'a peu justifiée; et quand elle eût été un chef-d'œuvre de prudence et de talent, le choix d'un tel ministre serait toujours une déclaration de guerre à l'honneur de l'armée française.

'Il y a peu de chose à dire des trois autres. Car il ne faut pas compter M. de Rigny; on assure qu'il refusera: nous le croyons volontiers, la gloire du vainqueur de Navarin nous touche. Pour M. de Chabrol, qui n'a point remporté du victoire, il est plus libre de ses actions. Personne même ne songe à remarquer qu'il a jusqu'ici compté parmi les hommes du centre droit, et que son entrée dans ce ministère est un désertion. M. Courvoisier a bien été du centre gauche en 1820; mais depuis lors, il est tombé dans une dévotion qui doit être peu éclairée; et si les sentiments religieux sont en général une garantie d'honnêteté, ce qu'on appelle dévotion est incompatible avec le bon sens politique. Quant à M. de Montbel, c'est un homme ignorant; son mérite est de nous venir de Toulouse, et d'offrir à la cour comme un reflet de M. de Villèle. A la chambre il s'était fait la première année, on sait comment, une réputation qui s'est évanouie à la seconde. Le voilà chargé de l'instruction publique: nous verrons ce qu'il faut penser de ses réclamations en faveur de la liberté de l'enseignement.'

'Revenons donc à MM. de Polignac et de Labourdonnaye; c'est dans leurs mains que tombe le poids du gouvernement; ils représentent toute la politique du ministère. L'un est un homme de cour à qui la dévotion seule donne du sérieux. Sans cette dévotion, qui est fervente et pratiqué, ce ne sarait qu'un homme léger, de mœurs simples et d'une politesse froide. Long-temps étranger à la France, ce n'est ni à l'école des conspirations ni à l'école de la diplomatie qu'il a pu apprendre à la connaître. Il se croit constitutionnel, parcequ'il a vécu en Angleterre. Il se déclare l'ami de la liberté de la presse; mais il ignore quels embarras, quels tourments elle lui prépare, et c'est à l'épreuve seulement qu'on pourra juger de la solidité des sentiments qu'elle lui inspire. Adossé au duc de Wellington pour la politique étrangère, et à l'église pour la politique intérieure, il a de plus auprès du prince tout le crédit d'un favori. On doit donc le regarder comme le chef du cabinet, non par lui-même, mais par sa position.

'Celle de M. Labourdonnaye est différente. La France le connaît. C'est un de ces hommes marqués de souvenirs qui ne périssent pas. Dans sa conversation, il professe assez ouvertement, dit-on, que la force est tout le secret de la politique, et que la religion n'est qu'un moyen. Lui seul évidemment sera chargé de prêter du caractère au nouveau conseil. Sans M. de Labourdonnaye, le ministère serait ridicule; avec lui, il peut devenir redoutable.'

There is little conciliation in these passages from the Globe, and we are sorry that the spirit therein manifested is common among the Liberals of France. There is no doubt but that

country

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country is in imminent danger from opposing and conflicting currents of public opinion and undecided measures. The Liberals ought to concede something to their country, if not to their minister. They accuse him of being of the '*parti-prêtre.*' We can scarcely believe any minister in France so weakheaded as to allow an ascendancy to that faction; his downfall, we think, would be dated from that hour. But there is a vast difference between allowing supreme power to the Church, and upholding the Church. Surely the Liberals would not wish to destroy the Church; they would wish to have some distinguishing national church. Better to have some church, than no church. Let them, if they are blind enough, and will, call religion a prejudice;—still in all ages, and in all countries, it has been one of salutary efficacy. Better to do good by a popular error, than to destroy every link of society by the opposite truth, and reduce mankind to the dreadful expedient of self-defenee, by inducing them into the Millite principle of government,—that every man is a rogue. The excesses of the no-church principle were of manifold evidence during the dark days of the French Revolution. The efficacy of the some-church principle is shewn forth in the United States of America, according to the account of the Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who says, that the better portion of society throughout that extensive and youthful confederacy is gradually turning towards Episcopacy.

The conciliation of the Liberals would benefit the country and themselves; they might redeem, adjust, advance, and fix irrecoverably all popular rights; they might obtain that employment which is dear to every opposition; while the minister would gain the confidence of the country, and be enabled to move with unshackled hands. But then all good intentions will be neutralised without mutual confidence and co-operation. Let the aristocracy of the provinces and the parti-prêtre form an opposition, if they please,—they will effect nothing. And while they are fretting amidst their ineffectual efforts to excite trouble and commotion, the Prime Minister, who, by his residence in this country, knows full well the state of public feeling on this side the channel—and that the true interest of England and France, as far as foreign policy is concerned, is one and undivided—may confer some real and lasting benefit on his monarch.

It will be said that Prince Polignac is too decidedly a second-rate personage, in point of talent to be raised to the helm of state. To this we have a brief reply. Second-rate men have always been, and will always be, the very best helmsmen for the rudder of

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of government, provided they have influence sufficient to gain the assistance of men of first rate and undoubted talent. This is observable in ancient Greece and in ancient Rome, and during the period of the Cæsarian sway in Italy and of the Autocrats of the Lower Empire. This is observable in all times and in all countries. Witness the administration of Lord Liverpool, amongst ourselves. Men of first class energy and capability are too obstinate in their own opinion, and seldom condescend to listen to the advice or contradictory opinions of their co-ministers. If they find these last too troublesome they remove them, and supply the vacancies with creatures of their own. The consequence is, that the intellect of one governs the state, and that state, not unfrequently, is drifted amidst shoals and breakers, and eventually suffers shipwreck. Have we not an exemplification of this during the times of Cardinal Mazarin?

There is, too, a vast difference between the internal political condition of this country and that of France; and, in this respect, the latter nation ought in no wise to take example from us. Our liberties, and our constitution, and our mixed government, are too old and too well distinguished, to require measures of the kind with those which we have been speaking of in respect to France. All intermixture of parties in this country has ended miserably. A century hence it may be so with France; but her Charter is yet in its infancy. Nations must go through the different grades of radicalism and whiggism, before they arrive at the stage when wholesome toryism can exist as a well-organised and independent body; according to that principle of philosophy which says that, to arrive at a true belief, you must first proceed from total unbelief.

One word on M. de la Bourdonnaye, and we have done. It is well for France that he has been expelled her councils. Haughty and arrogant, and overbearing and violent—a man who has shifted opinions to gain preeminence,—who appears not to have a spark of feeling in his composition,—and who has, on every occasion, comported himself with outrage, and violence, and insult, he would have only proved an inextinguishable firebrand in the councils of the King. As he is no longer of the ministry, perhaps the expulsion will extend to his minion, the Prefect Mangin, and then we shall hear of fewer prosecutions for libel, a frightful list of which we have perceived in a very recent number of the 'Journal des Débats.'—Where the slightest vestige of public feedom is discernible, there ought to be tolerated the Liberty of the Press.

ART. IV.

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ART. IV.—*Magister Vacarius, primus Juris Romani in Anglia Professor, ex Annalium Monumentis et Opere accurate descripto illustratus, Juris Romani in Bononiensis Scholae Initiis Fortunam illustrans, Emendationem Interpretationem hodiernam juvans, studiis* Caroli Friderici Christiani Wenck, Jur. Doct. et Prof. Lips. Lipsiae, 1820, 8vo.

THE author of this volume is a man of great learning in his profession, and is no unworthy successor of Haubold. The university of Leipzig, in which he has the honour to fill a professor's chair, has long been distinguished as a school of jurisprudence; and as it has long been one of the first classical seminaries in Europe, the study of the civil law is here supported by all the collateral aid that is to be derived from ancient literature. Ernesti, a philologer and theologian, who had no small influence in forming the recent character of this university, was sufficiently aware of the importance of some knowledge of the Roman jurisprudence to a classical scholar: * he recommended the study by his precepts, as well as by his example; and the importance of classical learning to the civilian, was equally well understood by his contemporaries. Bachius, the learned author of the history of the Roman jurisprudence, was one of Ernesti's pupils; † and, from that period down to the present, the university of Leipzig has in general been adequately supplied with able professors and zealous students. With the eminent merits of Haubold we trust that few of our juridical readers are entirely unacquainted. He was a man of solid abilities, and of a correct judgment; and as he exercised the most unwearied industry, he had acquired a consummate knowledge, not only of the doctrines, but likewise of the literature of the law; in this latter department it may indeed be affirmed, without much hazard of contradiction, that he had

* "Neque enim ignorabat, quam multa essent in libris Latinis, quae sine juris illius scientia satis intelligi et explicari non possent." (Ernesti Narratio de J. M. Gesnero: Opuscula Oratoria, p. 327. Lugd. Bat. 1762, 8vo.) In another of his works, Ernesti has formed a very high estimate of the qualifications requisite in a lawyer, "si quis juris consulti perfecti formam exprimere velit." (Opusculorum Oratoriorum novum volumen, p. 74. Lipsiae, 1791, 8vo.)

† One of his learned labours was an edition of some of the works of Xenophon. Ξενοφωντος τινα. Xenophontis Oeconomicus, Apologia Socratis, Symposium, Hiero, Agesilaus, cum animadversionibus Jo. Augusti Bachii. Lipsiae, 1749, 8vo. To this volume he has prefixed a critical epistle of his learned preceptor, "Jo. Augusti Ernesti Epistola ad Jo. Augustum Bachium de Xenophonteis Locis nonnullis," which concludes in the following manner: "Nihil jam amplius restat, quam ut tibi, doctissime Bachi, specimen hoc egregiae eruditionis Graecae gratuler, optemque ut et hujus et reliquae tuae elegantissimae doctrinae dignos et copiosos fructus capias, tuique ingenii, quod in te cognovi rarae felicitatis atque elegantiae, lumen clarius indies eluceat. Ita vale, et amorem in me tuum mihi perpetue conserva."

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no rival, and has found no successor. As he generally writes in the Latin language, his works are sufficiently accessible to the students of our own country. On all occasions, he is a most learned and useful guide; and even where he exhibits a mere outline, his writings are highly valuable on account of the judgment and accuracy with which he refers to all the best authorities on each subject that occurs. If the study of the civil law should begin to revive in England, the works of Haubold will there be held in due estimation. This lamented individual died in the year 1824, and in his academical office was succeeded by his pupil Dr. Wenck, who is already well known to the civilians of the continent, and who, we trust, is destined to accomplish still more important undertakings.

The volume now before us is a striking specimen of his learning and industry. Such a book could only have proceeded from a German university: such is the proficiency, and such the assiduity of the German civilians, that they are capable of deriving instruction or of finding entertainment where those of most other nations could perceive nothing but a barren waste. The author has furnished us with a curious contribution to the literary history of England; and Magister Vacarius ought at least to find a place in all the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.

The name of Vacarius is not unknown to those who are acquainted with the writings of Selden and Duck; and his services are stated in the following manner by an author of considerable note, Dr. Hurd, the late bishop of Worcester.

"Matters continued on this footing during the three first of the Norman reigns. The prince did his utmost to elude the authority of the English laws; and the nation, on the other hand, laboured hard to confirm it. But a new scene was opened under King Stephen, by means of the Justinian laws; which had lately been recovered in Italy, and became at once the fashionable study over all Europe. It is certain that the Pandects were first brought amongst us in that reign; and that the reading of them was much favoured by Archbishop Theobald, under whose encouragement they were publicly read in England by Vacarius, within a short time after the famous Irnerius had opened his school at Bologna. There is something singular in the readiness with which this new system of law was embraced in these western parts of Europe.*...Vacarius had continued to

* This remark is evidently founded on the current story of the sudden resuscitation of the Roman law after the siege of Amalfi; and we shall add another specimen of the inferences which have been so plentifully drawn from a very dubious fact. "All the world knows," says Lord Kames, "that the Roman law, after being buried in oblivion for ages, came to be restored in Italy by an accident. The very books of that law were understood to be lost past recovery, till a copy of the Pandects was found in the town of Amalphi

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to teach it for some time, in the archbishop's palace at Lambeth,* to great numbers, whom first the novelty of the study, and then the fashion of the age, had drawn about him. The fame of the teacher was high, and the new science had made a great progress, when on a sudden it received a severe check, and from a quarter whence one should not naturally expect it. In short, the king himself interdicted the study of it. Some have imagined that this inhibition was owing to the spite he bore to Archbishop Theobald. But the truer reason seems to be, that the canon law was first read by Vacarius at the same time, and under colour of the imperial. I think we may collect thus much very clearly from John of Salisbury, who acquaints us with this edict. For he considers it as an offence against the church, and expressly calls the prohibition an impiety."†

Of this early professor of the civil law, a very curious notice occurs in an ancient Norman chronicle, published by Duchesne.

"Obiit Bechardus, VI. Abbas Becci, cui successit Rogerius Magister Vuacarius gente Longobardus, vir honestus et jurisperitus, cum leges Romanas anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXLIX. in Anglia discipulos doceret, et multi tam divites quam pauperes ad eum causa discendi confluerent. Suggestione pauperum de Codice et Digesta exceptos IX. libros composuit, qui sufficiunt ad omnes legum lites que in scolis frequentari solent decidendas, si quis eas perfecte noverit." ‡

Selden has shewn that the name of the sixth abbot of Bec was not Bechardus, but Lethardus; § and in a manuscript, the one name might easily be mistaken for the other. But this very learned man did not perceive that the sense of the passage is completely obscured by the punctuation. We readily accede to the opinion of Wenck, for which he is partly indebted to Dr. Duck,‖ that the subsequent words form the first sentence,

Amalphi *anno* 1127, by Lotharius the emperor when he took that town, in the war he carried on against Rodger king of Sicily and Naples. The knowledge of it increased so fast, that it was taught publicly by Vacarius at Oxford about the year 1150, during the reign of King Stephen. This was as swift a progress as any science can be supposed to make." (Essays upon several Subjects concerning British Antiquities, p. 15. Edinb. 1747, 8vo.) In the date of this grand discovery there seems to be an error of ten years, for the siege of Amalfi is commonly referred to the year 1137. See however Brenkmanni Historia Pandectarum, p. 25. 43.

* Vacarius, as the reader will afterwards perceive, did not teach the civil law in the palace of Lambeth, but in the university of Oxford.

† Hurd's Moral and Political Dialogues, vol. ii. p. 178. 6th edit. Lond. 1788, 3 vols. 8vo.—See likewise Dr. Sullivan's Lectures on the Feudal and English Laws, p. 199. Lond. 1772, 4to.

‡ Historiae Normannorum Scriptores antiqui, edidit And. Duchesne, p. 983. Lut. Paris. 1619, fol.

§ Seldeni Dissertatio historica ad Fletam, cap. vii.

‖ Duck de Usu et Authoritate Juris Civilis, f. 139.—See likewise Asti dell' Uso e Autorita della Ragion Civile nelle Provincie dell' Imperio Occidentale, tom. i. p. 174. and Sarti de claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus, p. 49. 54. 57. Bononiae, 1769, fol. This publication of Sarti, a work of uncommon research, did not extend beyond the first volume.

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which is thus complete in itself: "Obiit Lethardus, VI. Abbas Becci, cui successit Rogerius." The remainder of the passage here quoted forms another sentence; and after the word *confluerent* we must place a comma, instead of a period. The expression, "cum leges Romanas," &c. is manifestly a preparative for some other statement:—when Vacarius read public lectures on the Roman law, and was attended by many students, poor as well as rich, he composed at the suggestion of the poor, that is, the poorer class of his own pupils, a compendious treatise in nine books, extracted from the Code and Pandects. At that period, books were commodities of a very high price, and it required an ample fortune to procure even a small library: the invention of printing had not rendered books common and cheap by multiplying copies in an easy and rapid manner; nor could any considerable collection of manuscripts be formed without great expense or great labour. A private scholar with a very slender income may now collect a library, of which an abbot or even an archbishop could not then hope to rival the extent. Vacarius must therefore have performed a very acceptable service by providing those students, who could not afford to purchase copies of the Code and Pandects, with a short view of the leading doctrines which they contain. The grammar and sense of the passage are thus clear and consistent. Such an unprecedented combination of name and title as Rogerius Magister Vacarius, ought to have convinced Selden that the passage was completely mangled. He has first of all confounded Vacarius with Roger the seventh abbot of Bec; who was a person of so much consideration, that after the death of Theobald, he had it in his power to decline the splendid offer of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Having thus transformed the abbot into an Italian civilian, his next step is to identify him with Rogerius Beneventanus, author of a *Summa Codicis*, a treatise *De Praescriptionibus*, and of a work, which in our time is much better known, *De Dissensionibus Dominorum*.* But this one individual must again be resolved into three. It is a very material fact, and sufficiently ascertained, that the name of the abbot was Roger de Bailleul; a name which clearly indicates a French lineage. If this ecclesiastic was a Frenchman, he could not be the same individual with Vacarius, who was an Italian; and when the civilian is thus deprived of the name of Rogerius, he cannot be identified with Rogerius Beneventanus.

* Rogerii Beneventani de Dissensionibus Dominorum, sive de Controversiis veterium Juris Romani Interpretum, qui Glossatores vocantur, Opusculum: emendatius edidit, et animadversionibus atque adcessionibus locupletavit D. Christianus Gottlieb Haubold, &c. Lipsiae, 1821, 8vo.

Another

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Another important contribution to the history of Vacarius we find in Gervase of Canterbury's lives of the archbishops of that see.

"Theodbaldus ad Romanum pontificem pro pallio profectus est. Quo suscepto a Romano pontifice Innocentio secundo, Theodbaldus in Angliam rediit, et a Cantauritis honorifice susceptus est. Erat autem in diebus istis apostolicae sedis legatus Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, qui erat frater regis. Hic cum de jure legati licet privilegium suum plus quam deceret extenderet in immensum, suumque archiepiscopum et episcopos Angliae, ut sibi occurrerent, quolibet evocaret, indignatus Theodbaldus, et Thomae clerici Londoniensis industria fretus, egit apud Celestinum papam, qui Innocentio successit, ut amoto Henrico Theodbaldus in Anglia legatione fungeretur. Oriuntur hinc inde discordiae graves, lites et appellationes antea inauditae. Tunc leges et causidici in Angliam primo vocati sunt, quorum primus erat Magister Vacarius. Hic in Oxonefordia legem docuit: apud Romam Magister Gracianus et Alexander, qui et Rodlandus, in proximo papa futurus, canones compilavit."*

The Thomas here mentioned as a clerk of London, was Thomas Becket, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; who was a skilful lawyer, and a doctor of laws of the university of Oxford.† The testimony of this ancient biographer is important, as it ascertains the connexion of Vacarius with the same university; for the Norman chronicle only informs us that he taught the Roman law in England.

John of Salisbury, a remarkable writer for the age in which he lived,‡ has likewise furnished us with a short but valuable notice of Vacarius.

"Tempore regis Stephani a regno jussae sunt leges Romanae, quas in Britanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi, Britanniarum primatis, asciverat. Ne quis etiam libros retineret, edicto regio prohibitum est, et Vacario nostro indictum silentium: sed Deo faciente, eo magis virtus legis invaluit, quo eam amplius nitebatur impietas infirmare."§

Bishop Hurd, as we have already seen, supposes the study of the Roman law to have been prohibited, because "the canon law was first read by Vacarius at the same time, and under colour of the imperial." He afterwards subjoins, "It is true, the Decretals of Gratian were not yet published. But Ivo had

* Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X. p. 1665. Lond. 1652, fol.

† One of his biographers has stated that "for the decydiug of weighty causes and instructing of the people, hee gaue himselfe to the study of the ciuil and cannon lawe." (The Life or the Ecclesiasticall Historie of S. Thomas, Archbishope of Canterbvry, p. 4. Colloniæ, 1639, 8vo.)

‡ See Harris's Philosophical Arrangements, p. 457.

§ Joannes Sarisberiensis de Nugis Curialium, lib. viii. cap. xxii. p. 672. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1639, 8vo.

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made a collection of them in the reign of Henry I.; and we may be sure that some code of this sort would privately go about amongst the clergy, from what was before observed of the pains taken by Innocent II. to propagate the Decretals." In describing the compilation of Gratian as the Decretals, this learned prelate is chargeable with considerable inaccuracy; it has long been currently known by the title of *Decretum*, but is better described as "Decretorum Collectanea."* According to the common account, it was compiled in the year 1151: this may indeed have been the period of its completion, but it evidently was not the labour of a single year.† The decretals of the popes, as every tyro in the canon law is sufficiently aware, are entirely distinct from the *Decretum* of Gratian. And here we are tempted to hazard a remark, which may not perhaps be much relished by certain readers; namely, that some knowledge of the canon law, at least of its history and external form, is of no small consequence to those who wish to understand the history and literature of the early ages. This remark we shall endeavour to confirm by a particular example. Sir David Lindsay, a famous Scotish poet, makes the subsequent allusion to the inordinate pretensions of the pope:—

> His style at lenth gif thow wald knaw,
> Thow moste ga luke the cannon law:
> Baith in the Sext and Clementene
> His staitlie thair may be sene.‡

His editor, Mr. George Chalmers, who was guilty of a radical error when he supposed himself to be a man of learning, has subjoined the following annotation:—"The allusion is to the works of Pomponius Sextus, the great jurist of the third century." It is first to be remarked that Pomponius did not flourish in the third, but in the second century; § but if this "great jurist," of whom he speaks so familiarly, had actually written in the third century, how could he have illustrated the

* It is sufficiently evident that the word *Decretum*, in the singular number, is improperly used to signify a collection of decrees; and it is remarked by the learned archbishop of Tarragona, "in nullo fere veteri libro Gratiani eam inscriptionem extare, sed hanc, *Concordia discordantium Canonum.*" (Ant. Augustinus de Emendatione Gratiani, p. 3. edit. Mastricht. Duisb. ad Rhen. 1677, 8vo.)

† Doujat, Histoire du Droit Canonique, p. 92. Paris, 1677, 12mo. Mastricht, Historia Juris Ecclesiastici et Pontificii, p. 328. Amst. 1686, 8vo.—Cardinal Bellarmin has endeavoured to reconcile conflicting authorities, by supposing that Gratian commenced the Decretum in 1127, and completed it in 1151, thus allowing a period of twenty-four years for its composition. (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 187. edit. Colon. 1684, 4to.)

‡ Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 89.

§ Guil. Grotii Vitae Jurisconsultorum, p. 150. Bachii Hist. Jurisprudentiae Romanae, p. 477.

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temporal power and splendour of the pope, before Christianity was established in the Roman empire? The *Sext* to which Lindsay refers is a particular portion of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The Decretals of Gregory the Ninth are followed by "Liber *sextus* Decretalium," which, notwithstanding the general title, is subdivided into five books; and this collection again is followed by the *Clementinae*, or constitutions of Clement the Fifth, divided in the same manner.

We return from this digression, in order to remark that the opinion of Bishop Hurd appears less probable than that of Dr. Wenck; who supposes Vacarius to have read no lectures on the canon law, but only to have borrowed from it some illustrations for his lectures on the civil law.

"Quum enim legum Romanarum, quibus clerus utebatur, pontifices se quasi amplificatores emendatoresque jactitarent, verisimillimum est, eam in terram, in quam jus Romanum clerici transferrent, fuisse illos etiam quicquid ecclesiasticae sanctionis reperire potuerint, allaturos. Itaque non modo Theobaldum ejusque asseclas simul cum jure Justinianeo Canonum et Decretalium Collectiones, quarum plures ante Gratianum exstiterant, præsertim Ivonem, Angliae intulisse conjicio, sed etiam Gratiani opus vix absolutum in Britanniam migrasse pro certo affirmo. Possem in ipsis Gervasii verbis aliquid praesidii quaerere, qui mihi videtur non sine ratione a Vacario et legibus transire statim ad Gratianum. Sed gravius est, quod in Glossis ipsi Vacarii operi adjectis, maximamque partem in schola Vacarii ortis (qua de re dicetur inferiu) Decretum Gratiani aliquoties citatur, quodque omnino constat, antequam exiret seculum duodecimum, utriusque juris volumina crebro esse in Anglia descripta. Promiscue igitur juris utriusque libros in Angliam tunc auctore ac suasore Theobaldo delatos esse non dubito; neque tamen mihi persuadeo, Vacarium canones et Gratianum aut Ivonem praeter mentionem, in illustrando jure civili necessariam, peculiaribus scholis illustrasse, quod alii fortasse post eum advenae fecerunt. Qua in re non modo consentientibus Chronici, Gervasii (qui praesertim *legem* singulari numero docuisse Vacarium tradit) et Sarisberiensis verbis inhaereo, sed ipso Vacarii opere nitor, e solis iisdemque limpidissimis juris Romani fontibus deducto."—P. 25.

The learned professor has collected other notices of Vacarius, and has corrected the errors of many previous writers; and, with reference to a subject of this nature, his work may be considered as a model of patient and accurate research. He has however left a scanty gleaning for Savigny.* Having completed his elaborate account of the author, he proceeds to describe the work which Vacarius compiled for the use of the poor

* Savigny's Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, Bd. iv. S. 350.—Of the English translation to which we formerly alluded, the first volume has now made its appearance,

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poor students of Oxford; and in this part of his task, Wenck had not been anticipated by any other writer. Of this epitome he mentions four different manuscripts: the first belonged to Antonio Agustin, the illustrious archbishop of Tarragona;* the second was in the library of the monastery of Bec; the third is at present in the library of the chapter at Prague; and the fourth belongs to the professor himself. He likewise refers to a mutilated copy in the public library at Könisberg, and of which a particular description has been given by Dr. Dirksen, an eminent civilian of that university.† It may not be improper to add, that several copies of the same epitome have more recently been discovered by Dr. Hänel, in his very extensive researches in the libraries of the continent. Wenck's manuscript is a small folio, written on vellum; and, according to his conjecture, it cannot be referred to a period more recent than the thirteenth century. Each page is divided into two columns; copious glosses, both interlinear and marginal, are added in a very small hand. The general doctrines of the law are embodied in the text, while the illustrations are consigned to the margin. Various glosses appear to have been added to those of the author himself. As a specimen of the performance, Wenck has inserted the prologue, which extends to a considerable length, including digested extracts from the constitution prefixed to the Code, "De Justinianeo Codice confirmando," and from the title "De veteri Jure enucleando," as well as from the titles of the Pandects, "De Justitia et Jure," and "De Origine Juris."—"Quem quidem prologum," he remarks, "tanto libentius nunc exhibeo, quanto firmius ex eo apparet, Vacarium et honestissimae voluntatis hominem, et pro aetatis suae conditione, minime infacundum, sed Latini sermonis satis gnarum fuisse." P. 65. To this extract he has subjoined a copious and elaborate description of the work, together with an able estimate of its critical and historical value. Of the nine books of Vacarius, consisting of 485 chapters, he afterwards exhibits all the rubrics, and illustrates them with copious annotations.

The academical study of the civil law seems thus to have commenced in England under auspices sufficiently favourable.

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appearance, under the title of "The History of the Roman Law during the Middle Ages: translated from the original German of Carl von Savigny, by E. Cathcart, [LL.D. Advocate]." Edinb. 1829, 8vo. The translator has executed his task in such a manner, that it is earnestly to be wished he may be induced to complete his version of a work which exhibits a remarkable union of talent and research. In the progress of his undertaking, he has been aided by the advice of the very distinguished author, and has even received from him various emendations of the original text.

* See Gebaveri Narratio de Henrico Brenkmanno, p. 197. Gottingae, 1764, 4to.

† Dirksen's Civilistische Abhandlungen, Bd. i. S. 319. Berlin, 1820, 2 Bde. 8vo.

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That it made some progress at this early period, is sufficiently apparent from the treatise on the laws and customs of England, which is commonly ascribed to Ranulph Glanville, chief justice during the reign of Henry the Second. Sir Matthew Hale has remarked, that although it perhaps was not written by him, yet it seems to have been wholly written at that time.* According to the title of the book, it was composed in the time of Henry the Second, "justiciae gubernacula tenente illustri viro Ranulpho de Glanvilla;" an inscription which by no means describes the chief justice as the author. From these words, says Lord Lyttelton, I infer that the book was not written by Glanville himself, "but by some clergyman, under his direction and care; I say clergyman, because it is written in Latin, which could hardly be done by a layman of that age†." This treatise, to whatever author it may be ascribed, is the most ancient book now extant on the law of England. It is not without considerable obligations to the civil law; and the beginning of the prologue is little more than a transcript from the Proemium of Justinian's Institutes. For the benefit of those readers who are not very familiar with either treatise, we shall here insert the parallel passages.

"Imperatoriam Majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus, et bellorum et pacis, recte possit gubernari, et Princeps Romanus victor existat non solum in hostilibus praeliis, sed etiam per legitimos tramites calumniantium iniquitates expellens, et fiat tam juris religiosissimus, quam victis hostibus triumphator."

"Regiam Potestatem non solum armis contra rebelles, et gentes sibi regnoque insurgentes, oportet esse decoratam, sed et legibus, ad subditos et populos pacifice regendos, decet esse ornatam, ut utraque tempora, pacis et belli, gloriosus Rex noster ita feliciter transigat, ut effrenatorum et indomitorum dextra fortitudinis elidendo superbiam, et humilium et mansuetorum equitatis virga moderando justitiam, tam in hostibus debellandis semper victoriosus existat, quam in subditis tractandis aequalis jugiter appareat ‡."

Glanville has servilely copied Justinian, and the author of

* Hale's Hist. of the Common Law of England, p. 138.

† Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 267.

‡ Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliae, tempore Regis Henrici Secundi compositus, Justiciae Gubernacula tenente illustri viro Ranulpho de Glanvilla, juris regni et antiquarum consuetudinum eo tempore peritissimo. Londini, in aedibus Richardi Totteli, 8vo.—Glanville, Regiam Majestatem, and Fleta may be found in Houard's *Traités sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes.* Paris, 1776, 4 tom. 4to.

Fleta

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Fleta has servilely copied Glanville *. It is well known that the treatise ascribed to the chief justice was at a very early period adopted in Scotland, with a few changes and modifications; and that, under this new form, it bears the title of *Regiam Majestatem*, from the initial words of the prologue. Having incidentally referred to the history of Scotish jurisprudence, we are induced to transcribe a very curious preamble, which is to be found prefixed to different collections of ancient laws. It is manifestly destitute of all authentic information, but it affords an amusing proof of the admiration in which the civil law was then held: from the story of the famous embassy to Greece, as preparatory to the compilation of the twelve Tables, this old Scotish writer has fabricated a more complicated story of twenty-four barons travelling in pairs, and collecting the laws of all Christian countries.

"Because thar wes in that tyme sa mony sundry maner of men in Scotland, of divers naciouns, and divers conditions, the quilks held ilkan sundry maner of lauwis and consuetuds, that na man stud aw off an uther; and that tyme wes the noble abbay of Dunfermlyn be the said Saint Davy fundit and byggit in the honour of St. Mergarite his moder; in the quilk tym he mad mony castell, and abbays, and chanounryis, with sundry nouneris, and mayson Dieuwis†, that is to say, almis housses, in the honour of God and our Lady suet Saint Mary, and began throw a visioun he met in his slep at Dunfermlyn; than send he efter his baronnis, and chesit out xxiiii. of the wissast and most hable men to ..., and gert tham be sworn, that thay suld passe twa and twa in company togidder over all Cristyin kynriks, and wryt up all the lauwis of ilke land, bath in burcht and in land, and geff tham twa yers space to do this, and cum again til hym; and quhen thay come agayn, thay fand the kyng at the New-castale upon Tyne, makand and biggand the castalle, and uthir syndry abbays of blak monks and of quhyt, and of quhyt chanounis, and nownerys, and maison Diewes; and thar he mad and stablest all his lauwis of Scotland, bath in bourch and in land, be hale assent of all his prelatis, lordis, baronis, burgisses, and commouns‡."

* Fleta, seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani, liber primus, antiqua Placita Coronae continens. Lond. 1735, fol. In Houard's edition of the entire work, consisting of six books, the prologue is omitted. Nor is Bracton without his obligations to Justinian. His treatise commences in the following manner: "In rege qui recte regit, necessaria sunt duo haec, arma videlicet et leges, quibus utrumque tempus, bellorum et pacis, recte possit gubernari." (Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae libri quinque. Londini, apud Richardum Tottellum, 1569, fol.)

† *Mayson Dieuwis* is evidently a corruption of *Maisons de Dieu*, signifying hospitals. The phrase occurs in other Scotish writers. In the Friers of Berwick, we meet with the following line:

The grit Croce kirk, and eik the Masondew.

‡ Halles's Examination of some of the Arguments for the high Antiquity of Regiam Majestatem, p. 31. Edinb. 1769, 4to.

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The influence of the Roman law on the law of England has been much more considerable than most lawyers are aware. Of the nature and extent of this influence, we cannot expect any sound estimate from individuals who are almost totally ignorant of the laws of every country but their own; and as with ignorance prejudice is apt to march hand in hand, we cannot expect such individuals to be very willing to admit the probability of this opinion, to which they are incapable of applying the proper test. We do not venture to interpose any decision of our own; but it may here be proper and seasonable to produce the opinion of several competent judges. "Inasmuch as the laws of all nations," said the lord chief justice Holt, "are doubtless raised out of the ruins of the civil law, as all governments are sprung out of the Roman empire, it must be owned that the principles of our law are borrowed from the civil law, and therefore grounded upon the same reason in many things *." A similar opinion is delivered by Dr. Wood, who was both a civilian and a common lawyer: "Upon a review, I think it may be maintained that a great part of the civil law is part of the law of England, and interwoven with it throughout †." According to Dr. Cowell, the common law of England is nothing else but a mixture of the feudal and the Roman law ‡. And in reference to the Pandects, Sir William Jones has hazarded the subsequent opinion: "With all its imperfections, it is a most valuable mine of judicial knowledge; it gives law at this hour to the greatest part of Europe, and, though few English lawyers dare make such an acknowledgment, it is the true source of nearly all our English laws that are not of a feudal origin §." Many other testimonies might easily be added; but we already seem entitled to conclude, that to an English lawyer some knowledge of the civil laws is by no means a superfluous or useless acquisition. Of this study we venture to extend our recommendation somewhat further than has been done by Roger North. "Besides history," he remarks, "there are other sorts of learning most reasonable for a lawyer to have some knowledge of, though even superficial, as of the civil law. A man of the law would not be willing to stand mute to the question, what is the difference

* Modern Reports, vol. xii. p. 482.

† Wood's Institute of the Civil Law, p. xi. edit. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

‡ Cowelli Institutiones Juris Anglicani, epist. ded. Cantab. 1605, 8vo.

§ See Lord Teignmouth's Memoirs of Sir William Jones, vol. ii. p. 168.—The reader may likewise consult the subsequent authorities. Duck de Authoritate Juris Civilis, lib. ii. cap. viii. Seldeni Dissertatio ad Fletam, cap. ix. Ayliffe's New Pandect of the Civil Law, p. 40. Lond. 1734, fol. Barrington's Observations on the Statutes, p. 76. Bever's Discourse on the Study of Jurisprudence and the Civil Law, pp. 25, 31. Oxford, 1766, 4to.

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between the civil and the common law, what is the imperial law, what the canon, what the Pandects, Codes, &c.? It is not at all needful to study questions in these laws; but the rise and progress of them in gross, is but a necessary knowledge, and so far taking up but little time, and had by mere inspection of some books, and perusing their introductions*." For this recommendation, faint as it certainly is, we are inclined to give the writer some degree of credit†. But of the importance of acquiring a knowledge of the civil law, a much higher estimate has been formed by several English lawyers of greater name; and at present we shall content ourselves with referring to the opinion and the example of Sir Matthew Hale. We are informed by his biographer, Bishop Burnet, that "he set himself much to the study of the Roman law, and though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries, much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge‡, yet he often said, that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the Digests, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England §."

Whatever opinion may be entertained by the common lawyers, there is in England one class of individuals who are more particularly bound to prosecute the study of the civil law. On them we usually bestow the appellation of civilians; and if we include all those who have taken a doctor's degree in this faculty, the class is sufficiently numerous. If we may rely on the authority of Dr. Bever, this happy country, which so seldom betrays the weakness of discovering its own deficiencies, "has never yet

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* North's Discourse on the Study of the Laws, p. 8. Lond. 1824, 8vo.

† Fulbeck is of opinion that "hee that frameth himselfe to the studie of the ciuil law, may very profitably imploy his paines in reading of the Code, Nouellaes, and Pandectes, which are necessary for the profession." After mentioning various writers, he passes a very high encomium on Gentilis. "And amonge these, yea aboue these, him whom I lately named, Albericus Gentilis, who by his great industrie hath quickned the dead bodie of the ciuill law written by the auncient ciuilians, and hath in his learned labours expressed the iudgement of a great state-man, the soundnesse of a deepe phylosopher, and the skil of a cunning ciuilian: learning in him hath shewed all her force, and he is therefore admirable, because he is absolute." (A Direction or Preparatiue to the Study of the Law, f. 26. b. Lond. 1620, 8vo.) See Foreign Review, vol. ii. p. 44; where the note relating to Gentilis is rendered almost unintelligible by the printer's omitting the mark of a quotation after the words, 'under the sanction of the university.' The extract from Stewart's Dissertation closes with these words, which are followed by a refutation of his statement.

‡ See however Dr. Pettingal's Enquiry into the Use and Practice of Juries among the Greeks and Romans. Lond. 1769, 4to. And on the same subject we have met with a more recent work, published under the following title: "De Judicio Juratorum apud Graecos et Romanos Dissertatio, auctore G. F. A. Comite a Blankensee, Jur. utr. Doctore." Goettingae, 1812, 4to.

§ Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 15. Lond. 1682, 8vo.

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failed to produce a succession of great and able civilians." He is however compelled to admit that those great and able civilians have not been much distinguished as authors; and his friendly, if not partial, commendation might therefore be more safely hazarded. "England," he is pleased to state, "though it has never yet failed to produce a succession of great and able civilians, who have done the highest honour to their profession, both as advocates and statesmen, has contributed but little to the cultivation and advancement of this branch of knowledge, by its writers. The truth is, the study of the Roman law has been so little countenanced by the public in general, that few men of learning have chosen to exercise their talents in a field, where the prospect either of reputation or riches is so very barren and unpromising."*—Great and able civilians? Aye, in the catalogue they go for such; but we entertain very strong doubts whether all those who pass for great civilians at Oxford or London, would likewise pass for great civilians at Göttingen or Berlin. Excellence is always comparative. In Lapland, he that attains the height of five feet eight inches, cannot fail to be regarded as a person of extraordinary stature; but if the same individual should emigrate to Britain, he would there find himself of a very common size.

Dr. Bever was himself a civilian by profession, and his judgment may therefore be suspected of partiality; but, at a more recent era, a common lawyer of no small note has honoured the advocates of Doctors' Commons with a very peculiar panegyric. The injudicious commendation of a friend is sometimes more injurious than the most malignant censure of an enemy; and we shall now endeavour to ascertain how far they may be supposed to derive any benefit from the commendation of Mr. Brougham. In a certain discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 29th of June, 1827, the honourable and learned gentleman is reported to have expressed himself to the following effect:—

"Before he sat down, there was one circumstance relating to the Cape of Good Hope, to which he thought it his duty to advert in a few words, and without at all meaning to convey any personal or particular application. It was understood that there was a little doubt prevailing in the minds of English barristers, in consequence of certain appointments in some of the colonial districts, and, amongst the rest, in the Cape of Good Hope, as to the propriety of sending out, as judges to the colonies, persons who were not English lawyers. He was one of those who would be extremely averse to such a practice. He thought it would not be safe to place in such

* Bever's Hist. of the Legal Polity of the Roman State, p. x.

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an office any man, who, though he might be acquainted with the civil law, was not well versed in the English law, and trained and habituated to the trial by jury, and the English law of evidence. He would be sorry to see any practice prevail contrary to this maxim. He was convinced that a knowledge of the civil law, upon which the Dutch law existing in some of the colonies was founded, would not be a sufficient qualification for the discharge of those important functions. But as to the civil law, there was no knowledge of it to be obtained in Scotland. It had been proved at the recent trial at Lancaster, that this was mere sham and farce. A young man about to be examined, had nothing to do but to go the evening before, and ask in what page he was to be questioned, and to prepare himself accordingly. It was therefore absurd to send judges from the Scotch bar. Let men be sent who were imbued with the principles of English law and trial by jury. If civil lawyers were required, let them be taken from Doctors Commons, but it was perfectly absurd to go to the Scotch bar to look for them."

Here, among other matters worthy of observation, we find an averment that in Scotland there is no knowledge of the civil law; and we are assured by this competent judge that "it has been proved at the recent trial at Lancaster, that this was mere sham and farce;" meaning and intending thereby, that knowledge of the civil law in Scotland was mere sham and farce. In this apposite and tasteful allusion to the trial at Lancaster, we discern some symptoms of exultation at the notable figure which, according to his own estimate, he there made as a civilian.* That the reader may enjoy the full benefit of his profound erudition in this new department, we shall quote a passage from the report of the trial to which he refers with so much satisfaction. His cross-examination of a Scotish advocate, cited on the part of Wakefield, proceeds in the following manner.

"You, of course, have passed your examination as a civil lawyer?—I have, but I cannot pretend to be very versant [conversant] in it.

"Are you not aware it is a principle in the civil law, that a contract is void *cui dolus dat locum*; that there is a principle in the civil law which voids a contract of that sort?—There is such a general principle.

"Are you not aware that there is also a praetorian edict, very well known in the civil law, 'Pacta conventa, quae neque dolo malo, neque adversus leges, neque quo fraus cui earum fiat, facta erunt, servabo?†

* Let us also listen to one of his admirers. "The very able cross-examination of the Scotch advocate, by Mr. Brougham, upon this part of the case, suggests considerations of the most vital importance, and will be read with the deepest interest." (Preface to the Trial of the Wakefields, p. xv.)

† This text is not quoted with sufficient accuracy. "Pacta conventa, quae neque dolo malo, neque adversus leges, plebiscita, senatusconsulta, edicta principum, neque quo fraus cui eorum fiat, facta erunt, servabo." (Digest. lib. ii. tit. xiv. fr. 7. § 7.)

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—I don't recollect the particular dictum, but I think there is a dictum to that effect.

"Are you not aware that by the civil law—by one of the Novels of Justinian, a person by fraud taking away a young woman, and by fraud marrying her, is guilty of a capital offence?—I believe he is, but I don't recollect.

"But you believe there is such a law of Justinian, which is parcel of the civil law?—Yes."*

Bernardus non vidit omnia. Mr. Brougham, so far as we are concerned, is at full liberty to astonish the university of London with his knowledge of mechanical philosophy, and the university of Glasgow with his knowledge of Greek; but if we might for once presume to offer him a friendly advice, it would be to this effect, that on the subject of the Roman law he should never venture to utter another sentence during the remainder of his natural life. Quackery is the reigning vice of the present age; it pervades all ranks and denominations of men; but we scarcely expected that Mr. Brougham would deem it advisable to assume the character of a civilian. His exhibition at Lancaster may however be more easily excused,

* Trial of the Wakefields, p. 244. Lond. 1827, 8vo.—That the marriage of Wakefield with Miss Turner would have been sustained as valid by the law of Scotland, we consider as extremely doubtful. The marriage law of that country is comprised in the very brief rule of Ulpian, *Nuptias non concubitus, sed consensus facit.* (Digest. lib. l. tit. xvii. fr. 30.) But this consent must be real, and not merely apparent; it must be free consent, and not produced by fear or delusion. Marriage is a civil contract, but it commonly derives some corroboration from the solemnities of religion. It is a general maxim of law, that contracts founded on fraud are null and void; and it would certainly be a very gross anomaly if this maxim were not to be applied to the most important of all contracts. The consent of Miss Turner was extorted by fraud and circumvention; nor does the direct application of external violence afford a more competent plea of nullity, than the internal influence of fear and delusion. If a marriage take place while one of the parties is in a state of intoxication, such as would incapacitate that party for entering into any other contract, it is abundantly clear that this apparent consent would not be sufficient. The point was decided in the case of Brown against Johnston, 1818. Their marriage was clandestine and irregular; but in the cases of Cameron against Malcolm, 1756, and of Allen against Young, 1773, which were both founded on the celebration of marriage by persons in holy orders, and with most of the usual formalities, it was decided that there was a want of that full and free consent which is essential to the validity of the matrimonial contract. Nor must we overlook the remarkable case of Macgregor against Macneill, which after a litigation of ten years was very recently determined upon an appeal to the House of Lords. "This House, taking into consideration all the facts and circumstances proved in relation to the conduct of the parties, both before and after the 23d of May 1816, is of opinion that there is not evidence sufficient to justify the conclusion, that the said Mary Black Macneill and the said Malcolm Macgregor did, on the 23d of May 1816, or at any other time, voluntarily and deliberately express that real mutual consent immediately to contract marriage, which, by the law of Scotland, is necessary to give validity to such an irregular marriage as is alleged to have taken place." Of this statement of the law of Scotland, as applicable to the marriage of Wakefield and Turner, the reader will find a sufficient confirmation in the able and interesting work of Mr. Fergusson, entitled *A Treatise on the present State of the Consistorial Law in Scotland*, app. p. 76, Edinb. 1829, 8vo.

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than the bad taste and bad feeling which he displayed in the House of Commons. He is himself a native of Edinburgh; he received his education in the public school and in the university of that city; what is at present more material, he is a member of the faculty of advocates, and some of his earliest and most zealous friends belong to the same learned body. Whatever regard he may have for his friends, it is manifestly much weaker than his rancour towards his enemies; if he can find an opportunity of gratifying his fierce indignation, he is much more disposed to annoy his enemies than to spare his friends. How far such a disposition may be regarded as amiable, it is of more consequence for his friends than for us to decide; and to them we willingly leave the consideration of this part of the subject. The puisne judge appointed to the Cape of Good Hope, and the witness examined at Lancaster, were very zealous adherents of a political party, but not of Mr. Brougham's political party. Some of their friends were suspected of being concerned in a certain obnoxious newspaper, in which Mr. Brougham and many of his friends were very dispraisingly spoken of. It was therefore too much to expect from the honourable and learned gentleman, who has not uniformly cultivated the gentler virtues, that he should view with much benignity either the judge or the witness; but certainly it was as little to be expected that his animosity to them should impel him so far to forget the respect which he owed to himself, as to indulge in so unprecedented an invective; as to empty his vials of vituperation on friend and foe without discrimination, and to appear perfectly satisfied with involving the one in the torrent of obloquy which was more particularly directed against the other.

If we may draw any general inference from the specimen now before us, his logic is not superior to his learning. Because one Scotish advocate has been found ignorant of the civil law, there is no knowledge of the civil law to be obtained in Scotland. This is a surprising train of reasoning, and certainly the conclusion prodigiously outruns the premises. The advocate in question was not selected to represent the body to which he belongs; and if he has actually been found deficient in a branch of knowledge to which he made no pretensions, the responsibility can scarcely be said to extend beyond the individual himself.* Another of his arguments is likewise worthy of

* Mr. Henry, a member of the English bar, and the senior Commissioner of Legal Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the West Indian and South American Colonies, has very recently published a translation of Van der Linden, in which he communicates to his readers this piece of information: "The Digest, or that part of the

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notice. He avers that the examinations on the civil law are most inadequate and perfunctory; and what follows? "It was therefore absurd to send judges from the Scotch bar." Let us in the mean time suppose him to have stated the fact with perfect accuracy, and let us then endeavour to ascertain the necessity of his sweeping inference. A short illustration may be preferable to a long argument: nothing can be more entirely farcical than the manner of proving the proficiency of candidates for the English bar; but notwithstanding this "sham and farce," it is not to be denied that there are, and have been, many barristers competently skilled in the law of England. But with respect to the examinations at Edinburgh, we have sufficient reason to believe that the facts are very inaccurately stated; and here we rely on the authority of Dr. Browne, who, we trust, has fully convinced Mr. Brougham that there is at least one Scotish advocate infinitely better acquainted with the civil law than himself.

"Now," he remarks, "though we do not think the examination in the civil law by any means so strict as it ought to be, and as it will probably soon become, this is a complete caricature of the fact; and since no man can know the real truth better than Mr. Brougham, the presumption is that his statement has been perverted and misrepresented by the reporter. The civil law examinators are nine in number; and a day or two prior to the examination, each prescribes to the candidate a title from the Digest, upon which he is to be questioned by that individual; and as the fifty books of the Pandects are apportioned among the examinators *seriatim*, the nine titles which the candidate has to prepare are of course given from the nine different portions into which the books are divided, and embrace a considerable aliquot part of the whole. Upon these titles he is very fairly and fully examined at his first private trial, the interrogatories being put from the excellent and useful work of Heineccius, *Elementa Juris Civilis secundum ordinem Pandectarum*, but seldom or never in the order in which they are set down by that able civilian*."

We do not think it incumbent upon us to prove that this is the best mode of examination that could be devised; but certain at least it is that this is not the mode of examination described by Mr. Brougham.

Having briefly examined his system of logic, we are not unwilling

Pandects containing the selected opinions of the most celebrated Roman lawyers, on cases submitted to them, and which form fifty books of the Justinian Code." He afterwards states that the abbreviation L. denotes "the Liber, or Book of the Pandects." (Institutes of the Laws of Holland, by Johannes van der Linden, LL.D., translated by J. Henry, Esq. Lond. 1828, 8vo.) If civil lawyers are required for colonial judges or commissioners, let them be taken from the English bar.

* Browne's Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law, p. 15.

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willing to bestow a few passing words on his learning. According to the newspaper report, which is however amended in the separate publication,* he asked the witness if he remembered an edict of the praetor *De Dolo malo*, contained in a Novel of Justinian, and declaring that every contract was void "si dolus causam dedisset contractui." The Novels of Justinian, as the merest tyro is well aware, consist of the constitutions promulgated by that emperor subsequently to the publication of his Code: but this edict of the praetor is a relique of much remoter times, and the learned gentleman might with equal propriety have referred to some undescribed statute of the late king, as containing the original record of an order in Chancery issued by Sir Thomas More.† If it should be objected that this passage is not to be found in the authorized report of the trial, we are still left in possession of ample materials. This question as to the invalidity of a contract founded on fraud ‡ is sufficiently pertinent; but how the next interrogatory was to be rendered available to the case of his client it seems very hard to discover. "Are you aware that there is also a prætorian edict, very well known in the civil law, *Pacta conventa, quae neque dolo malo*," &c.? In this edict, the praetor promises to interpose his authority in order to confirm such bargains as are fair and legal, but cannot be enforced by any ordinary action; by furnishing an action or an exception, he undertakes to mitigate the rigour of the ancient law.§ But what concern has all this with the abduction and marriage of Miss Turner? The one learned gentleman might as properly have proposed as a question to the other learned gentleman, "Are you also aware that, by the civil law, *Partus sequitur ventrem?*" Proceeding to overwhelm the witness with another shower of erudition, he propounds the following interrogatory: "Are you aware that by the civil law—by one of the Novels of Justinian, a person by fraud taking away a young woman, and by fraud marrying her, is guilty of a capital offence?" If he had been better instructed, he would have referred, not to the Novels, but to the

* Αἱ δυότεραί πως φρονῖδες σοφώτεραι.

† With respect to the edicts of the praetors, Mr. Brougham might have derived better information from the learned dissertation of Dr. Reddie, *De Edictis Praetorum*. Gottingae, 1825, 4to. And here we must again beg leave to suggest to the honourable and learned gentleman, that there is some knowledge of the civil law to be obtained in Scotland.

‡ Labeo has defined "dolum malum esse omnem caliditatem, fallaciam, machinationem ad circumveniendum, fallendum, decipiendum alterum adhibitam. Labeonis definitio vera est." (Digest. lib. iv. tit. iii. fr. 1. § 2.)

§ "Mihi vero succurrit, praetori esse propositum hoc edicto, egredi angustias legis duodecim Tabularum, tantum probantis pacta oratione, id est, ut dixi, solemniter facta; cum praetor etiam servet non solemnia." (Neodt de Pactis et Transactionibus, cap. i.)

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Code, which treats at considerable length of the crime which he is thus pleased to describe as the taking away a young woman. The only Novel of Justinian to which we can suppose him to allude is the hundred and forty-third, of which it is however evident that he has acquired a very imperfect knowledge. Of this Novel the rubric is, *De Muliere Raptum passa.* The constitution itself, which is explanatory of a former law contained in the Code, relates to the *rape*, not of a young woman, but of a woman of any age or condition, whether maid, wife, or widow. This is certainly not the case of "a person by fraud taking away a young woman, and by fraud marrying her." The crime to which the law relates is not simple abduction, but rape; and so remote is this law from any analogy to the case then before the court, that the intermarriage of a woman with her ravisher is strictly prohibited; "ut nulla sit mulieri vel virgini raptae licentia, raptoris eligere matrimonium."* In order to illustrate a case of fraudulent abduction, followed by marriage, he quotes a law relating to rape, which, according to that law, could never be followed by marriage. Where the imputation of "sham and farce" must ultimately rest, we now leave to the reader's determination. Here is a marvellous proper man to make a parade of his own knowledge, and to upbraid his brethren with ignorance. "Inconsultae temeritatis nota aspersus est apud jurisperitos, qui quod non didicerat, carpere non erubuerit."†

The uncourteous animadversions of Mr. Brougham provoked an able antagonist,‡ who first repelled his attack in the columns of the Caledonian Mercury. His defence was zealously conducted, not in the same newspaper, but in the Carlisle Journal; nor is it superfluous to mention that this paper is warmly devoted to the interest of the learned gentleman, and alternately gratifies its readers with relations of his gentle jokes and his horrific rage. During the progress of a Westmoreland election, its ample pages are more peculiarly interesting to his admirers; who may then be fully informed how the Earl of Lonsdale is terrified as with distant thunder, how Lord Lowther is utterly

* Novell. cxliii.—"Nec sit facultas raptae virgini vel viduae, vel cuilibet mulieri raptorem suum sibi maritum exposcere." (Cod. lib. ix. tit. xiii. § i.) If the parents of the woman consented to such a union, they were liable to the punishment of deportation. The eye of the legislator seems to have been chiefly fixed on one point; and he evidently had less regard to the reparation of injury than to the prevention or punishment of crime: "quoniam nullo modo, nulloque tempore datur a nostra serenitate licentia eis consentire qui hostili more in nostra republica matrimonia student sibi conjungere."

† Wissenbach Vindiciae Diatribae de Mutuo, esse Alienationem, p. 248. Frankerae, 1645, 8vo.

‡ Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law; occasioned by Mr. Brougham's late Attack on the Scottish Bar. By James Browne, LL. D. Advocate. Edinb. 1828, 8vo.

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confounded by the modern Demosthenes, and how the modern Hector, being one and the same individual, is more than half inclined to send a challenge to Lord Lowther's brother the Colonel. All this bespeaks a special interest in the concerns of Mr. Brougham; and as we may reasonably suppose the editor of a Cumberland newspaper to be as little acquainted with the civil law as himself, we are moved with a strong suspicion that, whoever may have been the ostensible author of the three articles in question, the learned gentleman was fully cognisant of their tenor and contents before they were committed to the press. This however is a mere presumption, and does not amount to evidence; but we must take the liberty of adding, that we do not envy any person the credit of having written or revised such extraordinary prolusions. Whatever may be the talent or dexterity of the writer, he is radically ignorant of the subject which he attempts to discuss; and he proceeds in his course even like a wayfaring man who wanders in a morass, and, being bewildered by darkness and surrounded with dangers, is incapable of advancing a single step without grievous floundering. One instance out of many will probably be deemed sufficient. In a very unfortunate attempt to turn aside the edge of ridicule from Mr. Brougham's speculation respecting the edict of an ancient praetor engrossed in a novel of Justinian, he is pleased to declare that "a Novel of Justinian, as meaning one of the *constitutiones* first issued by that emperor, would indeed have been very indifferent authority for an English lawyer to have quoted: but it is well known that the Justinian Code comprehended all the *novellae* which had been issued after Theodosius, and likewise the Theodosian Code; and that, in fact, the greater part of Justinian's new legislation was published at later periods."* The latter part of this sentence is beneath all criticism; but we think it worth while to notice the former part, as it was the occasion of leading the writer still further into the quagmire.

"The person," says Dr. Browne, "who wrote these words, whoever he may have been, must have been utterly ignorant of every rule of interpretation recognized by the civilians. Even the Institutes of Heineccius would have acquainted him with the rule, *Ut Novellae derogent libris omnibus, quia postremo prodierunt.* And this is matter of common sense: for the entire *Corpus Juris Civilis* derived its legislative sanction from the same authority; and what received the latest sanction of the emperor was of course to be held as the law of the empire. But the position that a Novel of Justinian would be very indifferent authority for an English lawyer, is peculiarly unfor-

* See the Appendix to Dr. Browne's Remarks, p. 58.

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tunate; as the more learned of the English lawyers are sufficiently aware, that the 118th Novel of Justinian is the foundation of the statute law of England respecting the disposition of the personal estates of intestates."*

Mr. Brougham's advocate is so indifferently acquainted with the history of the law of England, that to him this information appears to be perfectly new; and in his third paper, his expiring effort, he completely confounds the rules of succession in personal and in real estates. Any person learned in the law might easily have been informed that the statute of distributions was prepared by a professional civilian, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the high Court of Admiralty; † and he might as easily have been informed that it "is in a great measure borrowed from the 118th Novel of Justinian."‡

Whether there is any knowledge of the civil law in Scotland, has not therefore been decided by Mr. Brougham; and when such a question is before him, we are certainly entitled to plead that it is *coram non judice.* His own example is indeed sufficient to prove that a Scotish advocate may be grossly ignorant of the civil law, nor do we here suppose his case to be solitary or unprecedented; but we are nevertheless inclined to believe that there are in Scotland various individuals competently skilled in this branch of learning, certainly not less skilled than any advocate who now belongs to Doctors Commons; and in attempting to place them on this level, it is evident that we do not claim for them the highest honours to which civilians may be entitled. In the northern universities there are three professors on whom it is incumbent to read lectures on the civil law: how their public duty may be discharged, we have not perhaps sufficient opportunities of ascertaining; but we are well informed that, for several centuries, the Scotish youth have been much accustomed to pursue their studies in the most celebrated schools of law on the continent. Till the earlier part of last century, this was the ordinary course of study prosecuted by those who were destined for the legal profession; and a writer in the reign

* Browne's Remarks, p. 37.

† Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, vol. i. p. liii.

‡ Reports of all the Cases decided by Sir John Holt, p. 259.—Dr. Harris has remarked that "the three first chapters of this novel constitution deserve the attentive consideration of the reader, not only because they contain the latest policy of the civil law in regard to the disposition of the estates of intestates, but because they are the foundation of our statute law in this respect. Vid. Holt's Cases, p. 259. Peere Williams's Rep. p. 27. Prec. in Chan. p. 593. Sir Thomas Raymond's Rep. p. 496. And they are still almost of continual use, by being the general guide of the courts in England, which hold cognizance of distributions, in all those cases concerning which our own laws have either been silent, or not sufficiently express." (Justinian's Institutions, translated into English, p. 364. edit. Oxford, 1811, 4to.)

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of Charles the First, thought it not a little "strange to see ane man admitted to teach the lawes, who was never out of the countrie studieing and learning the lawes."* The law of Scotland is to a great extent founded on the principles of the civil law; and without a competent knowledge of the civil law, no man can attain to a complete and masterly knowledge of the law of Scotland. At an early period, when the students of law were very few in number, the professors were without a sufficient incitement to exertion; and the Scotish youth were compelled to seek for able preceptors in other countries.† The reputation of Cujacius, Donellus, Govea, Balduinus, Contius, Hotman, and many other great names, elevated the French schools of law beyond all competition: their celebrity however was at length eclipsed by the more modern universities of Holland;‡ and our brethren of the north then repaired to Leyden and Utrecht, instead of Bourges and Toulouse. So early as the year 1590, the judges, the magistrates, and the advocates and clerks to the signet, had raised a fund of 3000*l.* for the endowment of a professorship of law in the university of Edinburgh; each of these three parties contributing an equal portion. Adam Newton, an advocate, was first appointed to the office; but having neglected to obtain the approbation of the magistrates, he was dismissed in the year 1594. He afterwards procured better employment, and successively became tutor and secretary to Prince Henry.§ In the professorship he was succeeded by Hadrian Damman of Bysterveldt, who was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and there was for some time employed in

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* Spalding's Hist. of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. i. p. 179. Edinb. 1828, 4to. The individual to whom he alludes is James Sandilands, professor of the canon, and afterwards of the civil law in King's College, Aberdeen.

† "Ea enim aetate sapere, nisi Romano jure, homines non videbantur." (Gadendam, Hist. Juris Cimbrici, p. 54. Hamb. 1770, 8vo.)

‡ "Interea autem in Belgii septentrionalis partibus et apud Batavos, publica libertate firmata, omnes disciplinae et artes humaniores efflorescebant. Quantum hic populus in medicina et scientiis naturalibus praestiterit, omnibus notum est; quantumque auctorum veterum studium iis debeat, neminem fugit. Nec minus autem apud illos erudita jurisprudentia colebatur, tantique nominis atque ponderis Batavorum sunt jurisconsulti, ut inter juris Romani interpretes primum locum obtinuerint. Servabat ad nostra usque tempora Batava juris schola Cujacianam in jure veteri tractando rationem, quae in ipsa hujus viri immortalis patria neglecta erat. Neque fortasse tam facile recentissimis temporibus cultior jurisprudentia restituta fuisset, sine jurisconsultorum illorum studiis."—(Warnkoenig Commentarii Juris Romani Privati, tom. i. p. 100.)

§ Newton, though a layman, held the deanery of Durham from 1606 to 1620, when he resigned it; and during the latter year he was created a baronet. He translated into Latin King James's book against Vorstius, and the first six books of Father Paolo Sarpi's history of the council of Trent. The last two were translated by Dr. Bedell. (Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 14, 218. Lond. 1760, 8vo.) "Sic se gessit," says Dempster, "ut moderatione summa cum maximum locum occuparit, majorem mereri censeretur." (Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 505. Bononiae, 1627, 4to.)

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teaching the classics:* he retained the chair for a few years, and was afterwards resident of the States General at the court of Scotland. In the year 1597, after his resignation, the interest of one-third of the sum formerly contributed was allotted for a professor of humanity, and the interest of the remainder for the maintenance of six exhibitioners. Newton and Damman had both taught humanity, without reading any public lectures on law.† After an interval of a century, the Scotish parliament voted a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling to Alexander Cunningham, as professor of the civil law. This act, passed in 1698, was to continue in force during the period of five years; and the same provision in his favour was, for the same period, renewed in 1704.‡ Cunningham, who appears to have possessed an easy fortune, afterwards settled in Holland, where he enjoyed a high reputation as a civilian, and as a classical scholar: § he chiefly distinguished

* Sanderus de Gandavensibus Eruditionis Fama claris, p. 13. Antv. 1624, 4to. Andreae Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 9. edit. Lovan. 1643. 4to.—According to these writers, Damman was invited to Scotland by Buchanan. In this country he appears to have acquired an estate; for in his metaphrase of Du Bartas, he describes himself as *Dominus de Faire-hill.* The literary historians of Flanders mention some of his poems as having been printed on the continent; and after his settlement in Scotland, he published the following works. Schediasmata. Edinb. 1590, 4to. Bartasias, qui de Mundi Creatione libri septem; e Guilielmi Salustii Dn. de Bartas Septimana, poemate Francico, liberius tralati, et multis in locis aucti. Edinb. 1600, 8vo. Both these volumes were printed by Waldegrave.

† Crawford's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, p. 34-40.

‡ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. x. p. 176; vol. xi. p. 203. On the 19th of August 1698, a petition from Alexander Cunningham, "for encouraging a design of illustrating the civill law," had been remitted to the committee for the security of the kingdom. Vol. x. p. 145.—About this period, several advocates began to read private lectures on the civil law. One of these was Alexander Drummond, who, in the year 1699, inserted the following advertisement in an Edinburgh newspaper: "These are to give advertisement to all persons who are desireous to be instructed in the knowledge of the Institutions and Pandects of the civil law, and the laws of this kingdom, or either of the two, or both, that Mr. Alexander Drummond of East-field, Advocate, does profess to teach the same; and by reason of a singular method he uses in teaching of the civil law, he undertakes to perfite and accomplish any of a middle capacity, more in a years time, then others have been by being abroad and out of the country 3 years. How profitable and advantagious this may tend to the kingdom in general, he leaves it to every one to judge. He is to be spoke with at his lodging in the foot of Blackfrier Wind." Another private lecturer on the civil and municipal laws, was John Spottiswoode; and their example was followed by John Cunningham, who published his inaugural lecture under the title of "Joannis Cuningamii, J. Cti. Oratio inauguralis, recitata Edinburgi cum primum Jus Civile docere coepit." Edinb. 4to. This publication is without a date, but it probably appeared about the same period with "A Discourse by Mr. John Cunninghame, Advocate, at the Beginning of his Lessons upon the Scots Law." Edinb. 1705, 4to.

§ Cunningham's reputation as a chess-player was not inferior to his reputation as a scholar. About the year 1700, Professor Wodrow played at chess "with Mr. Alexander Cunningham of Bloak, his old acquaintance. Mr. Cunningham, after playing a game with him, said he thought he was able to give him a rook and a bishop of advantage, and his very outmost was queen, but he doubted that would be too much, which was a high commendation from him who is reckoned the best chess-player in Europe." (Wodrow's Life of James Wodrow, A. M. Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, p. 174. Edinb. 1828, 12mo.)

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himself by his edition of Horace, and his formidable attack on Dr. Bentley; but he did not live to complete his long-meditated edition of the Pandects. A professorship of the civil law was endowed by the magistrates in the year 1710. The resort of Scotish students to the foreign universities now became less frequent, but the practice was never entirely discontinued; and of the present race of lawyers, several have studied, and some have taken a doctor's degree at Leyden, Utrecht, or Göttingen; nor are we inclined, with Mr. Brougham, to suppose the pupils of Smallenburg and Hugo to be totally unacquainted with the civil law.

But, says this oracle of jurisprudence, "if civil lawyers are required, let them be taken from Doctors Commons."—The advocates of Doctors Commons are all doctors of the civil law, and all doctors either are or ought to be learned in their several faculties. They have all studied at Oxford or Cambridge, and every genuine Englishman knows full well that Oxford and Cambridge are in all respects the very first universities in Europe. But, as a school of law, what is the present condition of Oxford? It can indeed boast of two professors belonging to this faculty; but although their names may grace the calendar, neither the voice of the one nor of the other is ever heard in the schools.

"The chair of the civil law," as is stated by Dr. Browne, "is usually bestowed upon an advocate, and its emoluments are very considerable; James I. having, in the year 1617, endowed it with a lay-prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury. The present professor never read a single course of lectures; and if compelled to do so, he would probably find himself in a very unpleasant predicament. Some of his predecessors indeed were accustomed to lecture by proxy; but Dr. Phillimore has saved himself the trouble and expense of such an arrangement. Yet in this university, in which there is no ostensible study, and no discoverable knowledge of the civil law, one half of the advocates of Doctors Commons have taken those degrees which qualify them for their peculiar line of practice, and for Mr. Brougham's very candid and judicious encomiums."*

The civilians who had thus been trained in the university of Oxford, seem to possess no peculiar advantages over those who had been trained in the university of Edinburgh. In the northern university there are four professorships of law: three of the professors regularly discharge their duty; and it is to be hoped and even expected that the fourth chair, that of the law of nature and nations, will not always be retained as a sinecure. Any person skilled in arithmetic may clearly perceive

* Browne's Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law, p. 30.

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that there is a considerable balance against Oxford; inasmuch as one lecturer on the civil and two on the municipal law may fairly be regarded as better than no lecturer whatsoever.

"The professor of civil law," says a well-informed member of this university, "reads no lectures, notwithstanding every thing connected with Roman antiquities is so congenial to the spirit of the place. But since this inexhaustible field presents no topic of general interest, and since, even if the students in civil law were required to attend, they are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a class, why may not the professor examine privately the different candidates, in Heineccius, or Sigonius, or Taylor, or even in Dr. Adam's Roman Antiquities? These are works of which no scholar should be ignorant; and many others, not only in civil law, but in antiquities, and the law of nature and nations, might, with a proper liberality of interpretation, be admitted to the choice of the candidate. Even *Propria quae maribus* would be a respectable substitute for the syllogisms upon contracts."*

If all the students of the civil law were required to attend lectures, a class, though perhaps not a numerous class, might certainly be formed; and a masterly course of lectures, deriving many of their illustrations from history and philology, could scarcely fail to attract various students who had no professional views. Dr. Geldart, professor of the civil law at Cambridge, finds pupils, and reads lectures. In the year 1768, it was enacted by the senate that no candidate should be admitted to the degree of LL.B. without producing a certificate of his having attended the professor's lectures for three terms; and what has been found practicable in the one university, may be worth attempting in the other. Under the present system at Oxford, a bachelor of laws is not better trained in juridical studies than a bachelor of arts. His name must continue seven years on the boards, but the necessary period of his residence is only about four years. He continues nominally, though in too many cases not really, a student for five years longer, before he can be admitted to his doctor's degree; but if he declares his intention of following the profession of a civilian, he is permitted to take that degree in four years instead of five. Having thus been engaged in pursuing a shadow for eleven years, he is qualified to present himself at Doctors Commons; and, after the expiration of his year of silence, may at length be qualified to plead in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts.† If

* Observations suggested by the Strictures of the Edinburgh Review upon Oxford, and by the two Replies; containing some Account of the late Changes in that University. By Henry Home Drummond, B.C.L. Advocate. Edinb. 1810, 8vo.

† Gray has given the following humorous account of his taking a bachelor's degree at Cambridge,

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If he has sufficiently imbibed the spirit of his foster-mother, he is likewise prepared to view with supreme contempt the graduates of all other universities except those of Oxford and Cambridge. A graduate of Dublin, where Dr. Crampton follows the laudable example of Dr. Phillimore, might with little or no difficulty be admitted to practise as an advocate, but no graduate of any other university could aspire to the same privilege: a doctor of Göttingen or Berlin, though equal to Hugo or Savigny, must of necessity be rejected, and doubtless with good reason; for what is Cujacius's knowledge of the civil law, or Van Espen's knowledge of the canon law, when put in competition with the multifarious advantages of keeping one's name for eleven long years in the books of some college in the magnificent university of Oxford? A graduate of another denomination once endeavoured to intrude himself into this learned society. It is not universally understood that the archbishop of Canterbury enjoys the privilege of conferring degrees in all the faculties; nor do we think it superfluous to add that, so far as our knowledge extends, this privilege has generally been exercised with great propriety and reserve. Archbishop Herring having conferred the degree of doctor of laws on John Hawkesworth, a very distinguished English writer, the new graduate made an attempt to be admitted as an advocate; but it was decided that a Lambeth degree did not impart the requisite qualification, nor are we aware that any similar question has since been moved. Dr. Kenrick has made the subsequent allusion to this unsuccessful attempt:

> Repeatedly engross'd you see
> The same by H——ks——th, LL.D.
> At Lambeth dubb'd a doctor!
> He who, so learned in the laws,
> Had practis'd, had he found a cause,
> A client or a proctor.*

To these anecdotes of the profession in England, we may add that no person in holy orders can be admitted a member of the College of Doctors of Law exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. This question was in our own time decided in the case of Dr. Highmore, who, perhaps somewhat unluckily for himself, had successively directed his attention to the three learned professions. His objects and his pursuits appear to

Cambridge. "By my own indefatigable application for these ten years past, and by the care and vigilance of that worthy magistrate the man-in-blue, (who, I'll assure you, has not spared his labour, nor could have done more for his own son,) I am got half-way to the top of Jurisprudence, and bid as fair as another body to open a case of impotency with all decency and circumspection." (Works, vol. ii. p. 141. Mitford's edit.)

* Kenrick's Poems, ludicrous, satirical, and moral, p. 168. Lond. 1768, 8vo.

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have been so various, that it may be worth while to mention that he had prosecuted his studies in at least four universities. Philology and divinity he studied at Göttingen, and he became a deacon of the church of England. He studied medicine at Leyden and Edinburgh, and in one of those universities he became a doctor of physic. The study of the civil law he prosecuted at Edinburgh and Cambridge, and in the latter university he took the degree of doctor of laws. Having at length made his election to adhere to the legal profession, he applied in due form to the dean of the Arches, but was informed that, having taken deacon's orders, he could not be admitted a member of the college, such admission being expressly forbidden by the canons of the church. To this decision, which was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury, he submitted with great reluctance; and he made a formal appeal to the public respecting a case in which the public could not be expected to feel any very deep interest.* If he had first became an advocate, and had afterwards entered into holy orders, it is to be presumed that the two professions of divinity and law would have been declared equally incompatible. Dr. Taylor, having taken orders, ceased to be a member of the college, and consequently was no longer qualified to practise in the courts at Doctors Commons.

After the statements which have already been made, the reader may easily perceive that we entertain very strong doubts whether all the advocates of Doctors Commons are to be accounted great civilians; and "if civil lawyers are required," we are much at a loss to discover any cogent reason why they should "be taken from Doctors Commons." It will scarcely be denied by any person of ordinary information and ordinary candour, that in England the study of the civil law is in a most languishing condition. At Oxford, as we have already seen, the study is merely nominal. But we are not without some faint hope that this stigma will gradually be removed: within the last thirty years, many improvements have been introduced into that university; nor can it be construed into any want of due respect, if we venture to suggest that some further improvements may still be necessary. The chief defect of the present system of education seems to be this;—the regulated plan of study is in a great measure confined to what may be considered as merely the foundation of academical learning. When the student has taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he is too much encouraged to believe that he has completed his

* An Address to the Visitors of the incorporated Society of Doctors in Civil and Canon Law. Part I. By Nathaniel Highmore, LL. and M.D. Lond. 1806, 8vo.

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studies. Many members of the university lay an excellent foundation of classical learning, and notwithstanding some modern speculations, our judgment or our prejudices lead us to attach a very high degree of importance to such a foundation;* but after they have received all the advantages of this training, we do not often find, if they continue their residence, that they betake themselves with any visible ardour to the appropriate studies of any of the faculties. In order to confirm the opinion which we have thus ventured to state, we shall produce the testimony of an unexceptionable witness, a fellow of one of the great colleges, and a public professor in the university.†

"The mention of lectures," says Dr. Silver, "and a wish to point out numerous sources, from which those in my own range of study may be supplied, leads me to state a few inconveniences, which I have experienced myself, and which I fear not only my successors, but which all other professors, who may lecture in this university, will feel with considerable and alarming increase. To these indeed they are of much more importance, than to the person who may fill my present office. The late regulations for the examination of students occupy their time so completely, that it can neither be expected, nor desired, that they should turn their attention to any other objects than those connected with gaining a class, until they take their degree. But excellent as these studies are, their chief merit consists in preparing the mind for the prosecution of higher attainments, which are supposed to be instituted in order to gain a higher degree. But the late regulations, which supersede the necessity of any residence after the bachelor's degree, have completely, and must ever completely destroy all hopes of this kind. The expected course of study is left imperfect, and the university education must be considered as finished in less than four years. I hope I may be allowed to express my deep regret at this change, which appears to me not less injurious to the university and to its professors, than it is to the country at large. The university was founded, and the endowments of colleges given, for the most part, upon the principle of either a seven years' residence, or on the still more extended system of granting degrees in succession, subsequent to repeated and appropriate examinations. Although dispensations, excepting particular cases, have been for many years given to a great extent, yet these regulations are in their nature very different from

* "Neminem unquam vidi," says Grævius, "qui deplorarit tempus, quod in excolendis literarum studiis posuit, multos, qui graviter conquerantur, se illis animum non expoliisse, aut desidia, aut culpa magistrorum, qui aut veram ad solidam doctrinam perveniendi viam iis non ostenderint, cum ipsi eam ignorarint, aut ab ea illos abduxerint, amore sui ablati, ne colant et suspiciant alia, quam se, ac quibus ipsi sunt dediti. Qui severioribus disciplinis se manciparunt, cognorunt et ipsi, absque humanitatis studiis nihil posse memoriæ prodi, quod ferat ætatem, sed omnia brevi ad instar solstitialium herbarum exarescere." (Praef. in Bern. Ferrarium de Ritu Sacrarum Ecclesiæ veteris Concionum, p. iii. Ultraj. 1692, 8vo.)

† The Rev. Thomas Silver, LL.D. Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

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the setting aside all residence, and all qualifications for a master's degree, which was considered formerly of so much importance. In some societies, as in my own, this dispensation has been considered so improper, that the founder has expressly forbidden any application for it; and this circumstance alone may lead to a schism in the university; for it is absurd to compel persons to reside on account of their degrees, when no public business for them remains to be performed; and in those societies, some remedy must be found for this gross absurdity. This reduction of the time allotted for study is the more unseasonable, because all other parts of the empire are gaining knowledge more rapidly than at any former period; and it is necessary that the university should rather advance than recede, in order to preserve its superiority in intellectual attainment. But if no students are to attend public lectures, what motives can induce men of abilities, as lecturers, to stay here? Neither their fame nor their interests will be advanced, and few persons of this description will in the next generation be found in Oxford. But the higher interests of the university require that there should be always a body of men either resident in it, or at least attached to its interests, who should be occupied in other duties than those of teaching the elementary parts of knowledge."*

According to the statutes of the university, a student of the civil law, if he has not taken the degree of master of arts, is bound to attend the professor's lectures for five years; and if he has previously taken his master's degree, he is bound to attend them for three years.† Several years of attendance are further enjoined before he is entitled to the degree of doctor. But at present there are no teachers and no actual students in this faculty; some ancient forms are still left, while the substance has completely evaporated.‡ Degrees, called regular, are

* Silver's Lecture on the Study of Anglo-Saxon, p. 41. Oxford, 1822, 8vo.

† "Statutum est, quod, qui juri civili studet, antequam baccalaureatum in illa facultate consequatur, si sit magister artium, per tres annos integros (numerandos a die suæ admissionis ad regendum) audiat publicum juris civilis professorem. Si quis vero juri civili det operam, qui non sit magister artium; per quinquennium completum, publicum juris civilis praelectorem diligenter et attente audiat." (Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis, p. 40. Oxon. 1768, 4to.)

By the statutes of the university of Coimbra, compiled by order of the king in 1772, the course of juridical study is reduced from eight to five years. At the expiration of the fourth year, the student may take the degree of bachelor of the civil or the canon law, or of both. This degree may be followed by those of licentiate and doctor, which cannot be taken during the same year in which the candidate has completed his bachelor's degree. (Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra, liv. ii. p. 277, 605, 612. Lisboa, 1772, fol.) The requisite course of study is very minutely detailed, and in some respects the plan is entitled to much approbation, particularly in its close combination of history with jurisprudence. In order to conduct this laborious course, his Majesty declares his intention of appointing sixteen professors. One chair, that of the law of nature and nations, is to be common to both the law faculties: eight are destined for the faculty of the laws, that is of the civil and municipal laws; and seven for the faculty of the canons, that is, of the canon law.

‡ Mr. Dyer informs us that "the son of a gentleman very high in the law, called on him in London, with a most earnest request, which was, to make a Latin law-thesis for a friend

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are conferred in considerable abundance, and degrees, called honorary, are scattered with a most unsparing profusion on rank and wealth, totally disunited from learning: had the ambition of Sir William Curtis taken that direction, he might doubtless have arrived at the privilege of enrolling himself among the doctors of laws of the university of Oxford; but we cannot so easily discover the regularity or the honour of degrees so conferred. An attendance of many years on the lectures of one professor might be much more burdensome than advantageous; but in endeavouring to mitigate the rigour of the ancient statutes, it certainly was not absolutely necessary to confer on the professor and students a perpetual exemption from all the duties of teaching and learning. In the opinion of competent judges, the study of the civil law is the best foundation of all juridical knowledge; nor is it a useless pursuit for a classical scholar. "It may perhaps seem strange," says Bishop Hallifax, "to assert the utility of the Roman law to the divine. But when it is recollected that frequent allusions to this law, in the instances of adoption, the right of citizenship, slavery, &c., occur in the New Testament, and especially in the writings of St. Paul; when it is remembered too that many of this profession are often called to preside, either as judges or surrogates, in the spiritual courts; and when it is further considered, how great a proportion the civil law bears in composing the ecclesiastical law of England; it will appear that a competent skill in Roman jurisprudence is far from being foreign to the character of a divine; as it qualifies him to understand with accuracy the original records of his faith, to support the dignity of his character as a spiritual judge, and to defend and secure the possession of his legal dues."* For the study of the Roman

friend of his, the son of a diguitary in the church, who was about to keep an act in the law-schools, but who, without a law-degree, could not hold two livings, which were offered him. The gentleman's importunities prevailed over all excuses and remonstrances: the writer had but three days to perform this task in; and owing to shortness of time, and a slight knowledge of the subject, this law-thesis was, it may be supposed, very imperfectly executed. But the degree was obtained. Transactions of this kind are considered private; and in giving publicity to this, the parties alluded to may be assured that their names never have passed the writer's lips, and never shall. But degrees in all the faculties are thus easily to be obtained, and frequently are; so that a solitary example would be no discredit, and could create no surprise." (Academic Unity, p. 137. Lond. 1827, 8vo.)

* Hallifax's Analysis of the Civil Law, p. xv. 2d edit. Camb. 1775, 8vo.—The subsequent quotation relates to Dr. Dickens, another professor of the civil law at Cambridge. "His determinations upon some of the questions that came before him were so excellent, that they were much attended to and admired; and an eminent divine has been heard to declare more than once, there were some passages in St. Paul's epistles he could not comprehend, till he heard them explained by him, in the most satisfactory manner, from the Roman laws." (Masters's Memoirs of Thomas Baker, B.D. p. 110. Camb. 1784, 8vo.) Hallifax has remarked that the annotations of Grotius on the New Testament,

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Roman law, the classical training of this university is an excellent preparative; and if the leading members were sufficiently impressed with an idea of its importance, the study might without much difficulty be revived. If they were to provide an able and popular lecturer, deeply skilled in the ancient languages, and familiarly acquainted with the recent discoveries and speculations of the continent, he might speedily attract a respectable auditory. The candidates for degrees in law could be compelled to attend; and as we are not merely to enumerate those who have a view to Doctors Commons, but likewise those who aim at law-fellowships, their number would not be so inconsiderable, if we are even to suppose other candidates to be generally discouraged by the necessity of studying law as a preparation for taking a law-degree. There are besides many fellows of colleges who betake themselves to the profession of the common law; and of these a very great proportion might at length be induced to attend lectures on the civil law, provided those lectures were delivered by a man of talents and learning. The scions of rank and fashion, if they can be led or impelled to any species of study, may feel no peculiar antipathy to this: legislators and ambassadors seem to be under an obligation of acquiring some general notions of jurisprudence; nor could they perhaps derive their elementary knowledge from a more clear and copious fountain. But where is the university of Oxford, "in which there is no ostensible study, and no discoverable knowledge of the civil law," to find a competent lecturer? What they cannot immediately find, they may contribute to prepare. In the case of Mr. Pusey they have an example of the advantages which an Oxford student may derive from his residence in a German university; and a plan which has proved so beneficial for theology, promises to be still more beneficial for jurisprudence. By selecting a law-fellow, possessed of youth, talent, and scholarship, and by sending him to reside for three years in one of the first universities of Germany, they might be enabled to place the study of the Roman law on a respectable footing, and to remove from them the merited reproach of having entirely suppressed one essential branch of academical learning.

Testament, particularly on the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, are full of quotations from the civil law. Many other commentators on the sacred text have borrowed occasional illustrations from the same source; and, among the rest, Dr. Ward of Gresham College, in his Dissertations upon several passages of the Sacred Scriptures. Lond. 1761-74, 2 vols. 8vo. Bishop Hallifax himself, and Dr. Powell, another eminent member of the university of Cambridge, have each evinced that a knowledge of the civil law may sometimes be useful to a divine. (Hallifax's Twelve Sermons on the Prophecies, p. 341. Lond. 1776, 8vo. Powell's Discourses on various Subjects, p. 209. Lond. 1776, 8vo.)

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ART. V.—1. *Histoire Critique du Magnétisme Animal, par T. P. F. Deluze.* Seconde Edition. Paris. 1819.
2. *Du Magnétisme Animal en France, &c. par Alexandre Bertrand, Docteur en Médecine, Membre de la Société Royale Académique, &c. &c.* Paris, 1826.
3. *L'Hermes, Journal du Magnétisme Animal, publié par une Société de Médecins de la Faculté de Paris.* 1826—1829.
4. *Versuch einer Darstellung des Animalischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel von* C. A. F. Kluge. Dritte Auflage. Berlin, 1818.
5. *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft von* Dr. G. H. Schubert. Dritte Auflage. Dresden, 1829.
6. *Ennemoser, Jos. der Magnetismus nach der allseitigen Beziehung seines Wesens, &c.* 8vo. Leipz. 1818.

FOR the last fifty years Animal Magnetism has been the subject of almost incessant discussion in various parts of the Continent, and more especially in France and Germany. Some hundreds of works have been written on the subject, and yet the discussion seems as violent now as at the outset, and the combatants on both sides as loud and sturdy. By some of its partisans, Animal Magnetism has been extolled as a universal remedy in the cure of diseases, nay more, as an agent by which man might be brought into nearer connexion with his Creator; by which the soul might sometimes be freed from its fetters of mortality, and the 'relations' of Time and Space become no longer applicable to it. Its opponents, on the other hand, have treated Animal Magnetism as a pure chimera, a revival of the old miracle-working witchcraft and sorcery, which, in darker ages, used to be so formidable to our forefathers; and some have gone so far, even in this nineteenth century,* as to denounce the Magnetisers as agents of Satan, sent to do his foul errands on the weakest and most helpless part of our species.

Now had all this been confined to Germany alone, many of us would have found it easily explained and disposed of; for the Germans have long had an established reputation amongst us for furnishing the dreaming world with all sorts of strange ware, from the old adventures of Faust and the Devil down to the recent visions and miracles of Prince Hohenlohe. But when we find Animal Magnetism at first rejected and banished from Germany and taking root and thriving in France, that country of

* See the pamphlet of a certain M. M— de la Marne, published last year at Paris, and entitled, '*Etude raisonnée du Magnetisme Animal, et preuve de l'intervention des Puissances Infernales dans les phénomènes du Somnambulisme Magnétique.*'

savans,

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savans, of light laughter, and mockery, and universal doubting, where ridicule is more feared than death itself, it may move wonder and claim investigation. Since the introduction of Animal Magnetism in Paris, in 1778, there have been Magnetisers and Magnetised without number, and of all ranks, from the Marquis de Puységur, and the Duchess de Bourbon, down to the woe-begone, moonstruck semstress, 'la femme Couturier,'* and the 'wakeful' crackbrained music-teacher, M. Geslin. Within these few years experiments have been made regarding it in most of the public hospitals of Paris, in the Hôtel Dieu, la Salpétrière, la Charité, la Pitié, St. Louis, &c.; and a committee of the Faculty of Medicine has been appointed for its investigation. On this side the Channel, it has hitherto been heard of only in faint rumours; its history and fate are almost totally unknown amongst us. There seems now for the first time some slight tendency to import this new science. We consider it our duty to inform our countrymen what it really is, and to warn them what they have to expect from its introduction into Britain. But, independently of these considerations, we hold it worthy of investigation: it is a curious feature of the times in which we live, and as such it deserves notice. The first part of our task will be to give a sketch of its history and progress.

Anton Mesmer, the reputed discoverer of Animal Magnetism, was born at Mersburg in Swabia, in the year 1734. He studied at Vienna, and took his degree of doctor of medicine there in 1776, at which time he published an inaugural thesis, on the 'Influence of the Planets on the Human Body'; which may be regarded as a first step towards the doctrines he afterwards maintained. About the same period, the loadstone was by some

* Two women, Couturier, 'ouvrière en dentelles,' and Burckart, were tried last year at Paris for prescribing remedies and giving consultations in magnetic sleep to a weak-minded young man, Gustave Pigault, whose imagination seems to have been so much excited by the last account he received from them of his disease, that he went and killed himself. His mother deposed, that he had been for three years connected with Couturier, that he had imagined himself sick and consulted somnambulists incessantly. 'One day,' says she, 'he told me: I am deceived; that woman has given me a medicine fit for a horse, composed of aloes, saffron, mercury, and jalap: I have a fire in my bowels.' She tried in vain to get him to break with these women and consult a physician. He at length came to her and said: 'Mother, the woman Couturier has promised to cure me in two months, if I will give her 600 francs. If you will be caution for me, I shall recover my health.' His mother was induced to make a promise of doing so. 'Madame Couturier came to the house, and pretending to fall asleep, exclaimed: "Heavens! what do I see! your body is filled with spots of blood. I am not satisfied with you; you will never get better!"' We have already seen the consequences of this exclamation. In the report of the case, (Hermes for April, 1828. p. 60) it is stated that 'the woman Couturier expresses herself with much embarrassment and difficulty; and has her eyes half shut. M. Geslin ('professeur de Musique'), her Magnetiser, on being asked if he had ever had recourse to magnetic sleep for himself, when sick, replied: 'Je suis très éveillé; personne na jamais pu m'endormir.'

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supposed to possess medicinal virtues; and experiments on the subject had been made in various parts of Europe. Father Hell, a jesuit, professor of Astronomy at Vienna, had invented steel plates of a peculiar form, which he impregnated with the virtues of the magnet, and to which he attributed great efficacy in the treatment of diseases. Mesmer was his friend, and, wishing to employ the magnet according to his own ideas, made use of these plates in several experiments, and communicated his astonishing success to Father Hell. The latter published the results of these experiments, attributing, however, all the virtues of the plates to their form, and speaking of Mesmer as a physician whom he had employed to make his experiments. Mesmer seemed indignant, complained loudly of the conduct of Father Hell, and accused him of having betrayed confidence, and of wishing to turn to his own advantage a discovery with which he had been entrusted. Hell replied, and, after a long contest, gained the victory over Mesmer, who was less known and less respected. Yet, in having attracted attention, Mesmer seems to have gained his main object. He was nowise discouraged at this open defeat, but boldly continued to 'din the public ear' with the noise of his discovery, and the wonderful cures which it enabled him to perform. He wrote an account of these to the various learned Societies of Europe, soliciting their attention and investigation. He maintained that Magnetic matter was the grand agent pervading the universe, and connecting all things together in mutual influence; he affirmed that his discovery consisted in being able to communicate to bodies, which he touched, the properties of the loadstone. We may have some idea of the extravagance and absurdity of his pretensions from the following passage in one of his letters to a friend in Vienna: 'I have observed,' says he, 'that the magnetic matter is almost the same thing as the electrical fluid; and that it may be propagated in the same manner as this, by means of intermediate bodies. Steel is not the only substance adapted to this purpose; I have rendered paper, bread, wool, silk, leather, stones, glass, wood, men, dogs, in short everything I touched, magnetic to such a degree that these substances *produced the same effects as the loadstone on the diseased.* I have charged jars with magnetic matter in the same way as is done with electricity.' The Academy of Sciences at Berlin was the only one that deigned to answer him, and naturally treated his pretensions with contempt and ridicule.

The scandalous scenes of contention and animosity in which Mesmer found himself involved at Vienna, the disapprobation of the Court, the unqualified disdain of all men of science or learning,

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learning, and his public failure in attempting to cure some persons of rank, soon made it necessary for him to quit that city. After travelling for some time in different parts of Germany, and in Switzerland, where he continued to noise abroad his cures without finding any resting-place, he set out for Paris, where he arrived in 1778. We cannot but think he had now chosen a proper field for selling his pretended discoveries to advantage. The capital of France is known to contain more idle people than any other in Europe; more who are incessantly seeking for '*sensations agréables*,' and without any other object in the world. It will not astonish those who know both countries when we remark, that there is a better market for the supernatural in Paris, than in any part even of Germany, where things are at least treated with earnestness and some degree of consideration.

During these transactions, Mesmer, whose sole aim from the very commencement seems to have been to enrich himself, had been sharpsighted enough to perceive the necessity of altering his views, in order to turn them to advantage; experience had instructed him that they were unsaleable in their original shape. He accordingly began to maintain, that the agent he employed was totally different from the magnetism of the loadstone; to distinguish it from which, he gave it the name of *Animal* Magnetism. The term, however, had been employed by several writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to designate almost the same thing; only Mesmer's pretensions were set forth with more care and more appearance of science—necessary in a more enlightened age. In a work which he published the year after his arrival at Paris, we find him thus explaining the supposed agent, which we have already seen him regarding as the magnetic matter of the loadstone.

'It is,' says he, 'a fluid universally diffused; it is the medium of a mutual influence between the heavenly bodies, the earth and animated bodies; it is continuous so as to leave no void; its subtility admits of no comparison; it is capable of receiving, propagating, communicating all the impressions of motion; it is susceptible of flux and of reflux. The animal body experiences the effects of this agent; and it is by insinuating itself into the substance of the nerves that it affects them immediately. There are observed, particularly in the human body, properties analogous to those of the magnet; and in it are discerned poles equally different and opposite. The action and the virtues of Animal Magnetism may be communicated from one body to other bodies, animate and inanimate. This action takes place at a remote distance, without the aid of any intermediate body; it is increased, reflected by mirrors; communicated, propagated, augmented by sound; its virtues may be accumulated, concentrated,

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transported. Although this fluid is universal, all animated bodies are not equally susceptible of it; there are even some, though a very small number, which have properties so opposite that their very presence destroys all the effects of this fluid on other bodies.

'Animal Magnetism is capable of healing diseases of the nerves immediately, and other diseases mediately. It perfects the action of medicines; it excites and directs salutary *crises* in such a manner, that the physician may render himself master of them; by its means he knows the state of health of each individual, and judges with certainty of the origin, the nature, and the progress of the most complicated diseases; he prevents their increase, and succeeds in healing them, without at any time exposing his patient to dangerous effects or troublesome consequences, whatever be the age, the temperament, and the sex.' (*Mémoire sur la Découverte du Magnétisme Animal, par M. Mesmer.* Paris, 1779. pp. 74, et seq.) 'In Animal Magnetism nature presents an universal method of healing and preserving mankind.' (*Ibid. Avis au Lecteur,* p. 6.)

After his arrival in Paris, Mesmer established public apartments for the treatment of such patients as chose to submit themselves to the influence of Animal Magnetism. These apartments were soon crowded with people of all ranks, from the peer to the peasant; and hundreds were ready to attest the cures he had performed upon them. He also succeeded in making a convert of M. d'Eslon, one of the members of the medical faculty, who publicly adopted and defended his opinions, though at the risk of being expelled by his fellow members. M. d'Eslon published a work, (*Observations sur le Magnétisme Animal.* Paris, 1780.) in which, without insisting on the *theories* of Mesmer, he attempted to show the value of Animal Magnetism in the treatment of diseases. By his advice, Mesmer challenged a comparative examination of the Faculty of Medicine; proposing to select twenty-four patients, twelve of which he would treat by Animal Magnetism, and leave the remaining twelve to the faculty to be treated by them according to their most appoved methods. He also stipulated that proper precautions should be taken to prevent subsequent disputes, and that persons, not of any medical body, chosen by Government, should be present at each comparative examination, and decide the result. He refused to permit any investigation into the nature of his proceedings, but only into their efficacy in the cure of disease. The medical faculty would not adopt this method, but insisted on examining *how* he performed his pretended cures; and thus the proposal fell to the ground. Mesmer, indeed, seems never seriously to have wished to submit his pretensions to any examination of the medical faculty: their sanction was not necessary to him; his patients were ready to support his claims. He resolved

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solved to apply directly to the Government, and entered into some negotiations; but as he feared they would not succeed to his wishes, he declared his intention of carrying his discovery into another country, and even fixed the day for his departure. His patients, some of whom, as we have seen, were of distinguished rank, became clamorous at this intelligence, and finally succeeded in making themselves heard by the Government. Mesmer wanted to have a 'château and its lands' given him, where he might be enabled to continue his treatments 'at leisure,' and, 'independently of persecution'; he is even said to have named the property on which he had fixed his wishes. The Government, in reply to these proposals, went so far as to engage to give him a life-rent of twenty thousand francs per annum; and, instead of the château which he had required, another sum of ten thousand francs a year, to enable him to select a proper situation for the treatment of his patients. The only condition required by the Government was, that three persons named by it should be admitted to witness his proceedings. Although their report should prove unfavourable, the advantages promised him were not to be recalled; but if favourable, he might look for the most splendid rewards. Under various pretexts, he refused to accept this offer; but chiefly from the uncertainty of the reward promised him, and on account of the condition annexed to it: it was not to be expected that the report of the persons appointed by the Government would be favourable, or that Government would continue that reward if it should be found undeserved. We may judge of Mesmer's real object in all these negotiations, from a passage which occurs in a letter he addressed to the Queen, who is said to have been the chief instrument in procuring him proposals so favourable. 'In the eyes of your Majesty,' says he, 'four or five hundred thousand francs applied to a proper purpose are nothing; the welfare and happiness of your people is everything. My discovery should be received, and myself recompensed with a munificence worthy of the monarch to whom I shall attach myself.' This letter was the last effort of Mesmer; but before finally quitting France, he repaired to Spa, where he pretended that the state of his health required the use of the waters for some time.

M. d'Eslon had during these transactions taken an active hand in Mesmer's public treatments, and become experimentally acquainted with all his proceedings. Shortly after Mesmer had left Paris, the faculty of Medicine met for the third and last time, to require M. d'Eslon to renounce Animal Magnetism, or be expelled from their body. Instead of appearing before them to defend the opinions of Mesmer, he declared himself in possession

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possession of the secret of discovery, and capable of working cures by it. He claimed open investigation, and several other members of the faculty, on witnessing his cures, publickly acknowledged their belief in the efficacy of Animal Magnetism, in the treatment of diseases. The disinterested zeal and known candour of M. d'Eslon seem to have had great influence in inducing them to adopt his opinions. A royal commission of the Faculty of Medicine, seconded, at their own request, by another commission of the Académie des Sciences, was appointed on the 12th of March, 1784, to investigate the pretensions of M. d'Eslon. In order to give some idea of the weight attached to these commissions, it will be sufficient to state that Bailly, the historian of Astronomy, Lavoisier, and Benjamin Franklin, who was at that time in France, formed part of the latter. But before noticing their decision, it will be necessary to give some account of the processes, which were at that time employed in Animal Magnetism, and the effects these were supposed to produce.

We have already mentioned the public apartments which Mesmer established for the treatment of magnetic patients. Each of these was fitted up with a peculiar apparatus, which we shall briefly describe. In the middle of each room was placed a large circular case or vessel, made of oak wood, and about a foot or a foot and a half in height; the inside of this was filled with pounded glass, iron filings, and bottles filled with magnetized water, arranged symmetrically; the cover or upper part of it was pierced with numerous holes, and in these were placed polished iron rods of various lengths, bent and capable of being moved: this was called the *baquet* or magnetic tub. The patients were placed in successive rows around the *baquet*, and each had one of the rods of iron, the end of which he applied to the part of his body which was supposed to be the seat of his disease: a cord passed round their bodies united them to one another, and sometimes they formed a second chain by taking hold of each other's thumbs. A pianoforte was placed in the corner of the room, and various airs were played upon it, sometimes accompanied with the sound of the voice and song. The magnetiser held in his hand a polished and pointed rod of iron from ten to twelve inches long.

The first part of this apparatus or the *baquet* was regarded as a reservoir of magnetic virtues; its interior arrangement was for the purpose of concentrating the magnetic fluid, and the iron rods were supposed to be conductors capable of transmitting it. The cords around the bodies of the patients, and the other

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other chain of connexion by the thumbs, were thought to increase the effects of the fluid by communication. The magnetiser had previously charged the piano-forte with magnetic fluid, the person playing on it was incessantly giving out more; the sound conducted it to the patients. The music was also employed by Mesmer 'to put his patients into a state of quiet, and to give them *agreeable sensations*, and thus dispose them to receive the magnetic action.' The magnetiser's rod was for the purpose of concentrating in a point the fluid which issued from him, and thus rendering it more powerful. It is to be observed, however, that no part of this complicated apparatus was considered indispensably necessary; it was only regarded as a powerful auxiliary to other means. Bailly has very graphically described the scenes of which he was an eye-witness in these magnetic apartments.

'The sick persons, arranged in great numbers and in several rows around the *baquet*, thus receive the magnetism by all these means: by the iron rods which convey to them that of the *baquet*; by the cords wound round their bodies, and by the connexion of the thumbs, which communicate to them that of their neighbours; by the sound of a piano-forte or of an agreeable voice, diffusing the magnetism in the air. The patients were also directly magnetised, by means of the finger and rod of the magnetiser moved before their faces, above or behind their heads, and on the diseased parts; always observing the distinction of poles. The magnetiser acts on them by fixing his eyes upon them. But above all, they are magnetised by the application of his hands, and the pressure of his fingers on the hypochondres and on the regions of the abdomen; an application often continued for a long time, sometimes for several hours.

'Meanwhile the patients in their different conditions present a very varied picture. Some are calm, tranquil, and experience no effect; others cough, spit, feel slight pains, local or general heat, and have sweatings; others again are agitated and tormented with convulsions. These convulsions are remarkable in regard to the number affected with them, to their duration and force. As soon as one begins to be convulsed, several others are affected. The commissioners have observed some of these convulsions last more than three hours; they are accompanied with expectorations of a muddy, viscous water, brought away by the violent efforts. Sometimes streaks of blood have been observed in this fluid; and, among others, there is one sick young man who often brings up large quantities of blood. These convulsions are characterized by the precipitous, involuntary motions of all the limbs, and of the whole body; by the constriction of the throat, by the leaping motions of the hypochondres and the epigastrium, by the dimness and wandering of the eyes, by piercing shrieks, tears, sobbing, and immoderate laughter.

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laughter. They are preceded or followed by a state of languor and reverie, a kind of depression and even drowsiness. The smallest unforeseen noise occasions shudderings; and it was remarked that the change of tone and measure in the airs played on the piano-forte had an influence on the patients; so that a quicker motion agitated them more and renewed the vivacity of their convulsions.

'Nothing is more astonishing than the spectacle of these convulsions; one who has not seen them can form no idea of them. The spectator is equally astonished at the profound repose of one part of the patients, and the agitation which animates the rest; at the various accidents which are repeated, and the sympathies which are established. Some patients you will observe devoting their exclusive attention to each other, rushing towards one another, smiling, speaking with affection, and mutually soothing their *crises*.* All are under the power of the magnetiser; it matters not in what state of drowsiness they may be,—his voice, a look, a gesture brings them out of it.

'Among the patients in convulsions, there were always observed a great many women and few men; the first convulsions were always one or two hours in being formed, and, as soon as one was formed, all the rest began successively in a short time.' (*Rapport des Commissaires, rédigé par Bailly*, Paris, 1784.)

Such was Animal Magnetism and its effects at the time when the royal commissioners were appointed to examine it. After occasionally witnessing the public treatments by Animal Magnetism as well as private experiments, for nearly five months successively; after seeking in vain for any proof of the existence of a magnetic fluid; after submitting themselves to its supposed action, and experiencing no effect; after finding by repeated experiments that the imagination unassisted could produce the effects attributed to magnetism, and that magnetism itself produced no effect at all when unaided by imagination—the commissioners declared their conviction that there were no proofs of the existence of Animal Magnetism; that all the effects ascribed to it were purely owing to the power of imagination, the tendency to imitation natural to all mankind, and the mechanical influence of touching and frictions on the most sensitive parts of the body; and that the practice of it was both hurtful and dangerous in society, especially in a moral point of view.†

Meanwhile

* The convulsions we have been describing were the *crises* which Mesmer speaks of in his theory, and he regarded them as analogous to those salutary *crises*, which Nature sometimes brings on in the course of diseases, and which the skilful physician studies to promote and direct.

† The words of Bailly on this subject are remarkable; his anticipations have met their fulfilment under the most disgusting circumstances, both in Germany and France: 'Les

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Meanwhile it may be supposed that Mesmer did not remain a silent spectator of these transactions. His avarice and self-interest felt the utmost alarm. He complained bitterly that M. d'Elson had betrayed and ruined him by appropriating a discovery, which had been the fruit of long study and watchings,

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'Les commissaires ont reconnu que les principales causes des effets attribués au Magnétisme Animal, sont l'attouchement, l'imagination, l'imitation; et ils ont observé qu'il y avait toujours beaucoup plus de femmes que d'hommes en crise. Cette différence a pour première cause la différente organisation des deux sexes. Les femmes ont en général les nerfs plus mobiles, leur imagination est plus vive, plus exaltée. Il est facile de la frapper, de la mettre en mouvement. Cette grande mobilité, en leur donnant des sens plus délicats et plus exquis, les rend plus susceptibles des impressions de l'attouchement. En les touchant dans une partie quelconque, on pourrait dire qu'on les touche à la fois partout. Cette grande mobilité des nerfs fait qu'elles sont plus disposées à l'imitation. Les femmes, comme on l'a déjà fait remarquer, sont semblables à des cordes sonores parfaitment tendues et à l'unisson. Il suffit d'en mettre une en mouvement, toutes les autres à l'instant le partagent. C'est ce que les commissaires ont observé plusieurs fois; dès qu'une femme tombe en crise, les autres ne tardent pas d'y tomber.

'Cette organisation fait comprendre pourquoi les femmes ont des crises plus fréquentes, plus longues, plus violentes que les hommes, et c'est à leur sensibilité des nerfs qu'est dû le plus grand nombre de leurs crises. Il en est quelques-unes qui appartiennent à une cause cachée, mais naturelle, à une cause certaine des emotions dont toutes les femmes sont plus ou moins susceptibles, et qui, par une influence éloignée, en accumulant ces émotions, en les portant au plus haut degré, peut contribuer à produire un état convulsif qu'on confond avec les autres crises. Cette cause est l'empire que la nature a donné à un sexe sur l'autre pour l'attacher et l'émouvoir. La plupart des femmes qui vont au Magnétisme ne sont pas réellement malades; beaucoup y viennent par oisiveté et par amusement; d'autres, qui ont quelques incommodités, n'en conservent pas moins leur fraîcheur et leur force: leurs sens sont tous entiers; leur jeunesse a toute sa sensibilité. Elles ont assez de charmes pour agir sur le médecin; elles ont assez de santé pour que le médecin agisse sur elles. La proximité long-temps continuée, l'attouchement indispensable, la chaleur individuelle communiquée, les regards confondus, sont les voies connues de la nature et les moyens qu'elle a préparé de tout temps pour opérer immanquablement les communications des sensations et des affections. L'homme qui magnétise a ordinairement les genoux de la femme renfermés dans les siens; les genoux et toutes les parties inférieures du corps sont par conséquent en contact. La main est appliquée sur les hypochondres et quelquefois plus bas, sur les ovaires. Le tact est donc exercé à la fois sur une infinité des parties, &c. (*a*) L'imagination, qui agit en même temps, répand un certain désordre dans toute la machine: elle suspend le jugement, elle écarte l'attention. Quand cette espèce de crise se prépare, le visage s'enflamme par degrés, l'œil devient ardent. On voit la femme baisser la tête, porter la main au front et aux yeux pour les couvrir. Cependant la crise continue et l'œil se trouble, les paupières deviennent humides; la respiration est courte et entrecoupée; la poitrine s'élève et s'abaisse rapidement; les convulsions s'établissent ainsi que les mouvemens précipités et brusques, ou des membres ou du corps entier. La preuve que cet état de convulsion n'a rien de pénible, c'est que, dès qu'il est cessé, il n'en reste aucune trace fâcheuse. Le souvenir n'en est pas désagéable, les femmes s'en trouvent mieux, et n'ont point de répugnance à le sentir de nouveau. Comme les émotions éprouvées sont les germes des affections et des penchans, on sent pourquoi celui qui magnétise inspire tant d'attachement. En se proposant de guérir des maladies qui demandent un long traitement, on excite des émotions agréables et chères, des émotions que l'on regrette, et que l'on cherche à retrouver, &c. &c. (Vid. *Rapport Secret.*)

(*a*) We shall see that the methods employed by the best magnetisers of the present day are still the same as here described.

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and which it had been the sole object of his life to perfect. Yet in this alarm and despondency, there was still one resource in store for him. Several patients of distinguished rank and considerable fortune had followed him to Spa, to prosecute their treatment uninterruptedly, and these were so much attached to Animal Magnetism and its author, that they entered into a subscription, by which, in order to induce Mesmer to communicate his doctrines* to them, they bound themselves to find one hundred persons who would pay him each 2400 francs for his instructions. More than the requisite number was found, and Mesmer is said to have received 340,000 francs, a sum nearly equal to 14,000*l.* sterling. He immediately returned to Paris, recommenced his public treatments; and he was continuing these and communicating his instructions, at the very time when the Royal Commissioners were investigating Animal Magnetism, and preparing to decide upon it.† Those who had paid so well for his instructions soon after formed themselves into what they termed 'Sociétés de l'Harmonie,' for the purpose of gratuitously propagating the doctrines of Animal Magnetism. Mesmer was shameless enough to dispute their right of doing so. It would be equally uninteresting and unprofitable for us to enter into the merits of the discussions which took place in consequence. Mesmer put the money in his purse, quitted France some time afterwards, and troubled himself little more about the success or failure of Animal Magnetism. We find him at his native place, where he is said to have lived till 1815. So much for Mesmerism, as this original form of Animal Magnetism has been called. We have now to contemplate the modifications which it has received down to the present time.

The decisive condemnation of such men as Franklin, Bailly, Lavoisier, and Berthollet would soon have proved fatal to Animal Magnetism, had it retained the same form as that in which they examined it. But at the very time when they were engaged in forming their report, it had begun to assume an almost totally different aspect, and to produce new and unexpected effects. The Marquis de Puységur and his brother—both kindly, well-

* The substance of these doctrines is contained in a work, entitled, *Aphorismes de Mesmer par M. Caulet de Vecumoret.* Paris, 1784.

† M. Berthollet was one of Mesmer's auditors. After having heard Mesmer's doctrines from his own mouth, and witnessed his public treatments, we find him making the same declaration as the Commissioners made a few months later. What convinced him of the nullity of Animal Magnetism was, that the patients were indifferently calmed or excited by the processes to which a contrary virtue was ascribed; the effect produced depending always on the opinion which the patient had of what the Magnetiser wished to make him feel.

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meaning men—were among the number of those who had entered into the subscription which we have already mentioned. They had been instructed by Mesmer in the doctrines and processes of Animal Magnetism, and retired to their estate at Busançy, near Soissons, with the object of putting in practice the new mode of treatment. They were the first to observe, and give account of what has since been termed *Magnetic Sleep*, or *Somnambulism*, from its resemblance to the disease which had long been known under that name. It is instructive to hear M. de Puységur describe his feelings on first observing the phenomena of Magnetic Sleep. The following passage occurs in one of his letters to a friend:—

'I cannot refrain, Sir, from the pleasure of informing you of the experiments with which I am occupied on my estate. I am, at any rate, so agitated myself, I may even say, so exalted, that I feel the necessity of some relaxation, some repose; and this I hope to find in writing to one who can comprehend me, &c.

'After ten days of tranquillity on my estate, without occupying myself with aught else than my relaxation and my gardens, I had occasion to go to my steward's. I found his daughter suffering from severe toothache. I asked her jokingly, if she wished to be cured; she consented, as you may well suppose. I had not magetised her ten minutes when the pain entirely ceased; and she has felt none since.'

After mentioning some other cures, he proceeds:—

'These slight successes induced me to attempt being useful to a peasant, a man of twenty-three years of age, who had been four days confined to his bed by a catarrh. I went then to see him: it was last Tuesday at eight in the evening. The fever had just become milder. After raising him, I magnetised him. What was my surprise on seeing this man, at the end of two or three minutes, *fall asleep* quietly in my arms, without convulsions or pains! I continued the crisis, which occasioned giddiness: he talked, spoke aloud of his affairs. When I thought his ideas were affecting him disagreeably, I checked them; I endeavoured to inspire him with more agreeable ones. For this purpose, no great efforts were necessary. I then observed him to be satisfied, imagining himself shooting for a prize, dancing at a festival, &c. &c. *I cherished these ideas in him*, and thereby *forced* him to make many motions in his chair, as if he had been trying to dance to an air which, by singing it *mentally*, I caused him to repeat quite loud. By these means I brought him that very day into a copious sweat. After a crisis of one hour, I *calmed* him, and left the room. He had something to drink, and I got him some bread and bouillon brought; he took soup that very evening, a thing he had not been able to do for five previous days. He slept uninterruptedly the whole night; and next day, *without having any recollection* of my evening visit, he informed me

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me of the improved state of his health. . . . Every day I made the patient put his feet three hours into water, and gave him daily two crises. To-day, Saturday, the shivering has been less than usual, his appetite continues, his nights are good. . . . In three days, I hope he will be able to follow his customary occupation.

'In order, then,' continues M. de Puységur, after speaking of some other cures begun by magnetism, 'in order to have it in my power to produce a more constant effect on these poor people, without, at the same time, exhausting myself with fatigue, I resolved to magnetise a tree, according to M. Mesmer's directions, and after fixing a cord to it,* I tried its virtues on my patients. It was but yester evening that I made my first experiment. I brought my first patient to it. As soon as I had put the cord around him, he gazed at the tree, and, with an air of astonishment which I cannot describe, exclaimed: "*What is it that I see there?*" His head then sunk down, and he fell into a perfect *somnambulism.* At the end of an hour I took him home to his house again, where I restored him to his senses. Several men and women came to tell him what he had been doing. He *maintained it was not true;* that, weak as he was, and scarcely able to walk, it would have been impossible for him to go down stairs, and walk to the tree. To-day I have repeated the same experiment on him, and with the same success. . . . I own to you, Sir, my head turns with pleasure at seeing the good I do; Madame de P., the company she has with her, my domestics, all who are near me, feel an amazement mingled with admiration, which cannot be described; and I shall confess, too, that they do not experience the half of my sensations. Without my tree, which gives me rest, and which will do so still more, I should be in a state of agitation inconsistent, I believe, with my health. I exist too much, if I may be allowed to use the expression.'

The supposed influence of Animal Magnetism had now produced Magnetic Sleep. This was a signal to all connected with it. The magnetisers speedily declared somnambulism, and not convulsions, to be its legitimate and desired effect; and those capable of being magnetised were complaisant enough to put up with this alteration; and, indeed, they had no reason to be dissatisfied at exchanging their spasms, tears, and sobbings, for this new, and more quiet and comfortable

* A tree was magnetised, 'by first touching it, and then retiring a few steps from it, all the while directing the fluid upon it, from the branches towards the trunk; and from the trunk towards the root.' Circular seats were erected round the tree, and cords suspended from it in all directions. When the patients had seated themselves, they wrapped the cords round the diseased parts of their bodies, and formed a chain of communication by the thumbs. The magnetiser, or master, as he was called, was furnished with his rod, and proceeded in the same way as in the public apartments, directing the fluid, &c. The tree magnetised by M. de Puységur was a large elm, in an open space of the village; under it the rustic dances were held on festive occasions, and the garrulous old men sought its shade '*pour causer.*' M. de Puységur's patients were chiefly his own retainers.

state

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state of magnetic repose. In a month or two after its first appearance, we have a perfect epidemic of it among the peasantry of M. de Puységur.

'If you do not come, my dear friend,' says he in a letter to his brother, 'you will not see my extraordinary man;* for his health is almost quite restored. He has, however, told me, when in a *crisis*, that he should still need to be *touched*, and pointed out to me the days, Thursday, Saturday, and Monday for the last time, &c.

'I continue to make use of the happy power which I owe to M. Mesmer; and every day I bless him, for I am very useful, and produce many salutary effects on all the sick in the neighbourhood. They flock round my tree; there were more than *one hundred and thirty* of them this morning. There is a continual procession in the country. I pass two hours at my tree every morning. It is the best *baquet* possible, not a leaf of it but communicates health; all feel more or less good effects from it. You will be delighted to see the picture of humanity which this presents. I have only one regret; it is that I cannot touch all who come. But my *man*, or rather my *intelligence*, sets me at ease. He teaches me what conduct I should adopt. According to him, *it is not necessary for me to touch every one; a look, a gesture, a wish is sufficient;* and it is one of the most limited peasants of the country that teaches me this. When he is in a *crisis*, I know nothing more profound, more prudent, and more clearsighted (*clairvoyant*) than he.'

These details of the Marquis de Puységur throw light on the history of Animal Magnetism; but our limits will not allow us to quote them at full length. We shall content ourselves with briefly noticing the most remarkable phenomena of somnambulism when first observed at Busançy. The patients of M. de Puységur, during a 'crisis' of magnetic sleep, had their eyes shut, and had lost the use of their external senses of hearing, smelling, seeing; yet, by some 'incomprehensible means,' they could hear, see, and feel their magnetiser; by an 'effort of his will' he seemed to direct all their motions, and even their very thoughts. Their intellectual faculties, 'in compensation for the physical powers of which they appear to be deprived,' were highly purified and exalted; so that the silliest peasant, when in a state of 'crisis,' could enlighten and instruct his magnetiser. They had the 'power of discerning the nature and seat of their own diseases,' and fortelling their progress and termination; they could also 'know the diseases of other persons brought into connexion with them, by touching their bodies, and could prescribe suitable remedies:' hence they were called 'médecins endormis,' sleeping physicians. Lastly, when their magnetiser

* This is still the same peasant who was M. de Puységur's first somnambulist.

had

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had recalled them from this state, they 'recollected absolutely nothing of what had passed during their crises.' Such were the principal features of Somnambulism at Busançy. It is important to remark, that the very same wonders were observed the same year at Lyons, by another zealous magnetiser, the Chevalier de Barbarin. With him, however, they were produced by a process much less complicated than that which was employed at Paris and Busançy: here there was no *baquet*, no magnetic tree, no universal fluid, no apparatus of cords or rods to conduct it; prayers were offered up in solemn accents at the bedsides of the patients, and were found to produce exactly the same effects.*

Thus have we seen how Animal Magnetism survived the unfavourable report of the commissioners who had been appointed to judge of it. At the very moment when its fate seemed decided, instead of falling to the ground and dying away, it rose Proteus-like, and in its new shape again challenged examination with fresh uproar. 'Sociétés de l'Harmonie'† were established in all directions, and Animal Magnetism spread rapidly over France, Germany, Switzerland, and even as far as Russia and Sweden. The wonders of Somnambulism, as was to be expected, went on increasing and multiplying from day to day. In a short time you have the Somnambulists dealing out to their magnetisers visions, prophecies, and medical prescriptions of the strangest character. In their 'lucid sleep' or '*clairvoyance*,' you will find them writing in the dark, hearing, seeing, smelling with their stomachs and even with their fingers and toes; speaking in strange unknown tongues; praying, preaching, giving lectures in medicine, dictating poetry, and speculating with their magnetisers on all things and many more besides, 'de todas las cosas y otras muchas mas.'

This epidemic of magnetic crisis daily gained strength till the French Revolution broke out in 1789; after which most of the Harmonic Societies were dissolved, and those who had been the

* The followers of Barbarin became numerous, and were named '*Barbarinistes*.' 'There exists,' says Bertrand, 'at this moment in Paris a small sect of magnetisers, who employ no other means. They have their Somnambulists; and these, as you may well suppose, see no fluid, but believe themselves to be *inspired*.'—(Du Magnétisme An. en France, p. 227, note.)

† The Society of Strasburg, founded by M. de Puységur in August, 1785, had nearly two hundred members, when it was dissolved by the events of the Revolution. Each member bound himself to transmit to the society an account of all the cures he performed. Those of our readers who are curious to see what extraordinary things may be attested by men of science and undisputed honesty, should consult the 'Annales de la Société Harmonique des Amis réunis de Strasbourg,' 3 vol. 8vo. Strasburg, 1786, 1787, 1789. A volume was published every year till the time of the Revolution.

chief

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chief patrons of Animal Magnetism lost all their influence. During the fearful transactions of that period, no work was published on the subject in France; no society remained there to diffuse the knowledge of it; and, though many individuals still continued to magnetise in secret, the public apartments which we have seen so crowded with patients of every rank, the *baquets*, and magnetic trees, were abandoned and forgotten. Animal Magnetism was little more heard of in public till after the commencement of the present century, and indeed till towards the decline and fall of Napoleon, and the return of the Bourbons, the Roman Catholic priests, and the ancient nobility to their former power and influence. The 'Histoire Critique du Magnétisme Animal' of M. Deluze, the first edition of which was published in 1813, may be said to have formed an epoch in the history of Animal Magnetism in France. It is written in a tone of moderation and candour, and with a degree of good sense and precision, which gave it more influence than any previous work on the subject. It was followed in succession by several periodical publications exclusively devoted to Magnetism, such as the 'Annales du Mag. Animal,' begun in July, 1814, and continued for a year or two, the 'Bibliothèque du Mag. Animal,' &c. down to the 'Hermes,' which is still going on.

In Germany and the other countries into which Animal Magnetism had spread, the influence of the Revolution was also felt, though less strongly and for a shorter time than in France. About the commencement of this century, we find some men of eminence declaring their belief in Animal Magnetism, and striving to reconcile that belief with the science and philosophy of our times. It was not, however, till after the conclusion of the French war that Animal Magnetism rose to its greatest height in Germany. Public lectures began to be delivered on the subject at several universities; journals, specially devoted to it, were publicly conducted by men occupying distinguished situations; and 'histories,' and 'theories,' and 'wonderful,' but 'well-attested' cases, were to be had at every new Leipzig fair; so that many well-disposed persons began to speak of a 'reform of the human race,' and a 'happy change' in the 'direction and object' of all our studies. Even at Berlin, which reckons itself the Athens of Germany, a public hospital was established for the treatment of diseases by Animal Magnetism. Wolfahrt, who was appointed physician to this hospital, published the results of his treatment in a journal called the *Neues Æsculapion*. It had become necessary, for various reasons,

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reasons,* to limit the practice of Animal Magnetism. Laws had been passed in Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Russia, &c. prohibiting all but regularly educated physicians from employing it in the cure of diseases.

Thus have we attempted to give a brief sketch of the history of Animal Magnetism; and, in doing so, we have purposely refrained from taking notice of the different sects of magnetisers, which have been formed since Mesmer first made known his discovery. These sects are not opposed to each other; the difference of their theories seems to have little influence on the practical result, which they all suppose themselves capable of producing. But, in order to give our readers a better idea of Animal Magnetism, and to enable each of them to judge for himself regarding it, we hold it to be essentially necessary to say a few words concerning the chief of these sects.

Amid the endless variety of magnetisers we may distinguish three leading classes; the first, or those who embraced the doctrines and opinions of Mesmer, believing in his universal fluid, &c. as we have already seen; the second class, or the *spiritualists*, as they have been named; and the third, or those who call themselves the followers of M. de Puységur, or the *experimentalists*. It will be necessary to speak only of the last two. After the discovery of Somnambulism, and the decision of the Royal Commissioners, but very few remained of the first sect. It may be observed that there were many magnetisers who borrowed something from each of these sects, without attaching themselves to any one in particular.

The spiritualists supposed physical agency to be unnecessary in Animal Magnetism. They maintained that its effects were to be produced by a pure 'effort of the soul;' and that when a connexion between the magnetiser and his patient had been once fairly established, the former could communicate his influence to the latter at any distance, by a mere act of the will, by prayer, &c. The magnetisers of this sect were less numerous in France than in Sweden and Germany. The Chevalier de Barbarin, of whom we have spoken already, may indeed, in some

* After the Revolution we hear no more of the public treatments. The magnetisers began to treat each patient separately and privately. This gave opportunity, both in France and Germany, for scenes, which decency will not allow us to relate, but which sometimes came before the public gradually and by natural processes, the patients bearing visible and involuntary testimony of what had happened during their treatment. The processes of Animal Magnetism were also found capable of producing permanent insanity in the hands of the unskilful and incautious. Neither of these effects of magnetism has been entirely prevented by the laws which they suggested, though both have been rendered somewhat less frequent.

measure,

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measure, be regarded as its founder, and his followers spread from Lyons into various other parts of France. It was in Germany, however, that the spiritualists became most numerous and most respectable. Among the infinite host of tearful, crazy drivellers, we may distinguish some men of great and undoubted talents devoting their attention to Animal Magnetism, and seeking to connect it with science, philosophy, and even religion. The phenomena of Somnambulism were supposed to be capable of throwing light on the mysterious connexion between the soul and the body, and of affording another proof of the immortal nature of the former. The 'lucid sleep' or 'clairvoyance' was sublimed into an image of what poets have represented under the name of a golden age, when man in a state of simple innocence and enjoyment had not 'sought out many inventions' of pride, nor withdrawn himself from the immediate intercourse and guidance of his Creator.* Others looked upon Somnambulism as a state approaching to that of the blessed in Heaven: 'In Mesmerism,' says Oken, 'animal instinct ascends to the highest degree admissible in this world. The *clairvoyant* is thus a *pure animal*, without any mixture of matter. His operations are those of a spirit. He is similar to God. His eye penetrates all the secrets of nature. When his attention is fixed on any of the objects of this world; on his disease, his death, his well-beloved, his friends, his relations, his enemies; in spirit he sees them acting, he penetrates into the causes and the consequences of their actions; he becomes a physician, a prophet, a divine. Such a state of spirituality and pure animality is that of the saints.' In short, it would be vain to think of enumerating the various theories of this sort which were given out on the subject, and we fear it would be equally uninteresting and uninstructive to attempt making our readers acquainted with them. The records of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, miracles, visions, prophesyings,† &c. were called into the service of the 'new science,' and explained and interpreted by the phenomena of Somnambulism. He who can, with any degree of patience, endure the mysterious, sickly, hypocritical, unmanly style, in which these worthy people write, will find wonderful enough details in the twelve thick octavo volumes of Kieser's Journal of Animal Magnetism, and in the 'Neus Æsculapion' of Wolfahrt; but we would counsel no man who is bilious or short-tempered to think of perusing them, for there is enough in them to move the gall of one in

* See Chubert's 'Ansichten der Naturwissenschaften von der Nachtseite,' and especially the chapter on Magnetism.

† 'The second sight' of our own islanders is also regarded as a variety of 'lucid sleep' by the magnetisers both of France and Germany.

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perfect health and furnished with the most liberal stock of patience.

The third sect has been chiefly confined to France, though it has also had its partisans in Holland, Germany, and other northern countries. M. de Puységur appears latterly to have attached little importance to any theory or any mode of magnetising. He conceived that 'emanations' dependent on the will, and capable of being directed by it, proceeded from the bodies of the magnetisers, and that actual contact was necessary for communicating these emanations to their patients. In France, almost all the magnetisers of the present day believe in the existence of a magnetic fluid which they regard as necessary to the action of magnetism. This fluid* is supposed to be 'continually escaping from our bodies,' and 'forming an atmosphere around us,' which, however, as it has 'no determined current,' produces no sensible effect on the individuals surrounding us. It is 'capable of being directed by the will, much in the same way as the nervous influence;' and when so directed, it is 'sent forth in currents' with a force corresponding to the energy we possess; its motion is compared to 'the luminous rays sent from burning bodies.' It is supposed to possess 'different qualities in different individuals,' according to their state of health, &c. &c. This fluid is conceived to be 'capable of concentration;' and to 'exist also in trees;' and 'the will of the magnetiser, aided by a gesture of the hand several times repeated in the same direction,' can 'guide the fluid of trees, and impress upon it a determined action.' 'The action of the magnetiser's will, when he magnetises a tree, or when he makes his patients form a chain, seems also to put this fluid in circulation nearly in the same way as a spark kindles a heap of combustible matter;' and 'it appears, that the fluid which the magnetiser accumulates does not emanate from himself alone.' Most persons, when magnetised, 'feel a sensation of heat or cold, on the magnetiser's passing his hand before them without even touching them;' and the somnambulists 'perceive a luminous brilliant fluid around their magnetiser, issuing with most force from his head and hands, 'possessing a smell which is agreeable to them,' and 'capable of communicating a particular taste to food and water.' A person in good health cannot feel the action of the magnetic fluid; because, in such circumstances, the 'fluid in his own body experiences no obstacle in its circulation,' and because 'nature has no need of

* In giving this account of Animal Magnetism in France, we shall take M. Deleuze as our chief guide, because he is looked up to as a sort of leader by the magnetisers, and is by far the most respectable among them.

a superabundance

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a superabundance of strength.' Such is the 'magnetic fluid,' according to M. Deleuze, the most enlightened of the French magnetisers. There is not any evidence, we think, of its existence; for we beg leave to value the testimony of the somnambulists themselves at nothing: they have never in any case seen, tasted, or smelled any fluid, either cold or hot, when their magnetisers could go on without one. M. Deleuze does well in continuing to 'believe for himself,' without 'insisting' that any other person should believe along with him.

But we come now to that part of magnetism, which M. Deleuze and the rest consider to be independent of opinion, and practically demonstrated. According to them, it is indispensably necessary for every magnetiser, who expects to produce salutary effects by magnetism, to have '*Volonté active vers le bien, croyance ferme en sa puissance, confiance entière en l'employant*,'—an active will to do good; firm belief in his power, and entire confidence in employing it. Yet though all magnetisers must have these qualities, they will not have equal success. There is a great difference in their power, and this is supposed to depend upon the force of the will, the capacity of attention, the degree of belief and confidence, the goodness of the intention, the physical constitution, &c. People 'of a feeble temperament' have little power; magnetism is 'a communication of the vital energy,' and that energy is 'less in an individual who is old and infirm,' than in one who is young and in perfect health. The best magnetiser is he 'who has a robust temperament, a character at once firm and calm; the germ of quick passions without being subject to them; a will strong without enthusiasm, activity united with patience; the power of concentrating his attention without effort; and who, while magnetising, occupies himself solely with what he is doing.'

The susceptibility of different individuals for magnetism is equally various. Some patients are altogether incapable of feeling its influence. Confidence in its efficacy is not absolutely necessary for the patient; but the 'obstinately incredulous seldom reap any advantage from it.' Women are much more susceptible of its influence than men; and 'country people more than men of the world.' Few are capable of being brought into a state of perfect somnambulism. We have already seen that no person in health can be magnetised.

In regard to the phenomena of somnambulism in France, we cannot do better than allow M. Deleuze to speak for himself. After stating that the 'predictions and prophecies' of somnambulists are to be received with many limitations, and seldom to be depended upon, he proceeds to relate 'what he himself has

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seen,' and 'what at least five hundred creditable persons have attested in writing,' and 'surely more than fifty thousand verbally :'

'When magnetism produces somnambulism, the being who is in this condition acquires a prodigious extension in the faculty of sensation ; several of his external organs, generally those of sight and hearing, are inactive, and all the sensations which depend upon them take place internally. Of this state there is an infinite number of shades and varieties ; but in order to form a right judgment of it, we must examine it in its greatest difference from the state of waking, passing over in silence all that has not been confirmed by experience.

'The somnambulist has his eyes shut, and does not see with his eyes ; he does not hear with his ears ; but he sees and hears better than one who is awake.

'He sees and hears only those with whom he is in communication, '*en rapport.*'* He sees nothing but what he looks at, ("*ce qu'il regarde,*") and he generally looks only at the objects to which his attention is directed.†

'He is under the will of his magnetiser in regard to every thing that cannot hurt him, and that he does not feel contrary to his ideas of Justice and Truth.

'He feels the will of his magnetiser.

'He perceives the magnetic fluid.

'He sees, or rather he feels the interior of his body, and that of others ;‡ but he commonly observes only those parts of it which are not in their natural state, and disturb the harmony of the whole.

'He recovers the recollection of things he had forgot when awake.

'He has prophetic visions and sensations, which may be erroneous in some circumstances, and which are limited in their extent.

'He expresses himself with astonishing facility.

'He is not free from vanity.

'He becomes more perfect of his own accord for a certain time, if guided wisely. He wanders when he is ill directed.

'When he returns to the natural state, he entirely loses the recollection of all the sensations, and all the ideas which he has had in the state of somnambulism, so that these two conditions are as foreign to one another as if the somnambulist and the waking man were too different beings.'—vol. i. p. 185, *et seq.*

* When the magnetiser acts on the magnetised, they are said to be '*en rapport.*'

† M. Deleuze conceives that seeing, hearing, &c. are carried on by means of the magnetic fluid, (vol. i. p. 189,) which transmits the impressions immediately, and without the intervention of the nerves, to the brain.

‡ This is to be understood only of those who are put '*en rapport*' with him by touching. It was this supposed power, as we have seen, that made the somnambulists of M. de Puységur be called '*Médecins endormis.*' M. Deleuze gives directions for holding 'consultations' with somnambulists. (vol. i. p. 206.)

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These various characters are 'rarely united in the same subject; the last alone is constant and essentially distinguishes somnambulism.' There are some somnambulists who 'have their eyes open,' who 'hear very well with their ears,' and who 'are even "*en rapport*" with every one.' 'Some there are, who express themselves with much difficulty,' &c., &c. But hitherto, 'no single one has been observed who recollected what he had felt in a state of somnambulism.'

It now remains for us to see how these effects are to be produced. We shall quote M. Deleuze's directions in his own words:

'As soon as you have thus agreed to treat the matter gravely, remove from the patient all persons who might be troublesome to you; keep with you only the necessary witnesses (a single person if so may be); desire them not to occupy themselves in any way with the processes you employ, and the effects which result from them, but to join with you in the desire of doing good to your patient; arrange yourself so as neither to be too hot nor too cold, in such a manner that nothing may obstruct the freedom of your motions; and take precautions to prevent interruption during the sitting.

'Make your patient then sit as commodiously as possible, and place yourself opposite to him, on a seat a little more elevated, in such a manner that his knees may be betwixt yours, and your feet at the side of his. First request him to resign himself, to think of nothing, not to perplex himself examining the effects which he may experience; to banish all fear, to surrender himself to hope, and not to be disturbed or discouraged if the action of magnetism should produce in him momentary pains.

'After having collected yourself, take his thumbs between your fingers in such a way that the internal part of your thumbs may be in contact with the internal part of his, and fix your eyes upon him. You will remain from two to five minutes in this situation, or until you feel an equal heat between your thumbs and his. This done, you will withdraw your hands, removing them to the right and left, and at the same time turning them till their internal surface be outwards; and you will raise them to the height of the head. You will now place them upon the two shoulders; let them remain there about a minute, and then draw them gently along the arms to the extremities of the fingers, touching slightly. You will renew this pass* five or six times, always turning your hands and removing them a little from the body before you lift them. Afterwards you will place them above the head, and, after holding them there for an instant, lower them, passing before the face at the distance of one or

* Pass is the expression employed by the magnetisers for the motions which they make with their hands in passing them over the body, whether touching slightly, or at a distance.

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two inches, down to the pit of the stomach: there you will stop them two minutes also, putting your thumbs upon the pit of the stomach, and the rest of your fingers below the ribs. You will then descend slowly along the body to the knees, or rather, if you can do so without deranging yourself, to the extremity of the feet. You will repeat the same processes during the greatest part of the sitting. You will also sometimes approach your patient so as to place your hands behind his shoulders, in order to descend slowly along the spine of the back and the thighs, down to the knees or to the feet. After the first passes, you may dispense with putting your hands upon the head, and may make the subsequent passes on the arms, beginning at the shoulders; and upon the body, beginning at the stomach.

'When you wish to terminate the sitting, you will take care to attract towards the extremities by prolonging your passes beyond these extremities, and shaking your fingers each time. Lastly, you will make, before the face and even before the breast, a few passes crosswise, at the distance of three or four inches. These passes are made by presenting the two hands together, and then rapidly separating them from one another, as if to take away the superabundance of fluid with which the patient might be charged. You see it is essential to magnetise always by descending from the head to the extremities, and never by ascending from the extremities to the head. It is for this reason that you turn your hands when you bring them back from the feet to the head. The descending passes are magnetic; that is to say, they are accompanied with the intention of magnetising. The ascending motions are not so. Many magnetisers shake their fingers after every pass. This proceeding, which is never hurtful, is advantageous in some cases, and, for this reason, it is good to get a habit of it. I think it necessary to distinguish the passes made without touching, from those made by touching, not only with the ends of the fingers, but with the whole extent of the hand, using slight pressure. These latter I call *magnetic frictions:* they are often made use of in order to act better on the arms, the legs, and behind the back all along the vertebral column.

'It is by the extremities of the fingers, and above all by the thumbs, that the fluid escapes with most activity. It is for this reason that you at first take hold of the patient's thumbs, and that you hold them during the intervals of rest. This proceeding is commonly sufficient to establish the communication ('*rapport*'). There is another process which you may employ with success to strengthen that communication: it consists in opposing your ten fingers to those of the patient, in such a manner that the interior of your hands approach the interior of his, and that the fleshy part of your fingers touch the fleshy part of his, the nails being outwards. It appears that much less fluid issues from the external than from the internal surface of the hand; and this is one of the reasons for which

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which you turn your hands in raising them, without removing them much from the body.'—(Vide '*Instruction pratique sur le Magnétisme Animal*, par M. Deleuze,' p. 24 et seq.)

We have thus endeavoured to lay before our readers, as briefly as possible, a view of Animal Magnetism, both in regard to its past history and present state. Had our limits permitted us, we would have illustrated our remarks by detailing one or two of the most striking cases of somnambulism, which are to be had by hundreds in the works of the magnetisers. But we trust enough has been said to enable every reader to understand what is meant by Animal Magnetism, and to form an opinion for himself regarding it. It is not our purpose to enter into any serious refutation of the doctrines of the magnetisers which we have been enumerating; but we may be allowed to add a few remarks, which, we conceive, may throw further light on the subject.

In the first place then, with regard to the qualifications of the magnetiser, which are so much insisted upon, the '*Volonté active vers le bien, croyance ferme en sa puissance, confiance entière en l'employant*,' the 'robust temperament,' the 'strong will,' &c.; we fear they have nothing more to do with magnetism than with any other thing. Will* of some kind or other is necessary for any action or undertaking. How charitable Mesmer's 'will' could be in practising Animal Magnetism, and what were his real motives, the reader already knows; and yet he is allowed by all to have been the very best and most powerful of magnetisers. The Abbé Faria's 'wish to do good' could not be called in question, when he made public exhibitions of his somnambulists to all who chose to pay him well. By the way, his method of magnetising deserves attention: He placed his patient in an armchair, made him shut his eyes, and then, in an imperative resolute tone of voice, ordered him to sleep. The pronunciation of one single word, 'Dormez!' was the 'complicated process' by which he put his patients into a state of 'lucid sleep' or 'clairvoyance.' If the repetition of this potent word three or four times was found insufficient, the Abbé got off exceedingly well by declaring his patient 'incapable of somnambulism.' He boasted of having by this method produced five thousand somnambulists, and he undoubtedly produced a great many. (Vid. Bertrand, *Du Magnétisme Animal*, p. 247 et seq.)

The second of those qualifications, or the 'firm belief in

* The first somnambulist of M. de Puységur, perhaps by way of flattering his master, told him that a *wish* was enough for producing magnetic effects. Was this the origin of what the magnetisers say about the *will*?

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one's power,' is just as good and necessary in all other human undertakings as it is in practising magnetism: it at once increases our capabilities, strengthens us in the use of them, and is the best means of ensuring steadiness and perseverance. The same remarks will apply to the third qualification, the 'entire confidence in employing that power,' which indeed is almost a repetition of the second: in all attempts we make of producing an effect upon others, it is notorious, '*omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus*,' how especially useful it is to have 'entire confidence' in our capability of doing so. The physician is not half so likely to cure his patient, when he shows no confidence in the remedy he is employing for the purpose, as when he seems to have a firm belief in its efficacy: and this would more especially hold true of such patients as would be susceptible of the influence of magnetism. The other qualities of the magnetiser, the 'robust temperament,' the 'firmness of character,' the 'strength of will,' the 'quick but subdued passions,' the 'undivided attention,' 'activity, perseverance,' &c. are the qualifications, we apprehend, which ensure success in all other enterprises, as well as in magnetizing.

In making a few observations on the wonders which magnetism is supposed to produce, we may remind our readers, that no person in a state of mental and bodily health is susceptible of its influence: it loves to exert its power only on the bland, the weak, the sickly, the credulous, the half-insane. We have already seen by how many different processes all the phenomena of 'lucid sleep' may be produced in such persons; and there is equally good evidence of their having appeared spontaneously,* and without the pretended aid of magnetism. At Lyons, very shortly after M. de Puységur and Barbarin's observations became known, we find M. Petetin, one of the medical professors there, relating the history† of what he called a cataleptic patient, who presented all the most wonderful phenomena of somnambulism; and, from a later work‡ published after the author's death, it appears that he had subsequently observed eight similar patients. Some of these were said to be able to read with the stomach, and even with the fingers and toes. Now it is a well-known fact, that, till magnetic sleep became an every-day occurrence, the stomach

* Vid. Histoire de la Guérison d'une jeune personne par le Mag. An. produit par la Nature elle-même, traduit de l'Allemand du Baron de Strombeck. Paris, 1814.

† Mémoires sur la Découverte des Phénomènes que présentent la Catalepsie et la Somnambulisme, &c., par M. Petetin, Professeur, &c., 8vo, Lyons, 1787.

‡ Electricité Animale, prouvée par la Découverte des Phénomènes physiques et moraux de la Catalepsie hystérique, &c., Lyons, 8vo, 1808.

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was never known to have learnt the alphabet, no more than the fingers or toes. It is easy to perceive the connexion of these cases of Petetin with each other, and with the uproar of the time about the wonders of magnetism.

Also in periods of religious excitement and persecution like wonders have occurred. In proof of this we shall briefly notice one or two circumstances, in the recent, and consequently authentic, history of France. The first of these regards the nuns of Loudun, who were supposed to be possessed with devils. The whole transaction occurred during the administration of Cardinal Richelieu; by whose permission or direction the investigation, which we have to mention, took place at Loudun in 1634.

Two young nuns of the Ursuline Convent of that city were seized with strange convulsions. Their confessor persuaded them that the cause was supernatural, and that it was only by being exorcised that they could recover. They were accordingly exorcised, and the devils that possessed them, on being cross-examined, declared they had been sent by a curate of the town, called Urbain Grandier, who had for some time been making a great noise on account of his liberal opinions, agreeable person, and gallantry; all which had brought him into ill report. It is to be remarked, that the imaginations of the nuns had been alarmed by Grandier's proposing to become their director; and their exorcist had shortly before been his rival candidate. The whole affair was kept secret as long as possible, till almost all the *young* nuns in the convent were attacked with the same convulsions. After this, the convulsions were not long confined to the nunnery, but spread over the whole town and neighbourhood—solely, however, among the young women. All affected were in a similar state; and, when exorcised, all declared that the evil spirits had been sent by the curate. Twelve judges, selected by the cardinal's directions, in the neighbourhood, were appointed to investigate the matter, and decide the fate of Grandier. The process lasted eight months, and during all that time the nuns were exorcised twice every day. The unhappy curate was unanimously condemned, and burnt alive in April, 1634—about two years after he had first been accused.

Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of the character of Cardinal Richelieu, or of the twelve judges appointed by his directions, or of the jesuits, who were the confessors of these nuns, and the personal enemies of Grandier,—we conceive that any one who chooses to read the details of the transaction, will find evidence enough to convince him, that these convulsions did

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did not originate in any conspiracy, on the part of the nuns at least, against Grandier's life, but were in reality first caused by their excited imaginations and their terror of devils, and propagated by the contagion of imitation which is known to be so powerful in such cases. Two of the exorcists themselves died shortly afterwards in the belief that they were possessed, and showed all the symptoms resulting from such a conviction. With the dishonest uses which the jesuits subsequently attempted to make of these convulsions, publishing them as a 'divine proof' of their superstition, we have nothing to do at present, no more than with the fact, that many women were afterwards found wicked enough to feign them: we have merely adduced the case of these young girls as affording a curious instance of an epidemic of convulsions caused by the fear of evil spirits. We have not spoken of the other phenomena which were observed along with these convulsions, the knowledge of strange tongues, the suspension of the body in the air, &c. &c., because they did not at first accompany the convulsions, and seem to have been nothing but cunning inventions of the jesuit priests.

The next circumstance to which we alluded is what took place among the Protestants of the Cevennes, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The peasants of those mountains, it is well known, were exposed to merciless persecution, were massacred in great numbers; and their children were violently taken from them to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. It was usual among them to hold secret meetings for prayer and other religious purposes; and at such times their minds were naturally in a state of the utmost excitement. Some, more strongly affected than the rest, more zealous for their religion, or of a more vehement temperament, fell into extasies, which commenced in convulsive motions; and in this state they would preach, pray, and utter prophecies, all relating to the speedy triumph of their sacred cause: they also conceived themselves capable of foreseeing at a great distance the approach of their enemies, and of distinguishing when any of these or their spies were amongst them at their meetings; and, in short, many of them presented all the phenomena of Somnambulism. (Vid. *Bertrand du Magnétisme An. p.* 362, *et seq.*) These extasies spread among them like a true epidemic, and in a little while many thousands were affected. The Maréchal de Villars, who was sent against these unfortunate people to quell or extirpate them with a military force, has observed: 'I have seen things of this sort which I would not have believed, had they not occurred under my own eyes. All the women and girls of a whole town, without exception, appeared to

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to be possessed with the devil. They trembled and prophesied publickly in the streets. One had the boldness to prophesy before me for an hour.'—(*Vie du Maréchal Duc de Villars, p. 325.*)

The last circumstance of this nature which we shall notice, is what occurred around the tomb of the deacon Pâris, at the cemetery of St. Medard. Here we have miracles, convulsions, extasies, prophecies, visions, prayers, sermons, &c. &c., in short, all the wonders of Magnetism. The whole affair is too recent and too well known to require any detail on our part. Hume, in his 'Essay on Miracles,' has remarked, that after the account of these wonders was published by the Jansenites, in favour of whose opinions they were supposed to have been wrought, their openly declared enemies, the Jesuits, with all their ingenuity and seconded by the government, could never fully disprove them, or reveal the imposture.

We have only hinted at these scenes to show what may occur among honest, but weak-minded, credulous people, in a state of mental exaltation. Such instances are to be found in hundreds, and we need not, indeed, have gone out of our own country to seek them. In times of religious discord and persecution, we too have had our prophets and gifted men; and examples, as well attested as any thing of the kind can be, of their visions and prophecies having been fulfilled, of their speaking in strange tongues and their extacies; and though a German Journal of Magnetism now complains with justice, that 'Great Britain and America present a "*tabula rasa*" in regard to every thing connected with Magnetism,' a time has been when it was otherwise with us. We have had our sorcerers and witches, our prophets and miracle-workers. Our Fludds, Greatrakeses, Maxwells, Perkinses, &c. &c. have thriven amongst us in their own good time. Some of them were honest, well meaning men in their day and generation; but now their wonders have gone the way of all such things. So will it also fare with Animal Magnetism: we have seen enough of it to enable us to predict with confidence, that its wonders will also diminish and fade away as they are made the subject of more rigid and scientific investigation; and that this 'vast discovery,' which was to 'reform the human race,' will finally dwindle down to the common standard of earthly things, and become a very small matter indeed.

But while we thus acknowledge our utter inability to believe that Animal Magnetism is any thing more than a mere creature of the fancy, we are far from pretending to set limits to the effects which may be produced on ignorant, credulous, susceptible

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tible people, when they are labouring under disease and debility, whether of body or of mind. We have seen enough of the effects of the imagination and the passions in such cases, to convince us, that we do not yet know the limits of their influence: from the details which we have already given regarding the processes of the magnetisers, our readers will be enabled to judge how much both these are acted upon in magnetising. Much that appears supernatural is so to us only because our knowledge of nature is very limited: many wonderful things take place around us which might cease to be wonderful if our vision were a little deeper. We have on record hundreds of 'well-attested' stories regarding ghosts, spectres, and strange things of every sort; which, though we can neither altogether disprove nor explain them, we continue to disbelieve; for they contradict what we conceive, from our own experience, to be the laws of nature. And a sober man, without believing all the wondrous things that the magnetisers and others of the same class relate, may still find much in them that has not yet been fully explained. 'We are fearfully and wonderfully made:' the acutest physiologist amongst us cannot explain the simplest function of our bodies; and who hath seen into the mysterious being of that immortal spirit which we feel within us, or known the laws to which it is subject in its connexion with our material part? It was nothing but matchless, unutterable vanity that made Buffon style himself 'a Genius equal to the Majesty of Nature.' There is enough in the meanest fibre of our bodies to convince us of our ignorance, to humble our pride, and fill us with reverence for Him who hath created all things, for whose power nothing is too great, for whose Eye of Providence no object in this vast universe is too minute!

ART. VI.—*Gesammelte Werke der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg.* 20 vols. 1820-25. Hamburgh, bei Perthes und Besser.

THE poets of Germany, if sometimes the most original, are also the most imitative of all the sons of song. Klopstock, in his Ode which describes the race between the two muses of his native land and of England, wisely veils in a cloud of dust the issue of the contest. Not only, however, did he leave the victory undecided; he felt too conscious of his own obligations to the muse of Britain to deny her older standing, and greater experience in such competitory warfare. For some time the German

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German poets had been content with French models, which, while they taught them elegance of composition, crippled the energy of invention; until the two Swiss writers, Bodmer and Breitinger, demonstrated the superiority of English literature. The influence of such example was not unfelt, and a bolder spirit of originality inspired the writers of Germany. No sooner was the impulse given by Klopstock, than the electric shock communicated itself from breast to breast, and every heart kindled with emulation and patriotism. Of all those who may be considered as having caught the spark of inspiration from the noble enthusiasm of the poet of the 'Messiah,' no writers are more deserving of notice than the two Stolbergs, whose works we make the subject of our present article.

The Stolbergs were imitators of Klopstock, and, at a later period, of Bürger. Had they, however, been only imitators; such, for instance, as were the followers of Pope in our country, we should not have thought of bestowing this notice upon them. They wore not the mantle of those poets only, but also imbibed their spirit. In the times of old, we know there were schools of the prophets in which was taught the prophetic art; but this instruction was so far from precluding inspiration, that it presupposed it as a necessary condition. The Stolbergs, particularly the younger, were poets by nature; the direction of their genius was, however, probably, determined by the example of their great predecessor.

'The more original,' (says Frederick Leopold Count Stolberg himself,) 'the more animated a man's works are, the more clear and profound are his thoughts; and the more strong and flowing his sensations, the more certain we may be that the man is more excellent than his writings. Whoever is of secondary order, either in poetry or philosophy, exhausts himself on paper. The works of a compiler are always superior to their author; with whom I have no wish to be acquainted, even though he should collect something valuable for my amusement. We cannot long stand to admire an artificial fountain, where the water issues through the mouths and breasts of dolphins and mermaids; though we repose with delight on the bubbling source, and under the cool shade of the dripping rocks where the stream first takes its rise. O Klopstock! Thou mighty river of our age and country, how often have I been strengthened and refreshed and inspired with new life by thy stream; which, flowing full and exhaustless, directs its bold course to the ocean of immortality!'

The personal history of the Stolbergs is not, like that of Klopstock, full of interest. They had no early difficulties to contend with; no trials of the heart to surmount. They were in

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in nowise self-taught, and were in possession of rank and riches. The elder lived, married, wrote poetry, and died. Of the younger, indeed,—his conversion to the Roman Catholic church forms a subject for serious reflection; but with respect to the rest of his life, the more briefly it is told, the better. In one particular, however, they are both deserving of eminent consideration. Scarcely ever was there an instance of fraternal affection so strong as that which existed between the Stolbergs; and less frequent still are the instances of so equal a spirit of poetry belonging to two members of the same family, and those two, brothers. So intimate was this union, that it is impossible to allude to the life of one without comprehending that of the other. Of the two, Christian Count Stolberg, born the 15th October, 1748, at Bramstedt, in Holstein, (the family seat) was the eldest, but the inferior poet. Of his devotion and attachment to his brother's person and genius, we may form some conception from the following enthusiastic lyrical effusion upon the twenty-eighth anniversary of Frederick Leopold Count Stolberg's birth, which happened to be the first time that they had ever spent the day apart. It is entitled 'The seventh November.—To my Brother.' The following is a translation of this affectionate effusion.

Up! take thou eagle's wings, and fly,
My song, and, with thee, fly
My jubilant good morrow;
To him, who is to me
What never mortal was to mortal.

Red gleams already wake,
Announcing the glad Day,
Which called thee, dear one, into life!
See how he pranketh in autumnal pomp;
Proud, and in solemnizing act, he comes,
Clipt with the dancing hours, and greeted by
The Sun, the Moon, and timeous Star!
Haste, O fraternal kiss!
That hoverest on my panting lip;
Swift glide on the first beam,
As full of fire, as quick to animate;
To him, who is to me
What never mortal was to mortal.

Pillow thee gently on his lips;
Scare not the morning dream,
That moistly clasps the slumbering one
With winding ivy wreaths;

There

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There let thy honey trickle, and my form
Hover before his conscious soul,
Languishing with the sickness of desire,
Oh! for my presence languishing!
Then suddenly wake him with the throbbing wing
Of Love, and call it loud
In burning words to him:—
That he may be to me
What never mortal was to mortal.

My Brother! in my eye,
Trembleth the tear of joy;
Than friend, than brother more,
That thou—that thou art e'en,
My heart's most trusted One!
Say, ever dawned a thought to thee or me,
Whereof the veil thou mightst not lift,
Or I might not partake?
As, through the power miraculous
Of holy Nature hidden, deep,
The chord of Lute untouched the Singer's tones
Doth warble tremblingly;
O Mother Nature! thus
Our twin souls she attuned
To ever sounding harmony!
Sounding, when the fiery blood
Burns in the bosom juvenile,
Sounding, when down the pallid cheeks,
The tears of softened feeling flow.

Ah! thou who art to me,
What never mortal was to mortal!
Inspired and guided by the muses,
Associates dear, to whom thou said'st
'Thou art my Sister,
And thou my Bride!'—
(Oft, in the silent night, ye visit us;
Ye Muses!.. thou my Brother visitest;
And thou, in solitary hall,
Intoxicatest me with joy,
Thy wooer, Goddess dear!—)
Ha! I know them too!
Sister and Bride!
Guided by them,
Soar I to thee,
O'er land, and o'er sea, to thee, to thee!
Pours.. gushes out to thee
My overflowing heart.—

Brother! to us the lovely lot
Is fallen, our heritage is fair!

But

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But ah! why trickles now the tear
Within the cup of Jubilee?
Ah! wherefore are we now apart?
To day apart?

As for the dew the summer field,
As pants the sun for Ocean's lap,
As strives the vine for shady elm,
O! so strive I, so pant I after thee;
Thou—thou who art to me
What never mortal was to mortal.

Return, thou Day of joy
With blessing big, thy steps
Trickling with milk,
With honey,
And with the blood of the vine!
Come ever, with autumnal pomp
Thy temples garlanded!
Ah! so draws nigh at hand to us
Our Autumn too!

So it may come, our temples be
With pomp autumnal garlanded—
And with Fruits—oh! with Fruits,
Ay, laden with imperishable wealth!
Nor find us then, fair Day,
As on this day, apart!

Oh! the Fulfilling! the Fulfilling!
Fulfilling of the most intense desire!
Clearly mine eye pervades
The Future far; it sees
What golden days the path of life conclude!

Winter at last arrives;
Age friendly and benign
Takes us both by the hand, and lead us,
O joy! unseparated then;—
Best Father! and, oh, thou,
Who borest, and who suckledst me,
Best Mother!—
Thither, where 'mong the Trees of Life,
Where in celestial bowers,
Under your Figtree, bowed with fruit,
And warranting Repose,
Under your Pine, inviting shady joy,
Unchanging blooms
Eternal Spring!

The Brother, to whom the above Ode is addressed, was, as we have already intimated, the younger man, though the better poet.

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poet. He was born in the year 1750, in the family mansion at Bramstedt, in which the first six years of his life were passed under his mother's tuition. The Father Christian Gunther was Lord Chamberlain to the Danish Queen, Sophia Magdalena. Their father's employments under the Danish Government were the means of introducing the boys to the author of the Messiah, whom they met at the hospitable board of the Minister Bernstoff, who was the great poet's patron. Deprived of their father's protection by the hand of death, their education, which he had commenced by means of a private tutor, was continued under the domestic roof, by his excellent widow. Between the years 1769-74 they studied together at Göttingen, during which period both exerted their talents in the production of several lyrical pieces, in which traces are discoverable of the influence which their early acquaintance with Klopstock had on their susceptible minds, both in the spirit and form of composition. The following is one of Frederick Leopold's Essays of this period; it is an ampliation of an idea in Ossian, of which work he made a translation, published about the year 1806, but not included in the collective edition under review.

TO THE EVENING STAR. (1773.)

Erewhile on me, Leader of silent eve,
Thou glanced'st joys, brief as the dying's smiles,
The evanescent hues
That play i' the western breeze!
Yet, dear to me, dear as to thirsty haum
The early dews, but ah! they vanish'd soon!
Now seldom looks thine eye,
And troubled then, on me!
Hast thou a veil? or shed'st thou blinding tears?
Art thou, as I, the prey of carking cares?
An heir of woe? and are
Thy radiant brethren heirs?
Is yon blue vest full of enlightening Suns,
And set with Moons, only a Web of Grief?
And do the Spheres resound
With everlasting moan?
Or am I alone wretched? Thou art mute!
Inexorable; yet, a Saviour, thou
Bringest the welcome Eve,
No ruddy Morn precedes.

This little poem is preceded by an Ode addressed to Bürger by his brother Christian, the loss of daily intercourse with whom it perhaps regrets. The brothers Stolberg became acquainted with Bürger and his companions during their stay at Göttingen. Bürger *cum suis* had formed themselves into a

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poetical club, called the Hainbund, and were accustomed to assemble together at convivial meetings. They went by the title of the Göttingen friends. To this friendly, and, as it is said, rather free association, the Germans owe the first Musen-Almanach, the idea of which was started by Gotter, a young poet remarkable for his polished versification, formed by the study of the French models, who had introduced into the Society a Parisian Almanac of the Muses. Boie, Miller, Voss, Holty, and Leisewitz were members of this club. The Stolbergs joined it in the year 1771. As this poetical brotherhood has been charged with much licentiousness, it may deserve mention, that its members had the merit of opposing themselves to the Epicurean philosophy of France, which Wieland endeavoured to introduce into Germany by his elegant compositions. At a time when the admirers of this great author were many, it is much to the credit of these young men, that, while once assembled to commemorate the birth-day of Klopstock, they, in a noble transport of indignation, at the perversion of such fine talent, committed the comic tales of Wieland to the flames. We suspect that the ebullitions of youthful indiscretion in these unfledged poets were, after all, but pledges of better things, and indicative of a generous nature which only needed a proper guide. At any rate, they proved, in this instance, that their hearts burned with a nobler flame than that which smoulders and wastes in the breast of the sensual Epicurean. It is, however, related by the biographers of Voss, that Frederick Leopold was one of the three members of the Hainbund, who defied each other to produce the most obscene poem, and wagered upon the result. Voss himself and Bürger were the other two. Voss bears the infamy of being the successful competitor.

Frederick Leopold Count Stolberg was of a warm, lively temperament, and all such are liable to depressions equal to the elevations of their spirits. Their depths of melancholy are as profound as the heights of their raptures are sublime. The poet, however, was not without his occasions of sorrow; not only from that lassitude which ever succeeds excess of whatever kind, but also from the inflictions of Providence. The death of his father, at so early an age, was of itself a severe affliction; and he might lament the absence of some pleasures which were connected with his father's existence. His father was wont to spend the summer in a marine pavilion belonging to the king of Denmark, on the coast of Seland, where the nestling bard was accustomed to disport himself, according to his fancy, in meditating along the shore, careering over the sea, or bathing in

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in the sound, allusions to which early delights are frequent in his later poems.

If, however, to his connexion with the 'Göttingen Friends,' we find something to blame in this part of the life of the younger Stolberg, as being too wildly spent, and marked with some excesses, the exuberance of a liberal nature, overflowing in a false direction, we, at the same time, to his acquaintance with Bürger, can never enough be indebted for two very fine ballads, entitled 'Rudolph' and 'The Penitent,' which, with some other ballads of the same kind, were, in a great measure, imitations of Bürger's 'Lenore,' and have both, for their great beauty, been already translated into the English language.

In these ballads the influence of English literature is particularly discernible on that of Germany. Fortunate, indeed, it was for the Teutonic Muse, that her imitation of the poets of this country was dated at this period. It was at the time when the muse of Britain itself began to be emancipated from the fetters of French legislation. The mind of Germany was awakened with the awakening of that of England. The one had started amazed from her slumbers, and with her loud and long shout of reviving energy, roused the guardian angel of a neighbour land to partake her future triumphs, and share her everlasting guerdon. The Ballads of England, and the Percy Relics, ridiculed by Johnson, but which seem to have suggested to Wordsworth the peculiar mode in which his genius has been best revealed, excited Bürger to the composition of his 'Wild Hunter,' 'The Parson's Daughter,' and 'Lenore,' which last has been repeatedly translated into English. To hear the last poem recited, while in manuscript, the two Stolbergs, with several others, formerly members of the Hainbund, invited by Bore, a generous patron of literature, and to whom the first Almanac of the Muses owed much of its success, rode over to Alter-Gleichen, whither Bürger had retreated. The impetuous movement of the verse,—its imitative harmony,—the vigour of its diction,—so wrought on Frederick Leopold in particular, that during the following stanza he started from his seat in terror and admiration.

'Rasch auf ein eisern Gitterthor
Ging's mit vorhängtem Zügel.
Mit schwanker Gert' ein Schlag davor
Zersprengte Schloss und Riegel.'

The first two volumes of collected works of the Brothers Christian and Frederick Leopold, consists of their Odes, Songs, and Ballads. The following, entitled 'The Seas,' celebrates the confluence of the Atlantic and Baltic, and may serve to

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illustrate this early period of his life. It was written in the year 1777.

THE SEAS.

Thou pleasest mine ear,
Thy murmur I know,
The siren song of thy billows!
Baltic, thou claspest me,
With loving arms, often
To thy cool bosom!

Thou art fair!
Nymph, how fair!
Betrothed of the wood-covered shore,
Oft the zephyr escapes from the tops of the grove,
And glides over thy billows with hovering wing!

Thou art fair!
Nymph, how fair!
Yet is the Goddess
Fairer than thou!
Louder than thou
Thunders Atlantic,
Rises, white in her pride, and shakes the shores with her foot.

Stronger and freer than thou,
Dances she her own dance,
Nor waits for the voice of the
Mastering wind;
Rises and sinks,
When veiled within clouds,
In his secret chamber slumbers the Tempest's head!

I saw the keel, once,
Of the lightning-armed Vessel
Hasten over her here; . . .
Then the Pennon sank,
And the quivering Streamer sank,
But the breezes in Hellebek's beeches were still.

By what name
Shall my Song make thee known?
Boreal-main, Ocean, Goddess, the Infinite,
The Earth-girding One, Cradle of th' all-enlightening
Sun, the Heaven-wandering
Moon, and the numberless
Stars, which there, in melodious
Dance, themselves mirror, both when the Flood rises and sinks.

On thy great Waters
God's Spirit did brood,
. . . While yet the earth lay,

In

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In silence and sorrow,
The joys of a Mother not known!
Over thee hovered
In mystical motion,
Flowing and ebbing,
Yet visibly, the Omnipotent's Breath!

On rapture's extatic
Pinions upsoaring,
Flew my Spirit to thee!
Goddess, I pray thee,
Take me, O Goddess!
Take me into thy bosom of power!
Ah! but thou passedst me
Proud, and in thunder, by!
Then grasped I the pinions
Of the birds of the billows
And swam for the margins stretching afar.
Thou thundered'st louder,
From thy strand of the rock;
There hastened I on
To the strand of the rock;
Then hastened I down;
There clasped I thee, Goddess,
With sinewy arm
In the hall of the rock!
Over me toppled
Menacing summits;
Vortices wildly
Thronged through the clefts of the rocks.

And covered with kisses,
How gladsome was I,
Embraced in the bosom
Of a Goddess immortal.

Hail to thee, hail,
Goddess, and thank
For the blessed enjoyment
In the hall of the rock!

Among the erroneous notions generally prevalent on the subject of German literature, one is, that its poets are too frequently deficient in taste, and are bitten with a scorn of classical models. Instances enough might be adduced from the Klopstocks, the Wielands, and the Lessings in confutation of this remark. The error arises from the *penchant* which the ignorant always have to judge in extremes—they never can look on two sides of a question. Everything with them exists in antithesis, in irreconcileable opposition. Thus, therefore, because the

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the report had got abroad, that the poets of Germany dared to be original, and to make a romantic poetry of their own, the uninformed immediately ran away with the idea (to speak vulgarly), that such writers therefore had no classical poetry, and despised all such. It is pleasant when the million set up for men of taste; nothing, then, can be so uncompromising as their decision, and certes, the more they are in the wrong, the more obstinate they are in misjudgement. The worst of it is, they have always the majority on their side, and feel themselves, in consequence, strong in numbers. They appeal to the votes in their favour, forgetting that they themselves are the voters.

So far, however, from it being the case, that classical literature has been neglected in Germany, the fact is, that no where has it been more religiously worshipped. At the time of which we are writing, there was absolutely a glut in the market of the article. Hot was the competition, fierce the strife. Stolberg found himself in the field against the man to whom he was so much indebted for directing his taste to the simpler specimens of nature, as exhibited in the early ballads of England. Voss also was engaged in battle array in the same cause. Three of the Göttingen Friends—these three, Bürger, Voss, and Stolberg—had alike, about the same period, employed themselves in a translation of Homer. Bürger had, in 1776, published in the German Museum, proposals for an Iambic version of the Iliad. About the same time, Frederick Leopold Stolberg had made some progress in the same enterprise; and, being the more industrious workman, had finished the whole Iliad by the time that Bürger had completed only six books; and was ready for publication in 1781.

Voss's version of the Odyssey appeared the same year as Stolberg's Iliad; that of Voss appeared subsequently. Stolberg's translation is executed in a freer spirit, and affects a majesty which Voss, in a faithful adherence to the original, contemned. The public for some time gave a preference to Stolberg's version; but the award of posterity will be in favour of that of Voss, who has produced the most perfect imitation of the original ever effected, rendering the Greek nearly line for line, and reflecting its faults with the same fidelity as its beauties.

Frederick Leopold, moreover, executed a translation of Æschylus, as also some of Plato's dialogues. His brother Christian likewise rendered to his country the service of exhibiting some Greek poetry in a German garb:—Homeric Hymns, Idyls of Theocritus, Poems of Moschus, Bion, and Anacreon, the Hero and Leander of Musæus, and, last not least,

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least, Sophocles, which he prefaced with the Life of the Greek Poet, and embellished with prologues, composed by himself, to every piece. The translation itself is in five-footed Iambics; the Choruses are composed in lyrical measures. German literature is fortunate in thus having the great tragedians of Greece rendered by professed poets,—we have none but by professed translators.

The third volume of the collected works before us, contains the Iambics of Frederick Leopold, (a series of Satires under this title, in which he castigates whatever was faulty in the manners of his times, or partook of prejudice in the professors of learning and poetry;) and his Romance, called 'The Island,' of which the great merit procured him an European reputation. Before the publication of these works, he, during a pedestrian tour, in 1779, among the Italian Alps, with his brother, in which they were sometimes accompanied by Göethe, Lavater, and Salis, had seen, at Eutin, the Countess Agnes of Witzleben; and having, on his return to Holstein, been appointed, by the Prince-bishop of Lubeck, Envoy in Copenhagen, he, in 1782, married that lady, to whom he had addressed many beautiful poems. Whatever may have been the course of conduct pursued by Frederick Leopold in early life, these verses shew a more than ordinary degree of devotional melancholy. A softness evidently had come over the spirit of his dream, the result probably of his marriage. His poems, after this period, are characterized by a peculiar tenderness, and a sensibility, but too susceptible of the accidents of our mortal destiny. Nothing, meanwhile, can be of purer quality than the stuff of which 'The Island' is composed. It is one of the many imitations of Plato's Republic, and one of the few good ones. Friendly to republicanism, Stolberg is yet the patron of order, of religion, and of morals; and he viewed with a conscious disdain of superior rectitude those corrupt Gallican doctrines and practices which afterwards were so extensively patronized on the continent by the mere populace of literature, which threatened to absorb all independence and nationality of character, and to transform the fortunate citizens of the democracies of Switzerland into apes of the debaucheries and satellites of the insolence of Paris.

Stolberg's 'Island' proceeds on the principle, that 'God has made men upright, but they seek out many inventions,' which text forms the Epigraph to his Romance. Sophron is the son of Eubulos, who was worthy of a throne, and became the prime minister of a powerful prince of Germany. Falling, however, undeservedly into disgrace with his master, he was imprisoned

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imprisoned in a tower, where he was daily, in secret, visited by his son. The conversation which they thus had together was such as to inspire Sophron with high and worthy thoughts, not untinged with poetical enthusiasm. After his father's death he left his country, and travelled through Italy, Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, Asia, Egypt, and the Holy land. He became acquainted with one La Rivierre, and also with an old man whom he honoured like a second father, and called Numa. Since his sixtieth year Numa had read little. 'We ought at last,' he said, 'to arrive at this point, that the Bible and Nature should be for us sufficient.' Two grand-daughters, children of his only daughter who died young, were the joy of his age. The two friends married these two daughters;—Sophron, Psyche; and La Rivierre, Eucharis. Soon after the birth of Psyche's first child, the old man died, and the two friends acted as faithful executors of their grand-father's testament, living fourteen years in a sweet retirement, on the banks of the Danube. A little island, covered with wood, a favourite place of Numa, belonged to them in common. Sophron's darling occupation was the instruction of some youths, who, on the Saturday afternoons, were wont to visit him from the neighbourhood, and remain with him on Sunday. He conducted them willingly to this island. 'Here wandered,' said he, 'the Egeria which my Numa sought. We should endeavour to make ourselves worthy of her inspiration.' With these young people, upon one occasion, the two friendly families pass a day of peculiar pleasure upon the island. Of the following morning, part was dedicated to female society, part to the reading of the Philoctetes of Sophocles, which suggested to La Rivierre some resemblance between Lemnos and their own island, which they accordingly determine to visit again. The conversation after this varies in subject, from Plato to Robinson Crusoe; and, taking a serious turn, discusses the nature of man and the constitution of society. Sophron starts the idea of seeking an island to colonize, and govern according to their own notions,

'Oblitus illorum, obliviscendus et illis.'

The proposition is enthusiastically received, and they proceed to hold dialogues together upon its institutions and plan of government. We have as little space as 'the great globe itself' to devote to imaginary republics: suffice it to say, that Sophron only proposes, as part of his conditions, that they should return to a state of nature, resign their mother speech, adopt the Greek language, and dispense with their wants and prejudices. Politics, religion, and poetry form successively the subjects of discourse, in which Sophron expresses his great regard for

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for Ossian. 'I know all Ossian,' he says, 'what poet can we set above him? One need only open him to find every where the most beautiful and the noblest poetry.' His conceptions of what poetry should be are afterwards embodied in a series of poems, which constitute the second part of this Romance. Some of these are very fine.

Soon after the publication of 'The Island,' Frederick Leopold's wife Agnes died, on the 17th of November, 1788. His brother Christian was not wanting to him on this occasion, but ministered what consolation he could; and by his persuasion he returned to the family seat in Holstein. To alleviate this stroke nothing better could have been devised than employment. This was found for him by a kind Providence. He was appointed on a Danish embassy to Berlin, during which he became acquainted with a Catholic lady, the Countess Sophia of Redern, whom he married on the 15th of February, 1790.

The fourth and fifth volumes of this collection are occupied with the dramatic works of the two brothers. Those contained in the fourth volume were originally published in 1787, consisting of four plays with choruses, of which two are by Frederick Leopold—'Theseus' and the 'Suckling,' which he composed at Neuenburg, with the bailiwick of which he had been rewarded for his services on a diplomatic mission from the Duke of Oldenburg to the Court of Prussia which he had accepted in 1785. The fifth volume contains three other similar dramas, respectively entitled, 'Timoleon,' 'The Grove of Apollo,' and 'Servius Tullius,' written in 1784 and 1786. Christian's two dramas are named, 'Belshazzar' and 'Otanes.' The genius of the Stolbergs was rather epical than dramatic, and these plays are manifestly unsuited for theatrical representation, for which they were, however, expressly composed.

The sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth volumes contain the travels of Frederick Leopold, which, soon after his second marriage, he undertook with his new wife, accompanied by his son and Nicolovius, his son's tutor. He describes his progress up the Rhine, through Switzerland, Geneva, and Pavia. Florence, Rome, Naples, Salerno and Sicily, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice are successively the subjects of these very picturesque letters. These travels are perhaps liable, in some degree, to the censure expressed by the Author of the Pursuits of Literature on those of Archdeacon Coxe. 'A writer of travels,' he contends, 'should tell us what *he* has seen or heard *himself*, and not *abridge histories* of former times, and insert them in his book, or croud it with biographical memoirs of

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of *deceased* great men. Travels lose their name by this method of composition, and the public complain with justice of the noble art of book-making.' Count Stolberg too frequently empties the history of Greece and Rome into the account of his travels, upon the slightest hint or occasion given by local association; yet, perhaps, his conduct in this particular might have been justified by the state of historical literature in Germany in his time.

The Count occasionally also introduces some criticisms on Homer and Virgil, with reference to local situation, which are well deserving of minute attention. He has no mercy on those learned dullards,* who endeavour to locate the Hell and Elysian fields of Virgil and of Homer.

'How does it happen,' he exclaims, 'that Virgil could have been so misunderstood? How could the inventive poet have imagined that his whole empire of Death, the regions of Acheron, of Styx, of Cocytus, of Phlegethon, and of the residence of the damned, were included in the Avernus; or his whole Elysian fields in what are called the vineyards? I readily grant that he, faithful to ancient fable, places the entrance of hell at the cavern of Avernus. It yet appears to me, however great the authorities may be to the contrary, that the opinions of those are unfounded who suppose the hell of Homer to have had the same situation. Where then was the hell of Homer situated?'

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* The reader will perhaps permit us to quote a second time the Author of the Pursuits of Literature, who well ridicules similar misprisions of learned dulness on Shakespeare and Pope—*e. g.* Pope's Works, edit. Warb. 8vo. vol. 3, p. 269. 'The Devil and the King divide the prize;' *which line* the Bishop with the utmost gravity declares to be 'a satire only on such ministers of state, which history informs us have been found, who aided *the Devil* in his temptations, in order to, &c., &c.'—See the remainder of the Note. This it is to be a commentator on a mere badinage !!!'

A similar blunder, by way of critical censure, is contained in the Preface to Mill's History of Chivalry, upon a Note in Sir Walter Scott's Tales of the Crusaders.

'In innumerable instances in which the Novelist, whether intentionally or unwittingly, has strayed from the path of historical accuracy, he has never given formal warranty for the truth of his statements, and he is entitled to laugh at the simple credulity which could mistake his Tales for veracious Chronicles. But his assertion respecting the marriage of Saladin with his "Edith of Plantagenet" is a very different case; for here he throws aside the fanciful garb of a novelist, and quits the privilege of his text, that he may gravely and critically vouch in a note for the error of an historian, and his own superior knowledge. If this can possibly be done merely to heighten the illusion of his romance, it is carrying the jest a little too far; for the preservation of historical truth is really too important a principle to be idly violated. But if he seriously designed to unite the province of the historian with that of the novelist, he has chosen a very unlucky expedient for his own reputation; and thus, in either case, he has rather wantonly led his readers into error, and brought against others a charge of ignorance, which must recoil more deservedly on himself.'—XVIII. XIX.

This is 'much ado about nothing' indeed. Why will men, such as these, undertake provinces in literature to which they are by nature wholly incompetent? They, however, do most mischief when they presume to comment on the Holy Scriptures.

After

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After referring his readers to Voss's maps for information on this subject, he proceeds,

'The empire of Death may be concealed in that terrific and dismal gloom in which the poet found it among the records of tradition: or he might have purposely enveloped it in the darkness of amazement and horror. As sagacious in the conduct of his poem as he was rich in imagination, he might welcome this holy horror as the proper element for the creation of his boldest imagery. The characteristic marks of melancholy and gloom predominate through the whole of the eleventh book of the Odyssey. Children cry for the rainbow; and the childish in understanding are dissatisfied with the poet, whose narrative is not as circumstantially barren as a gazette, or as talkative as the tales of old women. Oh! how long have the spectacled commentators of the dignified blind poet ingeniously groped after his meaning!'

These travels contain, of course, as being those of so great a poet, some very picturesque descriptions. Of Vesuvius and Etna, in particular, the accounts are very circumstantial and magnificent. The Fall of the Rhine is graphically delineated.

In the course of this description, it is related of the poet Lentz, that he struck his thigh, and exclaimed, *Here is a Water-hell!*

There is considerable resemblance between some parts of this passage and that of Velino, by Lord Byron; this exclamation in particular of the poet Lentz—'Here is a Water-hell!' is identical with Lord Byron's 'Hell of Waters!'

> 'The roar of waters from the headlong height,
> Velino cleaves the wave-worn precipice;
> The fall of waters! rapid as the light;
> The flashing mass foams, shaking the abyss;
> The *hell* of waters! where they howl and hiss,
> And boil in endless torture; while the sweat
> Of their great agony, wrung out from this
> Their Phlegethon, curls round the rocks of jet,
> That gird the gulf around in pitiless horror set.'

It is singular that an American critic* challenges the noble poet with a want of real harmony of mind with the works of nature in this description of the cataract of Velino. According to this sagacious monitor, Byron, in aiming at sublimity, produced only conceptions of disgust and horror, because, forsooth, he applied images of bodily torture and muscular force and convulsion to a subject to which they are totally unsuitable!

* 'The North American Review,' of 1826. The article referred to has been reprinted in England.

'The

'The waters of a cataract,' he says, 'are compared o a living being in an agony of pain. There is little external resemblance between their struggles and the overwhelming rush of a torrent, and none between the feelings which the one spectacle and the other are adapted to produce. The offensiveness of the passage is, in some degree, aggravated by the confusion of literal and metaphorical language, and by representing the waters as in a cold sweat.'

After language so strong as this, it becomes interesting to support the poet's character, by reference to the example of one so refined in his taste, and otherwise so fitted to be looked up to as an authority on this subject, as Count Stolberg. The American, though he sets up as a moralist, is as equally deficient in his moral tact as in his critical perception of poetic propriety. Who so dull as not to see, that descriptions, such as those of Byron's and Stolberg's, are not intended so much to pourtray the scene of which they treat, as to impart to the reader the strong and peculiar feelings which it excited in the breast of the spectator?

There is another coincidence between these two poets which we would point out to the reader. Byron observes of St. Peter's at Rome :—

'Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not;
And why? it is not lessened; but thy mind,
Expanded by the genius of the spot,
Has grown colossal, and can only find
A fit abode wherein appear enshrined
Thy hopes of immortality; and thou
Shalt one day, if found worthy, so defined,
See thy God face to face, as thou dost now
His Holy of Holies, nor be blasted by his brow.

Thou movest—but increasing with the advance
Like climbing some great Alp, which still doth rise,
Deceived by its gigantic elegance;
Vastness which grows—but grows to harmonize—
All musical in its immensities;
Rich marbles—richer painting—shrines where flame
The lamps of gold—and haughty dome which vies
In air with earth's chief structures, though their frame
Sits on the firm set ground—and this the clouds must claim.

Thou seest not all, but piecemeal thou must break,
To separate contemplation, the great whole;
And as the ocean many bays will make,
That ask the eye—so here condense thy soul

To

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To more immediate objects, and control
Thy thoughts until thy mind hath got by heart
Its eloquent proportions, and unroll
In mighty graduations, part by part,
The glory which at once upon thee did not dart.

Not by its fault—but thine.'—&c.

These reflections are almost identical with those of Count Stolberg on the same subject.

'This very Christmas day,' (25th December, 1791) he says, 'the first after our arrival, in the forenoon, we saw the Pope celebrate high mass in St. Peter's. Do not expect, at least not yet, a description of this temple: the largest and most magnificent on earth. I shall visit it frequently, and then send you some few remarks; with a drawing of the outward building, and of the place in which it is erected—a place worthy of the temple: a temple worthy of the place. Each in its kind the most superb in Europe. No work of man ever seized upon and filled my mind like this. Astonishment and delight fixed me, for a time, while I contemplated the objects without; and extasy and awe, as I entered the church.

'It is singular that both the outside and the inside of this church, although at the first aspect they fill the heart with a sublime sense of majesty, do not appear so vast as they are in reality. Some critics affirm that this is a defect in the structure; others maintain that the gradual development of its grandeur, though it does not immediately convey to the eye an idea of its extraordinary magnitude, is but a consequence of its perfect symmetry; and I believe that these last are in the right. You must frequently have remarked that beautiful human figures, as well male as female, appear less than those of equal size, that are not so well formed: I have often made the same observation on trees. The finest oak I ever saw did not appear to me so tall, or so large as others around it; which were less beautiful, and which, in fact, were less in size.'—Letter xlv.

The Count's observations on the works of art are those of a gentleman,—that is, transcripts of the feelings with which they impressed his imagination, not those of a connoisseur, affecting a technical knowledge of the details of art and the occult operations of the artist.

Rafael is particularly celebrated in his Seventy-fourth Letter, which concludes with the following poetical effusion—

RAFAEL.

How thrilled my soul, immortal Rafael! how,
When me thy genius seized, with gentle hand
And mighty power, within the Vatican,
And shewed me shapes celestial, and the forms
Of mortal men, immortal made through thee,
Tread with pictorial foot Oblivion's dust.

Thee

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Thee of what ether, formed the Living Father?
Where flows, ah! where the Fountain of the Spirit,
Wherewith he flooded through thy infant frame,
When thee with pain and joy thy mother hailed?

O where are they, the Spirits, who so soon
As the fond mother from the Suckling scared
The humming fly, the stinging wasp, away—
Chased too from thee each thought, which, as the flame
Not pure, aspires not, burning, like the flame—

Rafael! thou art from earth evanished; rolls
Already the departing century
The third one from beneath its radiant foot:
Like the lament of the fond youth, adown
The torrent hurried with his bride, . . so rolls,
The billowy floods of Time amidst, sad Art's
Lament, and Feeling's louder plaint for thee!

Rafael! thou art evanished! by thy marble
Mourns oft Apelles' Muse with hair adust.
In the still night lamenting, her I heard,
As, in the consecrate Pantheon, I
Stood lonely; . . half-enclouded looked the Moon
Down through the open arch upon thy tomb,
The Night's cool breeze with shuddering awe raised up
The crisp hair curling round the naked neck.

Soft sounded her lament, as the west wind
In the high grass of ruins sighs between;
As rustles, by the shaft of sunken bridge,
The sedge, within the muddy foss, before
The solitary castle, mournfully.

'Rafael! O Rafael! like a lightning-flash
Thou from thy Muse art vanished! thou for two
Millenia, past and future, the sole one!
Rafael! ah, Rafael! oh, my son! the joy
And pride of thine immortal Mother; when
Thou, laurel-crowned, learn'd'st of the Muses, thee
Each named her son, and me each praised for blessed.

E'en when an infant, Homer's Muse thee took
Fain from my bosom, at the breast thou suckedst
Where Homer sucked, thence like a star thine eye
Shone, and thy cheeks glowed like the ruddy morn.

So nurtured we, our darling, thee with joy—
With joy, our darling, so admonished thee—
And early wert thou led, by Plato's Muse,
Through secret shades to Wisdom's well profound.

And

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And as a tree beside a fountain sprouts,
With golden apples clad and blossoms fair,
Thou sproutedst, needing not the gardener's care,
And drankest only of the hidden veins
In Nature's bosom soft, and thee the dews
Of ether moistened only!—

Rafaël!
Celestial consecration, like the sun's
Auriferous rays, descended upon thee!
And to Religion consecratedst thou
Thy pencil's touching magic, gratefully

Rafael! oh, Rafael! I beheld thee bloom
With love and expectation, blighted now!
So, in her garden, oft the tender maiden
The lily, cherished by herself, surveys;
Sudden the rain, and movement of the storm
O'erthrows the flower, as she approaches it!'

Thus mourned the Muse! She rose, her girdle shone
I' th' moonlight, like a rainbow, veiled in mist,
Fearful, at distance, I looked after her,
Till by the door-way of Angelica,
Which opened of itself to her, and shut
After her of itself, she vanished from me.

The allusion to Angelica Kauffman at the close of this fine poem is a princely compliment to that highly-gifted but unfortunate artist. In a yet more lyrical strain he addresses Michael Angelo.

MICHAEL ANGELO.

Yet seize I the Lyre—
It trembleth yet,
With Rafael's praises;
Yet tremble thereon,
Of the still horror
Tears that were trickled.
In trance beatific,
Began I to swoon,.. yet
Still hovered lightly,
Ay, in my soul's twilight,
By Rafael created, the Forms of Gods.
Yet haunted me, breathed from
The genius of Rafael
His Pencil's devices,
Like Shapes of evanishing visions about.
Then trembled the earth,
Then panted the air,
And it rushed through the Lyre with terrible sound,
When, veiled all in clouds,
Stood, wrathful before me,
A terrible One.
My hair rose erect,
My eyes stared aghast,
Yet spake I to him—

'Fiery one! Who art thou?
Thou angry, threatening Shape?
More mighty than shadows,
Yet as terrible; spare me!'
(Here the Semblance aëreal blazed abroad,
as from Ætna,
Billow-like dashing, vapours upblaze.)
'Yes, it is thou! thou art
Michael Angelo! spare me,
O jealous Spirit!
Lower the flaming
Torch of the pencil!
Thou plungest in brightness
Thy pencil beneath—
How long I mistook thee!
Although thou Life givest
Unto the cold marble,
Yet look not my heart

Thy

Thy Marble into !—
(Ha, how thou lookest
With Sirius' look!)
I saw of the pencil
The magic, the wonder,
And the whiteness of terror,
And the redness of joy
Did shiver me through.
Then hasten, impelled on
The wings of the storm,
The red-troubled clouds,
And fleece-mantled sky,
To the hovering Shapes on the trembling sea!'

He heard it, and paused
With milder solemnity,
High over the melting clouds quick he arose.
He stilled the lulled air,
The Lyre yet emitted
A murmur of love,
While to its sound vanished the Spirit appeased.

Our design, in such extracts as we have made from these travels, was not to furnish the reader with any information derivable from them, as to the places visited by the poet, but to exhibit the character of the traveller. In fact, he appears more to have reflected than observed, and is more desirous of exhibiting his own feelings than the manners and customs of the people among whom he sojourned. They are, however, in their peculiar way, admirable as the travels of a poet and scholar; indeed, a 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage' in prose, without any of its misanthropy. On the contrary, Count Stolberg delights to throw over the scenes and their inhabitants a soft and sunny hue, and to embellish them with the affectionate colours of his own genial sensibility, and illustrate them with the classical associations of his own intellect. As if to confirm the poetical character of the whole production, he sums up, in three epistles in verse, addressed to J. A. Ebert, entitled 'Hesperides,' the general impression received from his Italian excursion. From these epistles we had intended to present some extracts, but our space will not permit it.

The tenth volume consists of Fred. Leopold's 'Life of Alfred,' and other little pieces. The 'Life of Alfred the Great,' (whom the author reckoned, with Charlemagne, among his ancestry,) is very valuable. The introductory representation of Anglo-Saxon history, and the fine manner in which the hero of the book is exhibited, entitle the production to be esteemed as a patriotic work of art; the author's countrymen say, the best extant. The remainder of the volumes, except the last, is occupied with the different translations of the two brothers. The last volume contains a dedication of his History of the Religion of Jesus Christ to his son and daughter. The History itself, however, in fifteen volumes, is not contained in this collection. A tendency to religiosity was apparent in the latter years of Frederick Leopold's life, of which, doubtless, the seeds were deposited by his early acquaintance with the poet Klopstock. He was, however, suspected of not being, in his young days, a staunch Lutheran; but at a later period, he had made himself conspicuous upon a public occasion as a zealous orthodox

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orthodox defender of that Church. Greater, consequently, was the surprise, when he afterwards declared himself a Catholic, and apostalized to the Church of Rome. It has been said that he adopted this step to produce religious conformity in his family, his second wife being a Catholic; and this view of the subject has been defended, upon the ground that a 'predisposition to conform to the religion of the father-in-law facilitates advantageous matrimonial connexions.' Apostasy is, however, a sin of such deadly dye, even when undertaken conscientiously upon mistaken motives, that when resorted to upon interested ones, it can never fail to excite general abhorrence. Religion is the perfection of human reason, and a Christian is the highest style of man; true courage of mind lives only in a faith of something above itself. Fearing God, it knows no other fear. Timidity never looked upwards for protection, for consolation, and for happiness. The Heaven-erected look is peculiar to the Christian hero, and is only possible with the consciousness of moral integrity, and the hope which is the result of determined perseverance for the future, and temptation overcome in the past.

We believe that Frederick Leopold's conversion was real and not pretended. It was not effected without many sacrifices. He resigned all his public employments, and much emolument —a serious consideration in a family so numerous as his (for he left thirteen children behind him); he also forfeited the good opinion of many of his friends. Voss in particular expressed the sharpest and bitterest censure on his conduct. 'A little Book on Love,' included in the present collection, shews how deeply agitated he was by the controversy consequent on his conversion. The history before mentioned, which he wrote in defence of his change of religious sentiments, was, though a feeble production, in many respects, well received by the Papists, who caused an Italian translation to be made. One also appeared in the Dutch language.

Stolberg, in fact, was inspired with an overwhelming enthusiasm—in particular his enthusiasm for the beautiful in Nature and in Art was exceedingly warm. His poetry is distinguished by uncommon fire, and the ardour with which he seems to contemplate every subject which attracted his attention, is surprising. All this superabundant fervour of spirit was transferred in its full force into the channel of religion, when once his mind had taken a decided course in that direction. His love for the fine arts appears to have inspired him with a passion for antiquity and the devotional forms of the middle ages. His temperament was of a nature to crave for sensuous and external excitement; such the ceremonies of the Church of Rome

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supplied him withal, and for constitutions such as his, its discipline is expressly adapted. 'Protestantism and Catholicism,' says Madame de Staël, 'exist in the human heart; they are moral powers which are developed in nations, because they are inherent in every individual. If in religion, as in other human affections, we can unite what the imagination and the reason suggest, there is harmony in the whole man; but in man, as in the universe, the power of creating and that of destroying, faith and inquiry, succeed and combat each other.'

Indeed we look upon this same conversion of the younger Stolberg as a great proof of his being a man of genius. For every one such is a type of his age, though a creator of the public taste. Stolberg was both. These two moral powers, spoken of above, had begun to manifest themselves in antithesis in Germany. The most susceptible spirits are they which take the primitive impressions and communicate them to inferior minds. The tide was gradually setting in of this religious controversy; he was the first to take the alarm; he set the example of conversion, and was not without many imitators.

From the time of Klopstock onward, the poetry, and indeed every other form of intellectual exertion, had taken, in Germany, this religious colour. Nor is it one of the least merits of the Christian religion, the favourable influence exercised thereby over the arts, imagination, and poetry. In fact, in every age, such as religion is, such are they. Stolberg himself was not unaware of this truth.

'We may observe,' he says in his Travels, 'the poets of antiquity, even in the midst of their festive songs, turn pale with the thought of the gloomy grave. What may avail against this, the flower-wreathed goblet and the melody of stringed instruments? Vainly sought the Epicurean to banish the anticipation of death. Nature renounces not her feelings. Thou art not able, as Alexander did Bucephalus, so to place her that she throws no shadow. Bolder and prouder than the scholars of Epicurus, the Stoics spurned at the suggestions of nature. But were they not spurned in return by her?

'Only revelation shews how we may comprehend "in the darkness and shadow of death," the great morn, and hear even in death the cock crow, announcing light eternal.

'Only among one people burned the lamp of Godlike hope, from generation to generation, fed with oil from heaven.

'And the times were fulfilled! The wisdom and love of God appeared, visibly, concealed in human form, to man. Descending, they kindled the grave out of which they arose victoriously, shedding

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shedding a light which enlightened and cheered the nations. Before this light, the Shadow of the Valley of Death, with all its phantoms, vanished !

'Tender virgins, smiling, and with songs of thanksgiving, met his fearfully prepared terrors. And seventeen centuries having passed away, the sacred poet thus sang—

Schweig denn du o Thräne, die in Wehmuth Trost weinet,
Mach das Herz nicht weich ! tröste nicht mehr !
Ist am Ziel denn nicht Vollendung ?
Nicht im Thale des Todes Wonnegesang ?

Klopstocks Messias, 20 Gesang.'

Frederick Leopold Stolberg continued, in his latter days, to receive the impressions of his time, and to communicate them. He endeavoured to evoke anew the spirit of his countrymen in resistance to the Corsican oppressor, by several national songs, of which we insert a specimen.

NAPOLEON. 15th January, 1824.

'He falls ! hurled down by God, the Omnipotent,
Who in the balance, where he tyrants weighs
And patriot kings, in righteous wrath
Weighed, and found light the Insolent.

He falls ! perhaps already dusts the snow,
Dashed from the feet of the swift Messengers,
Who to the East and West exclaim—" Quit ye,
Ye people, him whom God forsakes ! "

O Glory give to God, the Omnipotent !
Before his breath the robber-band grew stark
In the north's bosom, dying they
Cursed, he alone scaped like a thief.

Him let escape the All-wise God, because
His measure was not full ! the giddy cup
He let him drain ! Intoxicate
The doating people drink with him !

Bewitched and numberless, like hornets in
The summer's glow, new hosts swarmed through the jaws
Of the cold North ; while idly he
Of the Decision proudly deemed.

Ancient of Days ! but thou decided hadst
Already of the Watchers the decree—
Into the national councils breathed
Concord, and sage humility.

Humility gazed up, and entered heaven
With easy step, though trembled the abyss,

 Whose

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Whose Gods ill speeded, terrified,
Upon their brazen thrones.

Not so Earth's Idol, though of yesterday;
He lied of victory, of dominion dreamed,
Won by his might, then bowed before
The Hero there the robber-hoard.

Rolls thunder in the vale,—already darts
New lightning—victory on victory!
Lo, in the strength of the Most High,
Heroes the Germans felt themselves!

The heroic sword by woman's tender hand
Was girt on man, the mother armed the son—
"Go—and God speed thee! 'Tis God's cause;
Our homes, our shrines, our liberties!"

Glory to God! Songs of Thanksgiving be,
And of a virtuous life the better hymn,
To the All-Merciful! He brings
Pride low, Humility exalts.'

Frederick Leopold Count Stolberg died on the 15th December, 1819. His elder brother, Christian Count Stolberg, survived him. His elegy on his brother is an affecting composition.

Christian Count Stolberg's poems want much of that fiery enthusiasm, that liveliness of fancy, that grandeur and sublimity of imagery, which characterise his brother's effusions. He was, however, nobly inspired, had great intensity of feeling, boldness, and vigour of expression, and novelty of thought, united with tenderness, and loveliness of sentiment. His versification is particularly easy and sportive, and his translations from the Greek are exceedingly happy. We have omitted to notice, that Christian Count Stolberg wrote, in 1812, a poem, entitled the 'White Woman,' in seven ballads, in which juvenile energy and copious expression are united with conception and design worthy of the fine talents expended in its composition. This poem, however, is too long for insertion, and any extract from it would fail to satisfy the reader. The ballad of Eliza von Mansfield, by some considered the poet's best effort, is less 'caviare to the million,' and a translation is therefore here attempted.

ELIZA VON MANSFIELD, a Ballad of the Tenth Century.

'"Still Night! how many long for thee!
Now while I wake to weep,
O thou to them hast comfort brought,
Repose and gentle sleep.

Wished too, thou comest to me; now I
Am lonely, and am free,
And with my many sighs profound
May ease my misery.

Alas!

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Alas! what evil have I done
They treat me so severely?
My Father always called me his
Good child whom he loved dearly.

My dying Mother on my head
Poured her best blessing forth:
It may in heaven be fulfill'd,
But surely not on earth!

Change not this blessing to a curse
For those who me offend;
O God! forgive them what they do,
And cause them to amend.

Ah, I with patience might bear all,
If, Love, thou wouldst not be,
Thou who consumest my troubled heart
With hopeless agony!

If now, while one sweet Hope remains,
I cannot this endure:
Thou breakest then, poor heart! So, 'till
Thou breakest, hold it sure!"

Meanwhile, sweeps on a knightly man,
Upon his gallant steed,
And reaches, guided by the path,
The castle bridge, with speed.

There deeply sank into his heart,
The plaint of the Ladye,
He deems she pleads to him for help,
And will her saviour be.

Full of impatience and desire,
His glowing eyes ranged round,
Till high, within the window, they
The lovely Lady found.

"Ah! Lady, speak, why mournest thou?
Confide thy grief to me,
And to thy cause this sword, this arm,
This life, devoted be!"

"Ah! noble knight, nor sword, nor arm
I need, right well I wot,
But comfort for my sorrowing heart,
And, ah! that thou hast not!"

"Let me partake thy saddening woe,
That will divide thy grief,
My tear of pity will bestow
Both comfort and relief."

"Thou good kind youth, then hear my tale;
An orphan I, sir knight,
And with my parents did expire
My peace and my delight.

An Uncle and an Aunt are now
To me in Parents' stead,
Who wound my heart, (God pardon it!)
As if they wished me dead.

My Father was a wealthy Count;
The inheritance now mine—
Would I were poor! this wretched wealth
'Tis makes me to repine.

My Uncle thirsteth, day and night,
For my possessions rare,
And therefore shuts me in this tower,
Hard-hearted and severe.

Here shall I bide, he threatens, choose
I not, in three days, whether
I wed his son, or leave the world,
For a Cloister, altogether.

How quickly might the choice be made,
And I the veil assume,
Ah! had my youthful heart not loved
A youth, in beauty's bloom,

The youngest at the Tournament,
I saw him, and I loved,
So free, so noble, and so bold—
No one like him approved!"

"Be, noble Lady, of good cheer,
No Cloister shalt thou see,
Far less of that bad cruel man
The Daughter ever be.

I can, I will deliver thee,
I have resolved it too,
To yield thee to thy youngling's arms,
As I'm a Stolberg true!"

"Thou? Stolberg? O my grief is gone!
Mine Angel led thee, sure;
Thou art the dear, dear youth for whom
These sorrows I endure.

Now say I free and openly,
What then my looks confest,
When I, my love, thy earliest lance
With oaken garland drest."

"O God! thou? my beloved child,
Eliza Mansfield! Dove,
I loved thee, too, with the first look,
As none did ever love.

See on my lance the garland yet,
It ever carries there;
O could'st thou see thy image too,
Imprinted deeply here!

And now, why loiter we? Ere shine
The Sun, I'll bring thee home,
And nothing more shall our chaste loves
Divide, whatever come."

"With all my soul I love thee, youth,
Yet still my virgin shame
Struggles against thy rash design,
And trembles for my fame."

* * * * *

"We'll seek my Sister first, and there
Our wedding shall precede,
And then into my castle I
My noble bride will lead.—
Eliza!

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Eliza! let us hasten, come—
It is the mid of night,
The moon will soon conclude her course,
That shineth now so bright."

Now softly by a secret way
The Lady lightly trod,
Till she beneath the window,—pale
As deadly marble, stood.

Yet soon she felt her heart again,
And sprung unto her Knight,
Who press'd her speechless to his heart
That throbbed with chaste delight;

Then lifts her gladly on his steed,
And her before sits he;
She winds about him her white arms;
Forth go they, valiantly.

Now, wakened by the prancing steed,
And that true Griffin's neigh,
The damsel from the window spied
Her lady borne away.

She wildly shrieks, and plains to all
Of her calamity;
The old man foams, and cursing, swears
His niece in shame shall die.

He summon'd all his people up,
And ere the day began,
They left the Castle ready armed,
Led by that wicked man.

Meanwhile, cheered by the friendly moon,
Through common, field, and mead,
Far over hill, and vale, and wood,
That knightly pair proceed.

What torrent now with dashing foam
Roars loud before them so?
"Fear not, my love," the Stolberg said,
"This stream full well I know."

The gallant Roan makes head, his feet
Approve the flood with care,
Then dashes, neighing, through, as if
A tiny brook it were.

Now come they to the Castle, wot,
Yet rapt in heavenly bliss;
Let them describe who such have felt,
The intensity of this.

Now sate they at the early meal;
The cup careered about . . .
But entering soon—"Up, noble Count!
The Mansfield!" cried a scout.

The Bride and Sister fearfully
Their hair in sorrow tore;
The Count already had to horse,
And his full armour wore.

Forth went he out to meet the strife,
And called to Mansfied loud,
"In vain your anger is, for she
My Wife is, wed and vow'd.

And am I not of noble stem,
Whose fame is bruited wide,
Who Princes to our Nation gave,
E'en in the heathen tide?"*

With lance in rest, upon him springs
That Uncle bad and old,
His people follow; but the Knight
Awaits him calm and bold,

And draws his sword. As Mansfield nears,
His fury stoppage found—
He lays about, and cleaves his scull,
And smites him to the ground.

The rest disperse, and Stolberg hastes
Into the house again;
And him throughout the long sweet night
Her gentle arms enchain.'

Of Christian Count Stolberg, it only remains to be added, that he married Louisa Countess of Raventlau in 1777, but had no children. Her he highly celebrated in many of his poems. He died on the 18th of January, 1821.

A word on the peculiar genius of these fraternal poets, and we conclude.

'The heads of the Indian Bacchus,' says the younger Stolberg, 'are generally supposed to be the head of Plato. It is a charming error! Why should Plato not have had such a head? Did not Plato possess that noble inebriety of imagination which is ascribed to the ignoble Bacchus? The Indian Bacchus holds the same rank, compared to the common Bacchus, as the Venus Urania to the common Venus.'

* The race of the Stolbergs belonged to the twelve noble houses of the Tetrarchs of the Saxon realm, from which were elected, in time of war, Dukes and Kings, before Charles the Great conquered Saxony.

In

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In summing up the merits of the Stolbergs, we could scarcely choose a more apt illustration than this passage affords. Their works have all the wisdom of Plato, with all the inebriety of imagination proper to the 'jolly god.' This sort of inebriety is, perhaps, essential to lyrical composition; but to many readers, it may appear that the Stolbergs have indulged, in this respect, something too much. They are, however, masters in this kind, having left nothing unattempted, from the simple melody of the ballad, to the highest flight of dithyrambic phrensy. They were, however, altogether unequal to dramatic efforts. Though men of the world, in a certain sense, and possessing the advantages of rank, and birth, and fortune, their minds were cast in too literary a mould; and they were ignorant of the great world as it is, in those elements which are essential to dramatic success. Their favourite motto was, Τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. True it is that the really beautiful and the good are one; but then, neither the one nor the other are to be judged of by appearances. The Stolbergs were of the 'vision-weaving tribe,' whose pity is of too great delicacy to actually witness the distress which it would relieve. Their souls were tender, of the tenderest; their genius was of the deepest pathos; but the affections which they felt were nourished in solitude, as their own peculiar luxuries of taste. The dramatist must have no weakness of this sort; he must bear to look on what, to such men, is most repulsive; and even in vulgarity and meanness, and whatsoever is evil, must contemplate the human spirit, and learn from the very depths of its degradation itself to estimate the proud elevation from which it had declined. The younger Stolberg, on his travels, was much disgusted with the nauseous abortions which he witnessed in the palace of Prince Palogonia, a lunatic patron of the art of sculpture, whose inventions the poet well describes as the dreams of the sick. The dreams of the sick cut in stone, we may well suppose to be disgusting, especially as the imagination of the inventor was as barren as his taste was depraved. Shakspeare, however, would not have expressed himself with such unconquerable aversion of these marble monsters. He would have turned from the works to the inventor, and pleased himself in sketching the portrait of such a precious son of vanity; and, by placing him in a proper point of view in one of his inimitable plays, made him read a lesson in taste and morals to the swarm of dilettanti, who poison the pleasures of art with their wretched pretensions. Thus, from the deformed and monstrous, having deduced a beneficial application, he would have made the beautiful in his good deduction, where others had failed to find the good in the unbeautiful

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unbeautiful original. And, after all, it is probable, that 'gentle Shakspeare,' with *the* true poetic feeling, would have detected something, even in the mental aberration itself of the individual, which would have touched the heart of better humanity. The aspiration of which it is indicative, though vainly indulged, is worth a little on its own account, and Shakspeare would have assigned to it its true value. Stolberg could only see therein the mischief which it might do to the children of the establishment who were doomed to the contemplation of such imbecile efforts. But, surely, bad pictures and bad statues, if not immoral, are better than none at all, and the worst of both are preferable to an exclusive taste, or a sectarian spirit. 'There is a soul of goodness,' he wisely says, 'in things evil;' and he would have discovered that soul in this instance, as in every other. But the indulgence of sensations and feelings, and solitary emotions, in which sentimentalists delight, effeminate and enfeeble the soul. They reduce it, in fact, from its high spirituality, and constitute the physical nature of man a more important portion of our wondrous mechanism, than either the intellect, the reason, or the will; and sacrifice the very substance of love itself to its maudlin appearances. The Shakspeares were of a manlier mould: so were the mighty masters of antiquity. To Stolberg, however, the works of the latter partook of a repulsive sternness.

'A certain character of severity, a want of sympathy,' he says, 'the gloom of melancholy, bordering on anger, characterises most of the heads of the ancient statues: as well the gods as the men; as well the male as the female race. If I do not mistake, the imagination of the heathen artists was thus worked upon by the recollection of the wide-stretching power of death, παντελὴς θανατοῦ; and worked upon in different manners, according as the character of each artist steeled itself against, or nourished, this sentiment; which, from the heart, was communicated by means of the arm and the chisel to the marble. I appeal to the feelings of all dispassionate persons, though they should only be acquainted with the works of the ancients from engravings. Even over the features of their gods, whose youth is eternal, hovers, like a black cloud, the thought of death.'

The severity of which he thus complains is wanting to the muse of Stolberg. True it is that Christianity has softened the idea of death; it has deprived the monster of his sting, and the grave of its victory. Susceptible spirits, however, should beware, lest, in contemplating the subject only on its ideal side, they should, in the hour of trial, shrink from the reality which, after all, is fearful. If the ancients had their terrible graces, of which Stolberg was aware, our holy religion is not without

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without them. To do him justice, he was sometimes anxious to introduce these also in his poems. Indeed, they abound in his magnificent Ode, entitled 'A Song of Freedom, for the Twentieth Century.' The genius of Christianity is to find the beautiful in the terrible; but we should lose this end altogether, if, at the same time, we were insensible to the terrible in the beautiful. To conclude, in the words of the poet himself, the eternal aim of art was, and is, 'nach der festesten Ergreifung der Wahrheit, mit Inbegriff der poetischen Wahrheit zu streben. Wohl dem Künstler, wohl dem Dichter, welcher mit dieses Gesetzes Beobachtung die Wahl des Schönen und des Edeln verbindet!'

ART. VII.—*De l'Organisation Judiciaire et de la Codification, extraits de divers ouvrages de Jérémie Bentham, Jurisconsulte Anglais, par Et. Dumont.* Paris, 1828, pp. 480.

IT does not often happen that the works of native writers fall within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Review. In the present instance, however, we exercise that authority with full right. For Mr. Dumont is not a mere translator, but undertakes, and executes with the most perfect success, the difficult task of reducing to shape the uncouth and heavy productions of the English Jurisconsult; and, besides the valuable additions which he has himself made, may be considered almost the father of those doctrines which he offers to the world in an intelligible form; as, without his aid, they would infallibly have been destined to oblivion. A diamond does not undergo greater changes under the hand of the polisher, than the crude thoughts and *mental short-hand* of Mr. Bentham experience in the laboratory of Geneva. Mr. Bentham seems to have adopted in practice the maxim of the French courtier, that 'language was given us in order to conceal our thoughts;' and with all his hatred of jargon and mysticism, he has certainly succeeded in conveying his opinions by such a style as would take from his code all *cognoscibility;* and, though it might be promulgated in every church and playhouse, on every day in the year, would unquestionably suggest no idea to the minds of that class of society which Mr. Bentham takes under his especial protection. He probably accustomed himself, for his private convenience, to use foreign and compound words in cases where the English language is wanting in single terms; and to chalk out the plan of a work in the form of a diagram or map—a most

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most useful and intelligible practice, but which should have been confined to his private study; and in submitting to the world these rough fabrics, Mr. Bentham reminds us of a man, who, when he has built his house, should leave the scaffold standing against the wall, and the chips and litter of the carpenters in his rooms. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Bentham has sometimes omitted to perform one-half of this process, and has given us the scaffolding and the sawdust, without the building, which should have been the result.

To construct the volume before us, Mr. Dumont had not, as in the former works, to peruse and sift large masses of manuscript, but found his materials ready printed, in several books which Mr. Bentham had published at different periods of his life; but which, partly from the peculiarity of his style, partly from the novelty of his doctrines, and still more from the singular infelicity which Mr. Bentham possesses of prejudicing the minds of his readers against himself, had not attracted in England that notice to which the importance of their subjects entitled them. These were, 1st. a plan of judicature addressed, in 1791, to the Constituent Assembly of France. It was printed in double columns; the scheme of the French Committee in one; in the other, Mr. Bentham's, with remarks in explanation and defence. '*L'ouvrage fut imprimé,*' says Mr. Dumont, '*et bientôt il n'y pensa plus.*' From this early work, Mr. Dumont has taken the outlines of Mr. Bentham's System of Judicature, with the exception of the discussion on the expediency of juries. This part has been borrowed from some Letters on Scotch Reform, addressed by Mr. Bentham to Lord Grenville, in 1806, on the occasion of a bill relative to the administration of justice in Scotland, which was then passing through Parliament. Mr. Bentham objects altogether to trial by jury, an opinion which Mr. Dumont does not share with him, and undertakes its defence. This, with a parallel between the writings of Bentham and Montesquieu, and an Appendix on some miscellaneous subjects, concludes the first part of the volume. The second part, on Codification, as its subject is quite unconnected with the preceding discussions, we shall not notice in the present article, but may, perhaps, consider the question on some other occasion.

The great alterations in the form of Mr. Bentham's opinions which this fusion must have rendered necessary, and the supplements which Mr. Dumont must have inserted, in order to mould these scattered writings into an uniform and harmonious whole, cause us to doubt sometimes whether we are justified in using Mr. Bentham's name as the author of every part

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part of this work. We suppose, however, that such an understanding exists between the producer of the raw material and the artificer, that we may, without scruple, make use of the name which appears in the title-page.

Mr. Bentham sets out by supposing the existence of a perfect code, or, at least, as nearly perfect as human nature will permit. As the happiness of the people will be the object of all these laws, it is plain that the chief purpose of a judicial establishment is to put them into execution with *the greatest possible fidelity*. This is the only end of judicature in a well-governed state; but if the laws are oppressive or imperfect, the judges sometimes benefit the community by overruling what is bad and supplying what is deficient: thus assuming the character of legislators, which is quite foreign to the judicial office. Fidelity to the law is the test of the goodness of decisions; but, in order to arrive at a judicial decision, certain steps are first necessary which constitute the *procedure*. This, in most instances, may be short and simple; but in some cases its operations are attended with certain inconveniences, known by the too familiar names of *delays, expenses, vexations*, &c. These are sometimes independent, but more often dependent on each other; *e. g.* to shorten the delays, is to lessen the costs and vexation of the parties. The correctness of decisions is, therefore, the primary end of judicature; economy, simplicity, and despatch are secondary ends. These latter may be, to a certain extent, sacrificed in order to attain the former; but it is to be observed, that a legal verdict is not worth having, if it is purchased at too great an expense of time, money, and vexation.

Next follows an analysis of the different kinds of lawsuits, and of the degrees through which they must pass, before the law can take its course. Part of this discussion is borrowed from Mr. Mill's article on Jurisprudence, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica. We shall take the liberty of stating some part of it in (what appears to us) a simpler manner. In almost every lawsuit, not encumbered by technical pleadings, the question is reduced to the establishment of two propositions; the first of which declares the general rule of law; the second, the act of the defendant or accused. For instance, in a case of theft, it is first necessary to prove that stealing, under certain circumstances, is punishable in a certain manner; and then it is to be shewn that the *accused* has stolen under these circumstances, from which the inevitable conclusion is, that he is to be punished in the manner declared by law. The accused may deny both or either of these propositions;

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positions; *i. e.*, he may maintain that either the law or the fact is not as is stated; or that neither is correctly stated. This is a criminal case, in which punishment is awarded for a right *violated;* but in civil causes redress is sought for an injury arising from a right *disputed.* The skeleton of the proceeding is, however, precisely the same. For instance, in a case of disputed execution of a will, the plaintiff may affirm,—first, that if the witnesses do not sign in the presence of the testator, the execution is void. He must then prove that this was the fact with regard to the will in question. The defendant, perhaps, admits that the law would give the devised estate to the plaintiff, if the will is void. If, then, the two disputed positions can be established, the judge pronounces with authority the conclusion, that the plaintiff is entitled to the property at issue. Under a good system of laws, the first of these two propositions (the major premiss of logicians) would seldom or never be in question: in this country, however, litigation perpetually arises on questions of law, and even in our criminal courts it is not always the fact which is alone disputed.

It is plain from the above remarks that there are four principal steps in a lawsuit. First, The *statement of the case.* The two parties appear before the judge, and *state* the grounds of their dispute; *i. e.*, lay down the two (or more) propositions at issue. Secondly, The lawsuit (properly so called) begins. Each party proceeds to prove the propositions in his own favour; the plaintiff the affirmative, the defendant the contradictory; or, in plain language, to *make out* their case. Thirdly, When the law has been argued, and the facts established, the judge draws the conclusion, which is called the *judgment.* Fourthly, The *execution* of the judgment, or the measures adopted for enforcing the decree of the court, is the only process which then remains.

We are next introduced to a discussion which seems to us both out of place and inconsistent with the plan of the book—*viz.* on the question whether justice should be administered in the name of the King. As we remarked, the work sets out with an hypothesis of a perfect system of laws, constitutional, we presume, as well as civil. Now, if we are not greatly mistaken, there is no king in Mr. Bentham's perfect state; and when the question is argued with respect to a *particular* monarchy, some of Mr. Bentham's objections might, perhaps, be removed, and some other than the rhetorical defence, which he is pleased to bestow upon it, be devised. We believe, in the mean time, that it is a perfectly harmless fiction, occasioning neither delay, doubt, nor expense; and agree with Mr.

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Mr. Dumont, that it is merely a '*parole révérencieuse qui n'entraine aucune conséquence.*'

The next subject is the number and disposition of the courts of law. For the speedy furtherance of justice, and the saving of expense, it is desirable that these should be distributed over the country; the judicial district of each being small enough to admit of a person, who lived at its furthest extremity, going and returning on foot in one day.* This plan would be perfect as far as the litigants are concerned, but it is attended with obvious inconveniences as regards the judges and lawyers. In the first place, the requisite number of judges would be so great that their united salaries would amount to a large sum; and again, it would be difficult to fill these numerous offices with proper men. The same would be likewise true of the bar. The number and importance of the causes would not be sufficient to induce persons of education and talent to devote themselves to the study of the law. There would likewise be wanting the check afforded by an enlightened audience. The mere size of an audience is of no importance, as no assignable number of farmers and ploughboys would be calculated to criticise the decision of a court. Mr. Bentham, however, suggests that all these difficulties may be got rid of by allowing any cause to be brought before the court of the province, instead of the district, at the will of either party. By this means all important causes will be referred to the larger tribunal, while the common routine of business will be transacted by the petty court.

The extent of the jurisdiction to be allotted to these different courts is next considered. In modern, and, to a certain point, in ancient nations, the causes have been distributed among different tribunals according to their subject-matter: so that one court decides criminal cases, another civil, a third commercial, and so on. Mr. Bentham objects to this arrangement *in toto*, and would arm each court with jurisdiction in all cases, four tribunals only being excepted, *viz.* courts-martial, the jurisdiction of merchant-vessels, a court of ecclesiastical discipline, and a judicial power in representative assemblies.† Of these he remarks, 1st. that a summary jurisdiction is required in fleets and armies for the maintenance of discipline, and that

* 'This (Mr. Dumont remarks, p. 18.) would suppose a circle with a radius of ten or twelve miles.' He ought to have remembered that it is impossible to divide a flat surface into circular areas. Besides, it should be observed, that ten miles from point to point along a plain are not the same as ten miles from point to point over mountainous rough ground. Time, not distance, measures the difficulty of communication.

† To these may be added, the *appellate* jurisdiction, which Mr. Bentham proposes to give to a peculiar tribunal.—p. 167.

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a professional knowledge is necessary to decide on the professional conduct of officers. It seems to us that this last argument, by proving too much, proves nothing: for there are many cases not provided by Mr. Bentham with a separate tribunal, in which a very minute professional and technical knowledge is required, for instance, a case of the infringement of a patent. We are therefore inclined to think that it might be desirable to restrict the jurisdiction of courts-martial to time of war. A tribunal for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline is only rendered necessary by the existence of an established church; *'un ordre de choses qui pourrait ne pas exister et qui n'existe pas partout.'* As to a power in deliberative assemblies of maintaining order among their own members, its necessity is so obvious as to require no demonstration.

Subject to these exceptions, every tribunal should have full powers to decide every cause; a system recommended by the following inconveniences of the contrary and common arrangement.

1. The courts are either too many or too few: too many, if every person has one of all the different species of courts within a convenient distance; and too few, if he has not. 2. It is often uncertain to what court a cause belongs. Hence the necessity of persons initiated in the mysteries of law, who tax the uninitiated for their ignorance of a matter about which no doubt ought to exist. The very threshold of a court is set with traps to catch the unwary litigant. 3. The publicity of the proceedings is diminished. All these heterogeneous tribunals, each armed with its own little fragment of jurisdiction, distract the public attention, which would rest undivided on the one supreme court, collecting, like a lens, the scattered rays of public opinion on a single point.

On the other hand, the common system does not possess one advantage over that proposed. Even the division of labour, which it favours, is no reason, and only benefits the judges themselves. Lawyers are able to learn every branch of the law, and why are not judges? (This, by the way, is very far from being the case in England. There is probably no lawyer who is versed in all the different departments of his art.)

Another principle of division for civil causes, *viz.* the amount of money in litigation, is still more objectionable. For an idea of insignificance is necessarily associated with a small sum; whereas, to a man with an annual income of 50*l.* the loss of 10*l.* is of more importance than of 1000*l.* to one with 5000*l.* a year: inasmuch as the one is deprived of necessaries, the other of superfluities. We agree, generally, that this is an impolitic arrangement;

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arrangement; but it appears to us that the vulgar opinion is not without some foundation. If a poor man is ruined by a lawsuit, the evil doe snot extend beyond himself, and his family, if he is married: but the ruin of a rich man entails the distress of many others, and throws many retainers, servants, &c. on the world. How much greater is the misery caused by the failure of a large manufactory, or mercantile house, than by the breaking of a small tradesman!

The country being thus divided into certain judicial districts, all criminals are to be tried in their proper court; while litigants in civil causes may be permitted, if they are both agreed, to bring their suit before the court of any neighbouring district. This permission would be useful, first, because the litigants' proper court might be overloaded with business: and secondly, because it would create an emulation among the judges to distinguish themselves by the legality of their decisions; as the courts of unpopular judges would be deserted for those of their more equitable brethren. A privilege of this kind which exists in England has been found to produce the most beneficial effects.

We have next an episode on the expediency of the English circuits. This system is declared to possess four conveniences and three inconveniences; the latter, however, though fewer in number, are greater in weight. The advantages are, first, the small number of the judges, who, therefore, may be always fit persons, and are placed in a conspicuous station. Secondly, the compatibility of a small expenditure with large salaries, by which means the judges are placed beyond the reach of pecuniary temptation. Thirdly, the judges travel, and the criminals and litigants remain at home. Fourthly, they do not contract any local partialities or dislikes, to which a resident judge would be exposed. The first of these advantages is, however, merely accidental, and dependant on the perplexity and obscurity of the English laws; as under a good system every man of common sense, having passed through a sufficient apprenticeship, could perform the office of judge. As to the second, the word *economy* is delusive; for cheapness is not an absolute quantity, but is the power of procuring valuable services at a small expense. And when it is said that justice is brought to every man's door, it must be remembered that its visits are only for four days in a year; and that it is absent during the other 360. The other advantage, Mr. Bentham admits; but says, that great impartiality may be obtained under his system, by establishing an alternation of judges; a contrivance which has (we believe) been adopted in the excise department of this

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this kingdom with much benefit; and has greatly checked the good understanding which used frequently to prevail between the manufacturers and officers.

The disadvantages of circuits are, First, that far more money is lost in law expenses than is saved in the judges' salaries. This arises from the necessity of sending up cases to the metropolis, and frequently of appealing to the courts in Westminster. Secondly, that persons are detained in prison sometimes for many months before trial. Thirdly, that delays necessarily take place, which are unfavourable to the preservation and collection of evidence; and that when the moment of trial arrives, the judge is so pressed for time as to hurry it over without sufficient consideration. The attempt to remedy these evils by increasing the number of the circuits, the more successful it is, approaches indefinitely nearer to Mr. Bentham's system of stationary judges.

The system of circuits being thus disposed of, Mr. Bentham declines discussing the question, whether the judges should be elected by the people, or its representatives, or the king; as this would amount to inquiring whether there is greater security for the pure administration of justice in a monarchy than in a republic. He therefore only remarks, that in a monarchy, the judges are not *necessarily* appointed by the king; that in an aristocracy justice must be ill administered, as the judicial, executive, and legislative powers are confounded; and that in a democracy, it is indifferent how popular the mode of election is made, provided that the choice of the electors is restrained, and only certain persons made eligible, a plan afterwards explained at length.

Mr. Bentham next attacks a proposal which has been made for remedying the dangers arising from the irremoveability of judges, viz. to elect them for a certain period, say five years, and then after a retirement of equal length, that they should be again eligible. By this means an obnoxious judge, instead of being removed, would only not be elected. His objections against this plan, derived from the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of fit persons, from the dependent situation in which it would place the judges, and the preference which it would give to the wealthy, are stated with great clearness, and irresistible force.

We now come to the important question of the *number* of judges in a tribunal. Mr. Bentham is of opinion that *one* is the best number, in all cases, and for many reasons, of which we subjoin a brief abstract.

The number of the judges diminishes their responsibility by dividing

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dividing it. The fear of public censure is the greatest check on a judge's conduct, and by being placed alone, in so conspicuous a place, his interest and duty are made to coincide. Among a large number, not only is the responsibility divided, but the odium is shifted from one to another, and has no fixed spot to alight on. Moreover, the united opinion of a body always finds some favour with the public; and the different members console and fortify each other against popular censure. '*Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo*, is the saying of none but a fool. *Populus nos sibilat, at nobis plaudimus ipsis*, is a reflection which has supported many a magistrate against the execration of the public.' (p. 53.) A large body is also more liable to corruption,* because a subordination is silently established among its members; and the chief person or persons being gained, the others will regularly follow. Also there will be a means of judging unjustly without expressly giving judgment, *viz.*, by staying away, and thus subtracting one vote from the righteous side. There will likewise be a corporate spirit among the judges, which will give them an interest distinct from that of the public.

As far, therefore, as the *moral* qualities of judges, their honesty and integrity are concerned, a large number is injurious; but does it not augment the *intellectual* powers of a court, that there should be an union of minds directed to the same point, one of which has perhaps more quickness, another more sagacity, a third greater learning and powers of application, and so on? Mr. Bentham decides that this objection has no weight, because, in a large tribunal, the president being the mouthpiece of the court, becomes insensibly the only efficient judge: men being tired of hearing their own thoughts and conclusions anticipated; because, out of a hundred cases, ninety-nine offer no difficulty; and as to the hundredth, it must be remembered, that the judge is not left to himself, but hears the case argued on both sides, by persons who are interested in producing all the facts and the law. Besides which, his judgment is not final, but an appeal lies to another tribunal, which ensures a plurality of opinions, though not in the same court. He may likewise, if perplexed, call in the assistance of an *amicus curiæ*. In comparing the relative celerity of the two systems, the advantage is in favour of one judge; on account of the disagreements,

* This is not the opinion of Aristotle, Polit. iii. p. 358 D. ed. Duval. "Ετι μᾶλλον ἀδιάφθορον τὸ πολὺ πάθει ἧττον τὸ πλεῖον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον· τοῦ δ' ἑνὸς ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ἢ τινος ἑτέρου πάθους τοιούτου, ἀναγκαῖον διέφθαρθαι τὴν κρίσιν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἔργον ἅμα πάντας ὀργισθῆναι καὶ ἁμαρτεῖν. What is here said of anger or lust, with reference to governors, is equally true of avarice when applied to judges.

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prorogations, delays, occasioned by the mutual civilities and jealousies of a body. As to the superior economy, there cannot, of course, be any doubt.

This is a faithful abstract of the most important arguments adduced by Mr. Bentham, in favour of a single judge, in which there seems to us to be a considerable alloy of fallacy. Mr. Bentham, in our opinion, falls into an error, common with less experienced reasoners than himself, of attempting to prove too much, and therefore proving nothing. Instead of being satisfied with shewing that the advantages of his system are *greater* than those of the contrary system, he must prove that his plan is *faultless*, and free from *all* objection. This position we consider untenable: but we agree with him, that a large tribunal (such, for instance, as the Athenian courts of 500 or 1000) is inconsistent with a regard for the laws; and that its irresponsibility greatly outweighs in mischief the benefit to be derived in council from numbers. But when he denies the proverb that two heads are better than one, *absistimus toti;* and we think that he would have stated the question more fairly, if he had said that the problem was to reconcile the advantages of deliberation and united wisdom with the evils of irresponsibility. If it can be shewn that any number greater than one so divides the responsibility as to destroy it, Mr. Bentham's conclusion is true, though his argument is not now conclusive. In the meantime we are disposed to think that *three* is the best number possible. The great objection to one judge is, that if he is not a man of personal authority and dignity, he is unable sufficiently to control the bar. The question sometimes degenerates into a personal altercation between the court and the pleaders. Not only is this highly indecent, but it retards the operations of justice. Witness the difference between the length and pertinency of the speeches in our courts of law and of equity. The united weight of three judges would overawe the petulant lawyer. By allowing the presidency to be taken *in rotation*, the silent acquiescence of the subordinate members would be prevented; and in case of disagreement, the judges should state their opinions *seriatim*, as is the custom in our courts of law. If it does not happen that the opinions of all three agree or disagree, there must be two voices against one.* Now, in a tribunal of *five*, there may be three against

* Paley (Elements of Moral Philosophy, vi. 8.) is of opinion that *four* is the best number, because no decision can be given without a majority of three to one. This is the very reason why it seems to us a bad number, since, if the court was evenly divided, there could be no verdict. We think that all legislative and judicial bodies should have a power of coming in all cases to a decision, either by their number being uneven, or the contrivance of a casting vote.

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two; and the *conjoint* opinion of two good judges is of greater weight than that of three bad judges; but this is not the case with a *single* good judge against two; for one man, though a great lawyer, may be wrong-headed or absurd. The chances of two good lawyers being right, when they agree, are much more than double the chance on either one by himself. As to despatch, we have great doubts whether one judge would get through more business than three; and that a single judge, even when checked by the utmost publicity, is not a specific against delay, has been decisively proved by our court of chancery. Mr. Bentham's argument about appeal is very singular. His object is to prove that a single judge ensures the best decisions; and he says, that if the decision *is* incorrect, the case is not remediless. What should we think of a physician who pledged his credit that a disease was not infectious, and when reproached for the falsification of his prophecy, should reply, that he would undertake to cure it? Appeal is as much a cure for the errors of fifty judges as of one. What we want, is, reasons to prove the *superiority* of one method over the other. To say that the evils arising from either are not incurable, proves nothing.

Nor are Mr. Bentham's remarks on the evil effects which arise from the independence of a large tribunal, quite fair to both sides of the case. The judges may, by their number, be independent of evil as well as good influence; their union and consideration may give them weight to resist an ignorant popular clamour, or the threats of a corrupt government, at the same time that it makes them less dependent on a just public opinion. There are stages of civilization, when the advantages to be expected from the firmness and independence of the judges would perhaps outweigh those of their responsibility:* but when the public is

* There is so curious a passage in the life of the Lord Keeper Guildford, on the difficulty which an upright judge sometimes finds in withstanding the passions and superstition of the multitude, that we make no apology for inserting it in this place. 'He (the Lord Keeper) was never more puzzled than when a popular cry was at the heels of a business: for then he had his jury to deal with, and, if he did not tread upon eggs, they would conclude sinistrously, and be apt to find against his opinion. And for this reason he dreaded the trying of a witch. It is seldom that a poor old wretch is brought to trial upon that account, but there is at the heels of her, *a popular rage that does little less than demand her to be put to death.* And if a judge is so clear and open as to declare himself against that impious vulgar opinion, that the devil himself has power to torment and kill innocent children, or that he is pleased to divert himself with the good people's cheese, butter, pigs, and geese, and the like errors of the foolish and ignorant rabble; the countrymen (the triers) cry, this judge hath no religion, for he doth not believe witches, and so, to shew they have some, hang the poor wretches: all which tendency to mistake, requires a very prudent and moderate carriage in a judge.'—p. 129, ed. 4to.

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tolerably enlightened, we believe (as we stated above) that a small number is greatly to be preferred.

We have hitherto given a very full account of the work before us, that the reader might be enabled to form a judgment, not only of Mr. Bentham's plan, but also of the arguments by which he supports it. In the following part, our notice and examination of his arguments must be more succinct.

In order to avoid the delays which might arise from the occupation or illness of the judge, when only one person sits in each court, it is desirable to give to each judge the power of nominating a *deputy*. This deputy is to be a young man, to receive no pay, and to serve a judicial apprenticeship under his more experienced superior: whom he is occasionally to relieve by deciding for him in easy cases, and transacting matters of routine: but the head judge is to be accountable for the actions of his deputy. The people are to be restricted in their choice of judges to these deputies. The judges are to receive no payment in the shape of fees, dues, or per centage on the property at issue. Their salaries are to be paid from the public treasury; and these need not be high, as the deputies, not having been used to make a large income by the law, will not require one in their new situation. It is next proved by arguments no less conclusive than obvious, that the duties of a judge should not be joined to any other employment or office; nor should judges vote at elections. Their promotion is to be gradual, *i. e.* they are to ascend according to their seniority. The courts are to be open every day, and are to sit for a fixed number of hours; the salaries only to be paid for the days of attendance. Publicity is the great safeguard against the partiality of judges; but a regulation, similar to the clause *de non audiendo extrajudicialiter* in the oath of the English judges, is necessary. The judges are to be removable at the will of the electing body, because it is possible that the electors may be deceived in their choice, that a judge may become incapable by old age or weakness, without being corrupt so as to justify an attainder. The two chief objections to this system are, that it destroys the independence of the judges, and deters the fittest persons, by the fear of popular instability, from offering themselves for the judicial office. Mr. Bentham answers the first of these, by saying, that independence is an ambiguous word; that judges should be independent of improper, but not of proper influence, and that they should seek to attain a solid popularity. As to the other, it is not true that the mass of the people is so fickle and tyrannical as is commonly supposed: there is no danger of the public opinion being erroneous,

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erroneous, if a sufficient time for deliberation, and the collection of facts, is allowed. Indeed, this is the greatest security against the cabals and complaints of persons and parties who pretend to espouse the popular cause. 'Political imposture speaks in the name of the people, as religious imposture speaks in the name of God.' p. 103. Nothing, as Mr. Bentham truly remarks, is more common than the assumption of the character of advocates of the people by those whom nobody trusts, and who palm off their own absurd and unknown theories as the ardent prayers of an unanimous nation.

Mr. Bentham seems, however, rather to mistrust his own assertions on the steadiness of popular favour, as he proposes that the salaries of the judges shall be permanent, and not affected by their dismission from office, and that they shall be immediately re-eligible, a liberty which would give to the interested party the resource of an appeal, and even the opportunity of a triumph.

Belonging to each court there should likewise be two officers, named a prosecutor-general, and defender-general, who, in respect of their election, power of appointing a deputy, &c. are to be on precisely the same footing as the judges. In the rank of deputy, persons may pass from one of these departments to another; but not when they have become graduated judges, prosecutors, and defenders. The chief reasons for keeping these three branches distinct are, that having separate interests and feelings, they will mutually be a check on each other, and that the division of labour tends to perfect it. The use of a public defender is to afford assistance to the poor who cannot pay for the advice of professed lawyers. Mr. Dumont thinks that this office is superfluous, and that, as in France and Geneva, the court might name some lawyer, generally a young man, to perform the honourable duty of assisting the poor. Under a good system of laws, and a simple procedure, we admit that the plan approved by Mr. Dumont might be found sufficient; but in a country like England, where an obscure and intricate law is administered by a technical procedure, we think that Mr. Bentham's recommendation would be found to produce great benefit.

With regard to the prosecution of crimes, there are four different ways by which criminals may be brought to justice. First, by admitting all voluntary prosecutors; secondly, offering rewards to prosecutors; thirdly, appointing public prosecutors; fourthly, combining these three methods.* Mr. Bentham

* There are, in fact, six possible methods, as three things admit of two combinations, by twos, besides the three taken together. The scheme proposed by Mr. Bentham is a combination of the first and third.

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proves, in the most convincing manner, that neither of the three first methods, taken *singly*, will fulfil the ends of justice. The different motives in individuals to forego the labour, expense, and anxiety of a public prosecution, and the consequent advantages to offenders, are enumerated with great ability. As to the second mode, many persons would be deterred by the offer of a reward from doing that which they might consider a duty. The rewards, moreover, must be very high; and, even then, a reward for prosecuting might be overbalanced by a reward for silence. We believe that the chief objection made to a public prosecutor is the expense which it would entail: a system of rewards would, however, be at least as costly, and not near so efficient. It was tried at Athens and other Greek democracies, on a large scale, and in a very pernicious form, as any citizen was permitted to accuse, and, if his charge was successful, he received a part of the fine or confiscated property of the defendant. This arrangement was one of the great promoters of that system of false accusation, and the corrupt administration of justice for which Athens has become so unfortunately famous.* The above means being insufficient, it is evident that the only security is to be found in the appointment of public prosecutors, paid, not by fees, but by a fixed salary. These officers should not, however, possess an *exclusive* right of prosecuting, which would put the execution of the entire criminal law into their hands, but they should only have the second choice of all prosecutions, *the refusal* being given to any private individual.†

A difficulty might arise under this system in furnishing the public prosecutor with information to act upon. Mr. Bentham is of opinion that, under certain regulations, *secret informations* might be admitted, and that the popular prejudice against informers might be removed, or, at least, softened, by different methods. Thus he recommends, that

'un juge, dans un remerciment solennel, placât un service de

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* The Athenians had, however, a contrivance to prevent vexatious accusations, viz. if the plaintiff did not obtain a fifth part of the votes of the court, which generally consisted of about 500 dicasts, he was condemned to a fine of 1000 drachmas, *i. e.* to an amount of silver, of which the value would now be about 38*l.* This did not vary according to the circumstances of the case.—See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, vol. ii. p. 108. vol. i. p. 315. *sq.*

† It seems to us that the system of private prosecutions has been chiefly founded on the belief, that *revenge*, not the *prevention* of *crime*, is the proper end of punishment. If a man has been robbed, the punishment of the robber no more concerns him than any other member of the community. The terror inspired by his conviction, and his detention in prison, are public, not private benefits. It is by no means certain that it is not the best policy for the community both to replace the injury and prosecute the offender. *We* run to the very opposite extreme; for the person who has suffered the loss, likewise pays for protecting his fellow-citizens.

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cette nature dans un jour honorable, et qu'il accordât même le privilège d'une place distinguée dans son tribunal à celui qui, dans quelque occasion importante, aura rendu cet homage aux lois.' p. 138.

We doubt much whether these marks of respect would induce many people to undergo the odium attached to the character of an informer.*

The next chapter consists of a long diatribe against the profession of lawyers. In the first part, Mr. Bentham examines the common arguments for the employment of professional persons to argue for the parties; the second is on the separation of the duties of barrister and attorney; the third upon the exclusion of lawyers from the office of judge. In the short space at our disposal, it would be impossible to compress all Mr. Bentham's objections against lawyers, and all our objections to his doctrines. But we will attempt to give a short summary of his principal arguments. He begins by saying that, under any, much less a complicated and technical system, it would be unjust to debar litigants of the liberty of employing lawyers or other persons to speak for them. But why should not people be allowed to plead their own cause, if they wish it? And why should not the use of lawyers be the exception rather than the rule? The following reasons are brought forward.—First, That a man ignorant of law, and unable to speak, will not state his case, so as to shew its strong points; and may, though he has justice on his side, be foiled by the superior address of his adversary. But is not the judge acquainted with the law, able to seize the circumstances in his favour, and to sift truth from falsehood, though concealed with eloquence and dexterity? Secondly, The judges are too dignified to be insulted by the coarseness, vulgarity, and recriminations of low-bred and angry litigants. This objection implies the assertion, that litigants are made for the use of judges, not judges for the use of litigants. Besides, it would equally apply to the examination of witnesses in court, when the same indecent scenes may take place. Thirdly, Much of the judge's time is saved by the intervention of an attorney and barrister in each

* Où est l'avocat en Angleterre, où est même le juge qui, dans l'occasion, ne dise pas au jury, comme une chose essentielle à savoir: *Ceci est une poursuite vindicative? Si la conséquence qu'on peut en tirer*, est que toute poursuite vindicative doit être découragée, cette *conséquence* est dangereuse; car comment, &c., p. 134. There is such a parade of dry logical statement in the book before us, that we are induced to notice the very obvious inaccuracy contained in the above paragraph. The proposition which Mr. Bentham denies is not *a conclusion to be drawn from* the argument, but is merely the *suppressed premise*. The reasoning plainly is: 'every vindictive prosecution should be discouraged. This is a vindictive prosecution. Therefore,' &c. The major premise may be said to be *implied* in the argument, but to call it a *consequence* of the argument, is a gross abuse of language.

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cause, and the saving of time is the saving of money. But the money which is saved to the public is lost by individuals. Before a suit can come before a judge, each party pays an attorney and a barrister. Without the services of these four persons, the time of only one person would be consumed. Fourthly, One more objection remains to be considered. Suppose (it is said) that the parties pleaded their own cause, or could nominate any friend to plead for them, the duties now performed by attornies and barristers in virtue of their office, might be exercised by any person at will: and would not there be great danger of unprincipled men inundating the profession, under a system of perfect liberty, when we see that the certificates and graduations, the means now adopted for purging the law of its more disreputable members, are far from being successful? This argument might have some weight, if the present system could ensure honesty and a hatred of litigation in its professors. But the fact is, that so long as the law holds out temptation and rewards to dishonesty, dishonest practitioners will be found. Where there is a demand, there will be a supply; where there are roguish clients, there will be roguish lawyers. The refutation of another objection, founded on the vested rights of the lawyers in their monopoly, we suppose our readers are too enlightened to require.

But, Mr. Bentham continues, if the monopoly was abolished, would the effects be considerable, either for good or for evil? An inexperienced man would have little chance of success against a practised and skilful lawyer. Every person would naturally wish to win his cause; and for the same reason that people now go to *good* in preference to *bad* lawyers, they would then go to *lawyers* in preference to *laymen*. The lawyers, therefore, are in possession of a kind of natural monopoly. But this is the very reason why an evil which exists by nature should *not* be established by law; why to the bad effects of a natural monopoly should *not* be added those of a legal monopoly, the increased price, the exclusion of gratuitous services, and the dependence and vexation of the parties. Nor are these the only or the least grievous mischiefs.

'The monopoly enjoyed by the lawyers forms among them a principle of union by which that numerous and compact body is moved with a facility and a power which belongs to no other corporation, if we except that *which has the monopoly of passports into the next world.** This body of lawyers has a common interest, diametrically opposed to the interest of the litigants, and in the pursuit of this interest, they act against the public with the supe-

* This sneer seems to us quite unworthy both of Mr. Bentham and his editor.

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riority which a disciplined army possesses over the unarmed inhabitants of the country.'—p. 148.

In England this evil is carried to its utmost height. The judges having themselves been barristers, and profited by the system, protect the barristers in their work of plunder; and a perpetual league exists between the guardians and the enemies of the community. The countenance which the members of this league afford one another is the more dangerous, as it is disguised under specious names, such as friendship, forbearance, &c. Moreover, the corporate spirit of this body has so strong an effect as even to induce its members to sacrifice their private interests. What odium, what disgrace would be the lot of the daring lawyer who offered his services at a price lower than that fixed by the monopoly! Having passed this general censure on the English bar, Mr. Bentham is anxious to admit, that 'in that numerous body there are honourable feelings and honest principles which have given a high rank to the profession in England. But with all allowances for individuals, it must be confessed, that in the highest stations, the faults of the English procedure find, not only not enemies, but obstinate defenders, that habit and interest conceal from them the inconveniences of the worst laws, and that their integrity easily accommodates itself to delays and expenses which are only supported by their antiquity.'—p. 150.

We now come to the separation of the duties of barrister and attorney. The business of a lawyer is of two kinds: First, the collection and arrangement of the proofs; secondly, the statement of them before the judge. The first of these is, in most cases, a labour of mere routine; but the second requires superior talents and knowledge, and a person fit for the latter duties would naturally seek to avoid the drudgery of the former by hiring some underling to work for him. Hence arose the division of attorneys from barristers, a division advantageous to the lawyers, but not to their clients: for the expense is generally doubled; in most cases, the intervention of one man would be all that is required. Time is likewise lost; instead of the case going at once to the judge, it goes to the barrister, who, for the most part, only repeats, not perfects, the work of the attorney. The responsibility is moreover divided. If the judge reproaches the barrister for bringing up a case without a shadow of proof, the barrister says that he received his instructions from the attorney; the attorney received his from the client; and neither client nor attorney are in court to answer for their own deeds.

Mr. Bentham having proved to his satisfaction that the duties of the barrister and attorney *should not* be separated, next proceeds to

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to shew that those of the judge and lawyer *should* be separated. If lawyers were permitted to be judges, the bar would attract more talent than the bench; and the same public reward would be held out to those who laboured gratuitously for the community, and those who laboured for money and for themselves. There would likewise be danger of cabal and intrigue among the judge-deputies; and that most injurious alliance would be formed,—the alliance between the lawyers and the bench. The mental habits of the lawyer and judge, both intellectual and moral, are quite different. The one has to support a given cause, without thinking of its justice, with arguments fair and unfair, to excite the passions, and draw off the hearer's attention from the weak points of his case. The other is an investigator of truth and justice; he has nothing to support, no passions to move, no artifices to employ. As to their moral qualities, a perfect judge should possess a love of justice and of truth, and an earnest desire of improving the laws. These qualities, however, would not only not profit, but would rather injure a lawyer. What has *he* to do with truth and justice who may be paid to support falsehood and injustice, and is bound to put the worst cause in the best light, on pain of betraying his client? As to the improvement of the law, it is plain, that under an intricate and complicated system, administered by an uncertain and obscure procedure, the lawyers will reap the greatest gain.

'If there have been times,' says Mr. Bentham, 'and if there are still countries where the clergy should be considered as holding the first rank among the natural enemies of the community, this is not a necessary consequence of their functions, but is a result of circumstances whose force has already been weakened, and which may cease to operate. The clergy, by encouraging morality and ministering comfort among the people, might become its natural friends, where now they are its tyrants and extortioners. But if it is the interest of society to have the best laws and the best procedure, the opposition which exists between this and the interest of mercenary lawyers seems to be of a nature never to cease. When the wolves have made peace with the lambs, barristers will hate lawsuits, and attorneys will hate chicane.'—p. 170.

Hæc finis Priami fatorum.—Thus Mr. Bentham disposes of the lawyers. We will, however, venture to move in arrest of judgment, and to offer some arguments in which we will attempt to shew that the above view of the subject has not a solid foundation. In the first place, we cannot hope with Mr. Bentham that the jurisprudence of a civilized and commercial country will ever be comprised in a small compass, or that it can ever be made a short and easy study. On the difficulty of

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of properly performing the duties of the judicial office, Mr. Bentham's remarks appear quite conclusive.

'Je veux même supposer que les lois soient arrivées au plus haut degré de simplicité possible, l'art de juger sera encore fort au dessus d'une capacité vulgaire. . . . Ne faut-il pas un exercé par l'étude, un vrai logicien, pour reconnaître si tel fait tombe exactement sous la définition de la loi, pour peser la valeur des témoignages qui se contrarient, pour faire une chaîne de preuves d'une multitude de chaînons séparés, pour apprécier la validité des titres, pour démêler les fils d'une chicane astucieuse? Sans doute, il est des cas faciles où le simple bon sens suffit pour donner une bonne décision: je conviendrai même que les trois quarts des affaires sont de ce genre; mais quand sur cent causes il n'y en aurait qu'une intriguée et obscure, il faut que le juge soit en état d'en sonder les profondeurs. D'ailleurs, si le bon sens suffit pour décider juste, il faut une raison cultivée, pour motiver cette décision, pour la rendre sensible au public, pour la justifier en cas de besoin à un tribunal supérieur, pour observer dans la procédure toutes les règles de la loi, et ne pas exposer les arrêts à des cassations par des vices de forme. Toutes les arts, toutes les sciences, toutes les branches de commerce peuvent fournir des questions difficiles pour la décision du juge.'—pp. 44, 45.

If such is the difficulty of properly executing the duties of judge, is it expedient to catch up a raw recruit, and give him a jurisdiction, however small, under the name of judge-deputy? Mr. Bentham says, that the principal will be responsible for the acts of his subordinate: but it is impossible that one man can be morally accountable for the acts of another. A master is legally answerable for the wrongs of his servants: yet no *blame* would attach to a man if his coachman drove over a child in the street. According to the present system, lawyers begin their profession under more experienced persons; and, from the different checks upon their conduct, much room is not left for mismanagement. From the bar they may, after much practice, rise to the bench. Mr. Bentham, however, would make his judges serve their apprenticeship *on* the bench, not at the bar; and, instead of trying their unskilful arms *in corpore vili*, they are to practise them on the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. We think, likewise, that some weight is to be attributed to an argument of Plato's on the proper age of judges.* That writer puts the following dilemma. If a young man is *virtuous*, he will, from his inexperience of the world, be unsuspicious and confiding, and not versed in the ways of deceit and fraud: he will not, therefore, be a good judge. But if he is *wicked*, and is, by his own conduct, initiated in the mysteries of vice,

* De Rep. iii. p. 409. ed. Steph.

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he is, for a different reason, unfit for that office. A judge (continues he) should be slow in learning the ways of wickedness, and should know them by observation in others, and not by his experience of himself. If it should appear that, on every account, Mr. Bentham's plan of judge-deputies is inexpedient, all his arguments fall away, by which he would exclude lawyers from the bench, on the ground that they would gain an unfair advantage over the deputies. But his chief reason is, the alliance between the bar and the bench, which he so much abhors; and his scheme is evidently framed so as to obviate the *necessity* of lawyers, though he will not say, in so many words, that he thinks their race can ever become extinct. He seems to consider the lawyers as united in one great league against the rest of mankind. Their interest is distinct from that of the rest of the community. They live by promoting disputes, and besetting with obstacles and tolls the ways of settling them. Frauds, wrongs, oppressions, and quarrels are the food on which they feed. What is death to others is life to them. The interest of other corporations may be identified with that of the public: but the lawyers wage with their fellow-citizens an eternal war, in which the victory is always on one side. Living by injustice and falsehood, they contract a love for the means of their success; and resist all improvements in the law as abridging their gains. They enjoy a legal monopoly, with all its attendant evils. Is this the class from which you elect officers to administer justice, and to be checks on their former brethren? Such is the picture which Mr. Bentham draws of the lawyers: whether correctly or not we shall venture to examine. Under any system of laws, however simple, we think it impossible that the pleadings can be carried on by persons who have not received a regular legal education. Let any one read Mr. Humphreys's Code of Real Property, which cannot be taxed with want of simplicity, and say whether he thinks that, under the best system, any man, *e trivio*, is qualified to argue or advise on the effect of an ambiguous will, for example, or an informal conveyance. As to the monopoly of lawyers, it is not true that they enjoy any exclusive privileges, which can properly be called by that name. Since we believe that a separate class of lawyers is as necessary as a separate class of physicians or soldiers, and that an apprenticeship is to the full as requisite in this as in any other craft, it seems to us not improper that men should make a choice of that profession deliberately, and should be regularly enrolled among the list of lawyers; some precautions being taken, such as the payment of an entrance-fee, to ensure that the member admitted seriously intends

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intends to exercise his vocation.* It cannot be said that the lawyers enjoy a monopoly, so long as an unlimited number may be called to the bar, and there is no restriction on admission. Nor is Mr. Bentham's argument on the separate interest of the lawyers less fallacious. All bodies of men, following a common trade or profession, have, *so far as that trade or profession is concerned*, an interest distinct from that of the rest of the community. Physicians have an interest that disease should abound; and that no simple, short, or certain cures should be known. The rest of the community has an opposite interest. Soldiers have an interest in war: the rest of the community an interest in peace. Tailors have an interest that coats should be dear: but their customers wish that they should be cheap. The same is true of farmers, manufacturers, ship-owners, and, in short, of every trade. There is not a man who has not twenty interests distinct from those of the community. But if Mr. Bentham means to affirm that, if a man has an interest distinct from that of the community, he is therefore an enemy of the community, he affirms that which is notoriously contrary to fact. Men do not reason as Mr. Bentham supposes them: a surgeon does not coolly calculate on shillings and pence when he sees approaching death before his eyes: a lawyer does not calmly set about fomenting a dispute which may ruin his neighbour, in order to put a few fees in his own pocket. It is true that a lawyer *is concerned about* disputes, and that he derives his profits from them; but he can no more be said to *cause* them, than a soldier or a sailor to *cause* war. Men go to law to *settle* their quarrels, not to make them; and, whatever Mr. Bentham may say, the lawyers are the instruments of settling them. As to the *eternal* warfare between the lawyers and their fellow-citizens, we defy Mr. Bentham to shew that the self-same argument does not apply to physicians, farmers, weavers, or any other separate craft. Until it can be proved that this is not so, we shall venture to consider that he is reduced to a complete absurdity.

We are equally doubtful as to the habit of indifference to truth and justice which the lawyer's profession is said to generate. A lawyer is hired to make the best of a given cause: nobody requires that he should be sincere, or that he should do more than seek to gain the victory. He does not directly aim to advance the cause of justice; but neither does he favour injustice: and he can no more be said to utter falsehoods than a declaimer who spouts a rhetorical exercise, or a writer of fiction, who invents a poem or a romance. It is as consistent

* By these words we do not allude to any particular mode of admitting persons into the law; and, least of all, to the English system of students *eating their way* to the bar.

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with such a habit of mind that a lawyer, when it is his *duty* to attend to truth and justice, should be an upright judge, as that a novel-writer should be a good moral character.* As to the intellectual habits of the advocate and the judge, there is some incorrectness in the statements of Mr. Bentham and other writers of high authority† on this subject. It is not true, as has been said, that a lawyer only *proves*, while a judge only *infers*. A lawyer is often called upon to *investigate* as well as a judge. When a case is sent for the opinion of a barrister, he goes through a process of enquiry or inference. The conclusion is unknown. The *opinion* of a lawyer, considered as an argument, exactly corresponds to the *decision* of a judge. Lawyers, therefore, must be able to investigate, though judges are never required to prove. Accordingly, we cannot allow that Mr. Bentham has shown, that either the moral or intellectual qualities of a lawyer incapacitate him for the office of judge.

On the impolicy of dividing the duties of barrister and attorney, we are equally sceptical. The business of an attorney's office is quite different from that of a barrister's. Suppose, for example, that a man wishes to make his will; he sends for his attorney, who is probably more or less acquainted with the nature of his client's property; he explains to him his intentions, and perhaps consults him as to the propriety or feasibility of some pecuniary arrangements. The attorney reduces these instructions to order, and sends them to a conveyancer to be formed into a will. Now, does Mr. Bentham mean to say, that either time or expense would be saved if these two duties were performed by the same person? They are both indispensable; and whether the price of the services requisite for their performance is paid to one or to two persons, seems, if the services are equally good, perfectly indifferent. But, in truth, it is not perfectly indifferent. The skill which a person acquires who devotes his whole time to the drawing of wills and other legal instruments, is far greater than he could attain if he personally saw all his clients, and was compelled himself to separate the dross from the ore, be-

* In a later part of this work Mr. Bentham lays it down, that "in the majority of cases which have been seriously contested under the common law, the judge might, without prejudice to his honesty or his judgment, have given a decision directly contrary to that which he actually gave." Why will not Mr. Bentham give the English *lawyers* the benefit of this uncertainty? If the law is so little, the advocates on both sides may, in many instances, each be convinced of the goodness of their case.

† Whately's Logic, p. 248, note. It is true, that a man might be a *good* lawyer who would not make a *good* judge, if his powers consisted almost exclusively in advocacy. But this is neither universally nor commonly the case with good lawyers. The business of some lawyers (*e. g.* chamber-council) consists *entirely* of investigation.

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fore the coin could be prepared for stamping. The same is true of pleading in open court. Is it possible that any person should gain great dexterity in managing and pleading a cause, if his time was to be occupied in collecting proofs, in visiting witnesses, and performing the preliminary drudgery of an intricate lawsuit? If the legislature should succeed, in defiance of all the principles of political economy, in prohibiting this division of labour, barristers would (as Mr. Dumont suggests) keep clerks and subordinates in their offices to perform the duties which now fall within the province of the attorney. But this would merely be a change of name: the double services would be equally performed by two persons, and a double payment would be equally necessary. We believe, therefore, that in this, as in all other divisions of labour, the change is as much for the benefit of the buyers as of the sellers.

Mr. Bentham next argues against the institution of offices of arbitration (*bureaux de conciliation*), which certainly would not be desirable under a perfect system of law and procedure, and of family-tribunals (*tribunaux de famille*). With the nature of the latter tribunal, which exists in France, we are not sufficiently acquainted, to speak with confidence on its utility. He then details the many advantages which would, in his opinion, result from the simultaneous appearance of both parties before the judge, as the first stage of the proceedings. The interrogatories of the judge, and the mutual explanations of the opposite parties, would prevent lawsuits from originating in mistake or misconception: and when this was *not* the case, would clear up much of the ground, and shew exactly what were the points in contest, and how much either party would concede. Mr. Bentham thinks that the majority of lawsuits would be settled by this previous interview.

The next subject treated in this desultory book is the means of giving publicity to the administration of justice; a check on the conduct of judges, equal, in the opinion of Mr. Bentham, and also of the Foreign Reviewers, to all the others put together. The courts of justice are to be spacious, and, in order to obtain an enlightened audience, situated in the metropolis and other large towns. It is always certain that there will be a crowd to hear important causes, but the difficulty is to ensure an audience for common routine business; for this purpose different means may be used to interest the public in certain lawsuits: for instance, 'a notice, posted in different places, announcing the days on which they came on, might compete in attraction with those which announce other less instructive and useful representations.' (p. 192.) But all these are

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are voluntary spectators; it is desirable to find some persons whose *duty* it should be to attend. Clergymen seem to Mr. Bentham to be fittest for this service. 'And if the taking of oaths in courts of justice is still to be continued, the administration of them cannot be entrusted to more proper hands.' Attendance for a certain time in courts of justice, might likewise be required from young men as a necessary qualification for public office. Editors of newspapers should have free access to all the records of the courts, with full liberty to print what they wished. It is doubtful whether the parties might not be allowed to publish a statement of facts before the cause is tried. As to the internal economy of the court, the room should be large enough to contain seats for two hundred persons; the judge's seat standing alone and raised above the rest. His secretaries are to sit beneath him: but in a higher place than all others. The judge is to wear a full cloak, both to mark his office, and to conceal any personal defects. The prisoner, or defendant, is to be placed in a raised box, the witnesses being examined before him and the whole assembly. Another important rule is, that the judge should not only pronounce his judgment, but assign his *reasons* for it—the same to be also done when the punishment is aggravated or relaxed. 'La publicité et la motivation des jugements expliquent la bonne conduite des grands juges d'Angleterre. S'ils sont les meilleurs juges du monde, c'est parcequ'ils sont les mieux surveillés.'* p. 193.

Mr. Bentham next treats, with great ability, the difficult subject of appeal. Nothing but the absolute necessity of courts of appeal should suffer so powerful a weapon of oppression and vexation to be put within reach of the wealthy or roguish litigant. The object therefore is to ascertain in what manner the evils of appeal may be best remedied. No ordinary courts ought to possess an appellate jurisdiction, which should belong to separate tribunals. The fundamental rule is, that '*the courts of appeal should admit in evidence no other proofs than those offered to the court whose judgment is appealed against.*' This rule is only to be relaxed when the appellant complains of the *suppression* or *rejection* of evidence; and in this case, the court of appeal should direct a new trial in another court. The courts of appeal, which should be in the metropolis, are to decide entirely on documentary evidence. Some measures are pointed out by which appellants of bad faith

* *Judices* (says Lord Bacon) *sententiæ suæ rationes adducant, idque palam et adstante corona: ut quod ipsa potestate sit liberum, fama tamen et existimatione sit circumscriptum.* De Augm. Scient. lib. viii. Aph. 38.

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may be punished. An appeal should lie in all causes, of whatever nature, from the decision of the first court; but there ought to be only one degree of appeal, and the decision of the court should be final. As to the judges of appeal, they are to be chosen from the judges of the inferior courts.

We fear that our readers' appetite for jurisprudence must be already satisfied by the above extracts, and that we should not gain a willing audience to a statement and examination of Mr. Bentham's and Mr. Dumont's opposite arguments on the merits or demerits of Trial by Jury. As the subject should be discussed at length, or not at all, we are forced to embrace the latter alternative.

Mr. Dumont closes the first division of this book by a parallel between Montesquieu and Mr. Bentham. He first collects the few passages scattered up and down the *Esprit des Lois*, which relate to judicature; and he ingeniously remarks, that the want of arrangement in that work gives it an appearance of containing more than it really contains, as the reader imagines that *much* has been said on a subject which has been *often* mentioned. It is hardly possible to conceive two minds more opposite than those of Montesquieu and Bentham. The one, having no fixed principle or standard, flying from subject to subject, despatching doctrines, on which the well-being of nations depends, with an epigram or a comparison; mixing his treatise with historical discussions and incredible stories from his favourite Jesuits, defending all established systems, and rather accounting for laws than examining their merits or defects;* while his doctrines on climate enable him to prove, that what is beneficial to one people is hurtful to another; seems rather to inquire what government *is*, than what it *ought to be:* and his work has a nearer resemblance to a speculative history, than a theory of politics. The true character of the *Esprit des Lois* was given by Madame du Deffand, when she called it *de l'esprit sur les lois.* The writer is constantly struggling after neat sayings and lively paradoxes; and the discovery of the means best suited to promote the happiness of man in a community is so very subordinate to the display of the ingenuity of the learned president, that we cannot consent to call his work a valuable political treatise, though it has undoubtedly given an impulse to political speculation; and no one can read it without gaining much important information on matters of fact, or conceiving great admiration for the genius

* This is Blackstone's great defect. When he has succeeded in pointing out the original reasons for making a law, he wishes the reader to think that he has proved its expediency now and for ever. He shews why a law *is*, not why it *should be.*

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of the author. As a speculative work it is certainly inferior to the earliest regular treatise on government, the Politics of Aristotle; and it must now be considered rather as a subject of literary history than a living oracle of political wisdom. Mr. Bentham, on the other hand, sets out, like a German professor, with a regular apparatus of scientific principles. The object which (according to Mr. Dumont) he always has in view, is the *prevention of evil;* the standard by which he judges all actions and institutions is, *general utility*, or the *greatest happiness of the greatest number.** The two false principles which have (he conceives) chiefly misled political writers are, *religious asceticism* and *caprice;* which last is resolved into two branches, *sympathy* and *antipathy*. He supposes that human nature is every where essentially the same, being subject only to accidental varieties. So far, it must be owned, there is no great novelty. The doctrine, that the happiness of the community is the object of government, is at least as old as the Politics of Aristotle; and even Montesquieu, if it had been mentioned to him, must have admitted it. But it seems to us, that Mr. Bentham's great merit lies not in *discovering* but *applying* this criterion, and shewing the importance of constantly keeping it in view.

Clavum adfixus et hærens
Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.

There are many truths which, though *known* to mankind, are practically neglected and overlooked. For this reason, we think, that some late remarks of a contemporary journal on Mr. Bentham's 'greatest happiness principle,' (as he is pleased to call it,) are not quite fair. Although this phrase may degenerate into a mere catchword, like the 'Protestant Consitution,' or the 'Rights of Man,' it is of the first importance that a political writer should keep in mind the proper object of his speculations. That such simple truths may be known, and yet not used, is proved by Montesquieu's three ends of government—honour, moderation, and virtue. If Montesquieu can prove, that any institution, however barbarous or oppressive, would lead to honour in a monarchy or to virtue in a democracy, the matter is finished.† Whatever nickname, therefore,

* Mr. Bentham has now rejected this phrase on account of its ambiguity. By 'greatest number' he meant 'greatest *possible* number.' It has been construed to mean, 'the *majority*,' or the '*greater* number.'

† We could add many other examples, if it was necessary. For instance, Hume says, 'that the ends for which government was originally instituted, are the distribution of justice and the equal protection of the citizens.'—History of England, App. II. These, no doubt, are two of the principal, but not the *only* objects of government.

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Mr. Bentham may give to this principle, he is highly to be praised for making it the pole-star of his course, nor suffering himself to be led astray by any delusive meteors which might cross his path.*

But it is on his discoveries of new means for attaining this end that Mr. Bentham's fame must ultimately rest. And here he seems to have been frequently guided by one of those false principles which he so much decries, viz.—antipathy. Seeing the bad effects of prejudice and attachment to the wisdom of ancestors, Mr. Bentham rushes to the opposite extreme, and seems always to think that the existence of an institution is a positive reason why it should *not* exist. So captivated is he with the beauty of his own inventions, that he overlooks the advantages which established institutions sometimes possess, and uses arguments in favour of his own proposals which he will not allow to weigh in favour of the customs which he attacks. Thus, in the book before us, he will not admit the division of labour to be any argument in favour of the separation of civil and criminal courts, because this separation exists: but he urges it as a reason for the separation of the professions of lawyers and judges, because it does not exist. The general character of his suggestions is novelty, ingenuity, and contrivance.† He evidently loves his own speculations with the affection of a father; and this frequently blinds him to their imperfections, and to the merits of other more common systems. Hence it is especially necessary, in reading his works, to keep the judgment free and the belief suspended; which makes it the more unfortunate that he should have become the object of worship to a sect who would esteem it a sin to question his authority, and who exhibit the usual sectarian failings of clinging, with the greatest tenaciousness, to the worst errors of their High-Priest. We hardly ever remember to have read a book which contained more that is valuable and more that is worth-

* Mr. Dumont praises his author's method of reasoning from the general principles of human nature, and not, like Montesquieu, by collecting insulated facts. This method, in the excess to which Mr. Bentham has carried it, is liable to great danger; but we cannot accede to the objections which have lately been made to this mode of argument *generally*. If the first principles are true and the reasoning correct, the conclusions *must* likewise be true. The great danger is, that the general principles will either be false or contain ambiguous words. It is singular, that in the criticism alluded to, the writer has detected both the assumption of false propositions and the ambiguity of middle terms: and yet he lays the fault with the syllogistic method of reasoning, or the absence of induction. In inductive reasoning it is just as possible to assume false premises or to argue incorrectly.—See Edinburgh Review, No. 98. pp. 161, 188.

† The remark of Aristotle, on Plato's political speculations, applies with great aptitude to Mr. Bentham's. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι, καὶ τὸ καινὸν, καὶ τὸ παντοῖον, καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν, Polit. ii. 4. p. 320 A.

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less than the work which we have just examined. The whole, moreover, whether true or false, is laid down in the same magisterial and dogmatic air, and the same quiet assumption of superiority. Mr. Bentham can scarcely ever refrain from calling the doctrine which he attacks a prejudice, and imputing interested motives to those who maintain it. In a part of his book which we have not noticed, he says that the opponents to a code are divided into two classes, impostors or dupes—as if it was impossible that a person could dissent from Mr. Bentham on sincere and solid conviction! In which of these two classes he may include us, for the opinions which we have expressed in this article, we neither know nor care. There are very many institutions in our Utopia different from the established order of things: but neither the exclusion of lawyers from the judicial office, nor their total suppression, is among them. In the meantime, we have no doubt that Mr. Bentham has adopted these notions after diligent and anxious consideration; and we are willing to consider him neither a dupe nor impostor, although he happens to differ from us in opinion.*

ART. VIII.—*Prose e Versi di Giovan Battista Niccolini.* Milano. Silvestri, 1826.

MR. Niccolini's name is not unknown in this country to lovers of Italian literature, and we ourselves have had occasion to speak of one of his tragedies in a former number.† The little volume before us contains but one of his tragedies, namely, *Polissena*. We regret this the less, as we have no intention to occupy ourselves at present with the dramatic writings of Niccolini, proposing at some future time to consider Italian tragedy generally, when this author's character as a dramatist will be duly estimated. Let none, therefore, form an opinion of Niccolini's merits from what we are about to say of him now. The reader's attention should here confine itself to the works noticed, more out of respect to the author's name, than because they deserve it.

Of his translation of Æschylus 'I sette a Teba,' we shall not speak, since a mere translation of a Greek tragedy in a foreign

* Since this Article was written, we have heard, with regret, that Mr. Dumont's death has put an end to all hopes of the continuation of his very useful labours. We cannot expect that the remainder of Mr. Bentham's papers will again fall into such able hands; but we trust that the translation of that writer's penal code, which Mr. Dumont mentions, in the book before us, as having been completed by him (p. 435), will be given to the public as a posthumous work.

† See *For. Rev.* vol. 1., page 647.

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tongue cannot interest our readers. It is, however, singular that Mr. Niccolini should have chosen one of Æschylus' plays for translation, since he is highly indignant, and speaks in very harsh terms (and, as he spoke before the Academy della Crusca, this is natural enough) of any one, who should prefer Æschylus to Sophocles.* Nor should we have thought it necessary to notice his translation of Ovid's Epistle from Sappho to Phaon, had we not been grievously deceived by his expressly promising us an *imitation*, not a *translation* of Ovid's verses.† The author probably wished to spare us disappointment, when he advised us not to compare his translation with the text, but *non omnia possumus omnes.* During the perusal of the so-called imitation, Ovid's lines continually recurred to our recollection. We found nothing added to the original. Ovid's thoughts are given in Italian; and we, in conformity with general custom, are inclined to call this process—*translation.* An imitation would imply that, by some omissions and the original addition of ideas, fine, poetical and suitable to the subject, Ovid's verses have been improved. Now, this has never been done in any degree worthy of notice: the few differences between the Latin and Italian being such as must necessarily exist between the same work in two different languages; and when any diversity does occur, it is manifestly to the advantage of the Latin author. Take the following, for instance. Ovid says,

Quicquid erit, melius quam nunc erit. Aura, subito!
Et mea non magnum corpora pondus habent.
Tu quoque, mollis Amor, pennas suppone cadenti,
Ne sim Lucadiae mortua crimen aquae.

Niccolini says,—

E che avvenir mi può? del mio dolore
Tutto, sì tutto è meglio: oh, le leggiere
Membra sostenga il Signor nostro, Amore!
E con le molli piume al mio cadere
L' impeto scemi, e placide e ridenti
Sentan l' onde materne il suo potere.
O affaticato dal furor dei venti
Gema il flutto, e la rupe ov' ei s' aggira
Nome infamato in ogni età diventi.

Now here we first of all see four Latin verses diluted into nine Italian ones, in which some omission and addition is re-

* Quanti si fanno discepoli di Barbari prosontuosi i quali Eschilo a Sofocle antepongono?—p. 98.

† Ho creduto non doverlo tradurre, ma imitare. Sotto questo aspetto e non confrontandolo col testo, io bramo, o Lettore, che tu consideri il mio tenue lavoro. —p. 122,

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markable. Mr. Niccolini has omitted the beautiful and unexpected apostrophe to the air, *Aura subito*, by which Sappho's passion is strongly impressed on our imagination. She at once breaks forth with that apostrophe as if she were actually leaping into the sea, so violent is her passion and impatience. The delicacy of the epithet *mollis* is lost when it is taken from *Amor* (*mollis Amor*), and added to *piume* (*molli piume*). *Mollis Amor* awakes in us the idea of all that is soft and delicious, and the *Molli piume* is too well known an expression in Italian poetry, denoting idleness, and approximates too much to what is (*Anglicè*) called a *feather-bed.* Then all the verses added by Niccolini concerning the smoothness or roughness of the sea, with the allusion to the birth of Venus, are out of place. Sappho was too violently agitated to enter into such particulars. She might be drowned whether the sea was rough or smooth, and accordingly her wishes are exclusively that she may be rescued from drowning.—'Ne sim Leucadiae mortua crimen aquae.' In conclusion we think the performance to be a fair translation of one of the most passionate pieces of poetry in existence; but nothing more.

The prose writings of Niccolini contained in the volume before us are on detached subjects, in which we cannot be very much interested. The style is rather good, but not remarkably so. The ideas seldom, if ever, either new or striking, although the author is inclined to be oracular, and to put forth, as self-evident truths, assertions, which are, to say the least of them, extremely questionable. Speaking of Sarchiani, he tells us that 'he recommended the abolition of entails; and that the writings of this philosopher were the forerunners of the sovereign's blessings,'—that is, of the abolition of entails. Now this is any thing but a blessing. Entails formed part of the legislation of Italy for ages and ages, before strangers imposed a foreign legislation upon her, and the peninsula flourished under them. They were abolished by the French revolution. and the abolition was confirmed by the French code. Has Niccolini never examined how far this question is connected with the important one of despotism and liberty? Has it never struck him that where there is a monarch and a nobility, if the latter be poor, the former is uncontrolled, and has in every noble pauper a ready instrument for despotism? Let him consider this before he talks of the blessings of abolishing entails altogether. Another remark which we have made in perusing our author's works is that, for the sake of saying a fine thing, he utters what we are constrained to call downright nonsense, respecting literature

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literature and the fine arts. It is perfectly true, as he says, (page 6), that 'The idea of perfection and beauty being always greater, the greater is the genius of the man who forms it, it naturally happens that a really great genius is more fastidious in pleasing himself.' How could he, after this, tell us that Homer's line—

"Ος ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα,

respecting Calchas, the prophet, could be applied to Raphael the painter? Calchas, as a true prophet, spoke of things as they *really* were, or were to be, and Raphael, as a skilful painter, represented beings fer different from reality, but according to his *fancy*. Raphael wrote to Castiglione: 'to paint a fine woman; I should want to see many fine women, and to have your assistance in choosing; but since there is great scarcity both of good judges and of fine women, I paint according to a certain idea which I have in my fancy.' Is this to paint things as they were, are, or are to be? We are satisfied that Niccolini does not belong to the school of mathematical painters and poets who would by their heavy precision destroy the very name of ideal beauty; yet, by his untimely fondness of desperate comparisons, he unwittingly agrees with them

We regret these faults in Niccolini's writings concerning the fine arts, because he speaks and judges of them generally like a poet, and a man of delicate feeling and sound taste. Italy wants men of this description, to make a strong stand against a dangerous class of critics, who, by their immoderate desire of finding a reason for everything,—nay, of creating things to find a reason; for, like the mule of Ser Florimonte, which conjured stones from the abyss on purpose to stumble against them,* destroy the very essence of beauty in the fine arts. A certain Monsieur B. A. A. began to publish, in 1817, at Paris, a *History of Painting in Italy*, which by some Italians was not only preferred to the elegant and classical work of Lanzi, but was proclaimed an archetype of perfection, by reason of its philosophy. To shew the justice of their praises, these Italians had the boldness to appeal to certain elaborate lucubrations of the learned *Monsieur*, wherein the *reasons* of the merit of Da Vinci's *Cena* are most cunningly discovered. He sets forth by saying, 'Il s'agissoit de représenter ce moment si tendre où Jésus, à ne le considérer que comme un jeune Philosophe, &c.' Why, if Leonardo had ever considered our Saviour

* Dal più profondo e tenebroso centro
Ove Dante ha locato i Bruti e i Cassi
Fa, Florimonte mio, nascere i sassi
La mula vostra, per urtarvi dentro.—*Berni*.

like

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like a *jeune Philosophe*, he would never have been able to execute that wonderful work of art. It was the *Divinity* of Jesus Christ that inspired the artist. Whoever does not feel this, must not speak of painting; and he who pretends that a *philosophical* head must be discovered where the painter intended a *divine* one, should undergo a course of hellebore.

We hope that speaking of the fine arts, and reviewing the works of a Florentine, we cannot be accused of having travelled out of our way, in thus touching on a subject not strictly connected with the main point, to which we now return. Agreeing, as we do, with Niccolini, in what he says respecting the merits of the Italian poets, we must express our regret that, indulging the taste of finding a reason for everything, he has written as follows:—

'I shall unhesitatingly say, that there is a close connexion between the language and the fine arts, not only because I see that the northern nations have transmitted, in their works of art, all the roughness of their languages, and the Greeks and Italians the colouring, the harmony, the graces of their divine tongue; but because even the poetry of those nations, notwithstanding the pomp of their descriptions, offers but few images; and now fearing to raise itself from the ground, now over-bold passing the limits of possibility, is, like the languages, either cold, or exaggerated. Homer, Virgil, and Tasso . . . never filled their poems, as foreigners have done, with moral beings, which are the worst possible kind of machinery that can be employed.'—p. 26.

Mr. Niccolini, before passing such strange judgments, ought to have asked himself whether he was so perfect a master of the languages which he condemns, as to be able to say at once, that they are *rough?* Next, he ought to have conscientiously put the question to himself, whether he had read the authors which, for the sake of his system, he so indiscriminately condemns? If he could not answer both these questions in the affirmative, what must we say of his rashness? And surely any Englishman will perceive that the critic could not answer the second in the affirmative. We ask any man, who has ever read a page of Shakspeare or Milton, whether *they* can be accused of pompous descriptions and want of images? Were we to concede to Niccolini, that our language is twenty times as rough as he fancies it to be, would it be true, that the poetry of Pope, Thomson, or Moore is rough? He then says, that it was the 'foreign epic poets that filled their poems with moral beings.' This is so strange an assertion, that we wonder how it could passed over in an academy. Is there not one *Messer Lodovico Ariosto* who, before all others, introduced *Discord, Fraud,*

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Fraud, Silence, Pride, Sleep, Disdain, in his poems? Does not Niccolini find fault with Ariosto for it?

We have had occasion to complain more than once of the ridiculous judgment passed by our countrymen on foreign literature; and now we see how Mr. Niccolini sweepingly and arrogantly speaks of what is foreign to him, and, among others, of our own. The fact is, that the fashion is to speak most boldly of what one least understands. People are obliged occasionally, to speak, amongst other things, of foreign literature. Good, clear, and short treatises are very seldom to be met with on any subject, and on foreign literature, none such. It would be a most desirable thing that we should set the example of compiling a collection of critical histories of foreign literatures, such as would not frighten by their length, nor prove somniferous by their specific gravity. We understand that such a plan is in contemplation, and, if properly executed, we doubt not its success. Nothing tends more to strengthen and enlarge the mind than a comparison of what we do, with what is doing, or what has been done by others. Were such a collection of histories to be published, we should be able to pass our judgment, if not with a deep knowledge of the subject, certainly not in entire ignorance of what we are talking about, as is often now the case.

Amongst Niccolini's works, we remark three short treatises respecting the Italian language. This is as it should be, in a collection of works of a Florentine and an academician of the Crusca, into the bargain. But here also must we regret the author's imperfect knowledge of other countries, which has induced him to make use of such lame arguments as he does, to exclude ninety-nine parts of Italy from having any share in the property of the language. To enter into the particulars of this discussion would here be tedious, though we fear that some day or other we shall be obliged to speak of it. The question of language occupies, at present, nine-tenths of the literati of Italy. We shall, at present, content ourselves by observing on the pitiful,—nay, disgraceful plea of *love of his country,* urged by Niccolini, for writing as he does. Shame on the Italian, who unblushingly adduces such a plea as the motive of unworthy action. The love of his country! Good God! Are not Milan and Turin, Rome and Naples, Niccolini's *country* as well as Florence? And a man, who prefers being a Florentine to being an Italian, dares to speak of love of country! Such a man has no country, and deserves to have none. In the same spirit in which he refuses to have a community of language with his countrymen, he would refuse to have

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have a community of laws, of government, of every thing in fact, which might tend to erase the Florentine nation from among the potentates of Europe, and to place the Italian instead. Alas, for Italy!

As we cannot suppose Niccolini capable of having recourse to unfair means for propping his system, we must consider it simply as an oversight,—rather a strange one to be sure—that he has quoted Macchiavelli's pretended dialogue on Dante's language as genuine, whilst every *fricti ciceris emptor* knows it to be a most impudent forgery. He treats with contempt those who hold, as the most rational opinion concerning the origin of the Italian language, that it was not a corruption from the Latin, but a language formed from the old vernacular dialects of Italy. We should advise him to be more cautious in speaking lightly of opinions supported by such men as Maffei, not to mention any other.

That there was a language different from the noble Latin, called *vulgaris, quotidianus, plebeus, rusticus, militans, castrensis, &c.*, in the times of Cicero and before, is as fully proved as any historical fact can be. After this, what importance shall we attach to Cicero's avowal of having learned from a boatman that *inhibere remos* was not the same as *sustinere remos;* to which Mr. Niccolini appeals, to show that the language of the people and that of the chosen few of the community were the same. A Bolton weaver will know more about the implements used in a cotton-mill, and designate them by more appropriate terms than Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox would have been able to do—yet shall this prove that there is no dialect spoken at Bolton, or that a weaver of that place speaks as good English as either Pitt or Fox? In Ariosto (36, 7) the word *schelmo* is employed. Many learned commentators have affirmed it to signify a kind of boat, and the academicians have not inserted it in the dictionary, perhaps because they knew not what it meant. Any boatman from Venice to Pavia would laugh at the ignorance of all these sages, and tell them that *schelmo* means a board, which runs all along the side of a boat. Yet this does not prove that the boatmen on the Po do not speak a dialect, or that they know good Italian more than the commentators and academicians, who were puzzled to find out the meaning of the word.*

It is remarkable that Niccolini speaks in one manner and acts in another, with regard to his literary creed. He abuses those who prefer Æschylus to Sophocles, and then translates one of Æschylus' plays; deprecates disputes on languages as childish, and then enters the field as an avowed partisan and

* Sir J. Harrington translated this word correctly.

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the champion of the insulted honour (risum teneatis ?) of his country; meaning that microscopical spot of the *terra parva* in which a nurse from Camaldoli had the fortune to teach him to speak the only true Italian which can be spoken; finally he condemns foreign epic poets, because they introduced moral beings in their poems, and then he, in his own person, kindly yielding to the wish of his friends, publishes a sort of poem (not epic to be sure) called *Cantica*, and entitled "La Pieta," in which only moral beings are introduced. It is strange, passing strange, indeed! —but no matter.

This *Cantica* was written on the occasion of a contagious fever which ravaged Leghorn in 1804. It is divided into three short cantos in *terza rima*, Dante's metre. But nothing, save the metre, is there in it common with Dante. The poet, to state shortly the subject of this composition, imagines that 'La Pietá' (*Pity, Compassion*, or *Mercy*) has abandoned this world to supplicate the Almighty for the cessation of that dreadful scourge, the fever. In this poem there figure *Terror, Humility, Faith, Hope, Innocence*, &c. Niccolini, who so indiscriminately condemns foreign poets for being *over-bold*, or rather *bombastic, (fastosi)* and *exaggerated*, will perhaps avow that such expressions as the following are anything but dignified, and in good taste. An angel is seen flourishing the revengeful sword of God with one hand,

E nell' altra agitar l' urna infelice
Del furore di Dio colma e fumante. (pag. 146).

Then the answer which the Almighty gives to the prayers of Pity was heard, resembling

Per alta notte a mormorio di fiume.

He who blames the introduction of moral beings in their poems 'because our fancy can scarcely imagine them, and no painter can represent them,' presents us with passages like these, which we have not boldness enough to translate, because they would appear more like ludicrous and impious jests than specimens of learned and religious poetry.

Towards the end of the third canto of this poem, there is what we think an elegant and pathetic episode, which makes us regret that Niccolini has not written more in this way, leaving the supernatural regions for poets endowed with a more powerful mind. His verses will not certainly strike us like those of Monti, nor draw tears like those of Varano (whose 'Tremuoto di Lisbona' Niccolini had certainly before his eyes); but a poet may be above mediocrity and good, although inferior to either Sponti or Varono.

Art. IX.

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ART. IX.—*Essais de Michel de Montaigne.* Nouvelle Edition. Lefevre, Paris, 1818.

OUR occupation has been, for the most part, with the modern writers in foreign literature. We now take up one nearly 300 years old. If by our plan we had professed to limit our regards to the moderns only, we might yet, without any violation of it, and without any extravagance of fiction, have brought under our review such an author as Montaigne. Notwithstanding his venerable years he is a modern still. As a writer, he is in the full enjoyment of life, and exerts an influence upon the living greater than that of many a wit incarnate whom we have unscrupulously recognised. If his voice be yet heard amongst us, on what principle shall we abstain from speaking of him? for is not the vitality of his works the sole vitality of an author which criticism cares to acknowledge? We have a right to Montaigne, not only as his own writers are read extensively throughout Europe, but as other writings of a recent date have been fashioned after him, and have kindled at his light. His influence at this day is great as proceeding from himself; and great by reflection. Without further apology, we offer these remarks upon his genius and character.

He was born in 1533, at Perigord in Gascony, where his family had long maintained a high rank among the noblesse of the country. The solution of his character commences with his earliest education. From the cradle he was taught to converse with the learned in a dead language, while the mother-tongue was prohibited in his presence. Father, mother, nurse, and footman had all been trained, for his instruction, to prattle in the speech of Rome: for it was the father's hope that something of the Roman spirit might thus be infused into the nature of his son. But the plan was not consistent throughout: for in other respects the breeding of the young Montaigne was of the most delicate description; and the utmost refinements of the nursery were lavished upon his childhood. The manner of his being put to sleep is not recorded; but the shock of his awakening was relieved by the sound of musical instruments stationed in his chamber against the moment of his revival. Something analogous to this duplicity in the treatment of his childhood was afterwards apparent in his character as a man. The best teachers whom the age could afford were called to instruct him in the branches in which they respectively excelled; and amongst these our countryman George Buchanan, to whom Montaigne owed his early attachment to the poets. At thirteen years

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years of age he commenced the study of the civil law. Not long after, he was appointed Counsellor in the Parliament of Bourdeau; and there contracted that friendship with a fellow Counsellor, Stephen de la Boetia, which is so memorably recorded in his writings. It furnished the pattern from which he drew the exalted ideas expressed in his Essay on that subject. Twenty years after Boetia's death, while travelling in Italy, 'Je tumbe en un pansement si pénible de M. de la Boetie, et y fus si longtemps sans me raviser, que cela me fit grand mal.'

The office of Counsellor he soon resigned, as its duties were not agreeable to his humour; yet his merits had transpired, and reaching the royal ear procured for him the highest mark of distinction among the noblesse of France,—the order of St. Michael. His Essays were published in the 47th year of his age. He afterwards travelled in Italy,—from a desire, chiefly, to behold and to converse with the remains of antiquity. A Journal of his travels, written by himself, was published 180 years after his death; but it relates to nothing so much, as to the mineral waters that occurred to him in the course of the journey. On his return to France he was elected Mayor of Bourdeau: and having held that honourable office during four years, he retired to his family residence in Gascony, where he resigned himself to philosophy and ease, and died in his 60th year.

From these few incidents one may form a conception of his character, such as it appeared to the common eye of his contemporaries. From infancy he is biassed to the study of philosophy by a singular course of education under the best preceptors of the time; he is 'rocked and swaddled and dandled' into a philosopher. The more fashionable accomplishments proper to the rank of a Cavalier are not neglected, that the dignity of his family may be conspicuous in the manner of the age: he is taught to reverence, with the simplicity of a scholar, the greatness of times past; and, as a man of the world, to understand and to protect himself against the present. He has at once the air of a Litterateur and of a Cavalier; in the latter character seeking admission into Parliament; in the other impatient to be out of it. He resorts to the Court, where he is gratified by the notice of his prince, and even seems to dally with an ambition for employment in the offices of the State; confesses that he has no more aversion than a monk to an intrigue; and would have fought, if occasion had served, like another Herbert of Cherbury. We behold him next in the groves 'curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque.' There his philosophy is not so engrossing that it does not readily give place

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place when the Royal Family, with its retinue, comes to honour the mansion of Montaigne. He is almost ashamed, like that lesser spirit of Italy, Guarini, to be ranked as a man of letters; and for that reason professes to limit himself to the study of a few favourite authors; disclaims all pretensions to the pedant faculty of memory; and declares that the language of the taverns is far more agreeable to him than the babble of the schools. All this is to preserve a proper balance betwixt the ornamental duties of his rank and the longings of an original and cultivated intellect. In the tenor of his life one may read the easy and peaceful disposition,—which preserved him secure both in property and person in the midst of the transactions of the Reformation. With the enthusiasm of genius, but at a ripe age, and not without bodily infirmities, he sojourns in a foreign land to realize the fancies which had been the entertainment of his life,—the amiable pilgrim dividing his attentions in a manner almost pathetic betwixt the waters and the monuments of Italy. Finally he retires: his character becomes more consistent; and looking back on the insignificance of his life, he finds himself less allied to those who had figured with grandeur on the theatre of the world, than to Plutarch their intelligent spectator and historian—Plutarch the author.

A contemporary might thus have interpreted the character of Montaigne from the circumstances of his life. Something more, however, has been revealed of it. 'I cannot give any account of my life by my actions, fortune has placed them too low for that—I must do it by my fancies.' We are thus referred from his history to his books, not only for the matter which they contribute to literature, but also for a full exposition of the character of the author.

The great object of his Essays, which are his only remains that interest posterity, he announces in the Preface, is to paint himself,—that an image of his mind may be preserved for his family. Is this a just explanation of the whole object? we think not, for in what manner does he, for the most part, paint himself, but by describing his sentiment and opinions on every thing of interest that came under his notice? In that sense, every author might be said to paint himself; though the interest should rest not upon the writer, but upon the matter of the work. In this, however, we perceive the shyness of the Gascon gentleman to descend, with a singleness of aim, into the field of authorship. His work, it seems, is not intended for the common use of all the world, but to be an ornament in the escutcheon of his own family: placed in the hall of his own chateau, this monument of a noble ancestor is to collect for his descendants

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descendants the precious dust of many generations! His book, however, is something more than an image,—a mere *simulacrum* of Montaigne. He was, in truth, too noble-minded to dwell long upon himself,—unless as reflecting the great truths of nature, and therefore not limited to the illustration of his own individuality. A great and original thinker, he sought to give expression to his thoughts, not for his own family alone, nor for the gentlemen of Gascony, nor the Court of France, but for the whole world. In one respect, it is true, he differs from most authors: he is not bound, in their manner, to any certain subject of investigation, nor to any form of composition; but enjoys an aristocratic freedom from all the common crafts and cares of authorship. His fancies are under no necessity of being tortured into stanzas, or measured to five acts, or twelve books, or of being fashioned after any sort of literary mould: he is not even obliged to common method or consistency any further than he pleases. From all restraints he is happily absolved, by his licentious method of essay writing: 'I paint my thoughts rough as they run, and incapable of being corrected. It is as much as I can do to couch them in this airy body of the voice.' In this manner, no doubt, we see the form and habit of his mind, better than from more regulated efforts; but it is in this manner chiefly that Montaigne can be said, more than other writers, to paint himself.

What, then, are the matters of which Montaigne, in this spirit of freedom, has treated in his Essays? Are they connected with any branch of physical science to which the attention of the world, after a long slumber, had begun to be at this time awakened? The good old pursuits of gardening, planting, or the cultivation of vineyards, then in high esteem among the gentlemen of Gascony—has Montaigne thrown over these the mantle of his literature? 'Alas!' says he, 'I know no more than a child the phrases and idioms proper for expressing the most common things.' Nothing, then, is to be hoped from him in this department. From his birth he was deaf to the pleasing call of physics; and with a well-expanded intellect he passed through life in a child-like ignorance of everything belonging to them. We are to look for him in his writings as a moralist and metaphysician, an observer of mind and manners, one whose sphere is altogether ideal, and who no more jostles than a spirit, with the substantialities of this world. It is thus that Montaigne has come down to posterity.

If it be asked what is that theory of morals or of mental physiology which, in his exclusive devotion to such subjects, Montaigne has contrived and advocated in his Essays, the answer

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answer is, that he has none. He pretends not to be the inventor, or the patient expounder of a system like the Monk Father Malebranche, or like that pattern of a scholar Des Cartes. He does not aspire to the honour of anything so purely scholastic. His education as a cavalier, and his practical acquaintance with fashionable society, had taught him to prefer a briefer method of speaking to those whom he would be supposed to address. There was no theorising to excite his emulation,—none, at least, upon a great scale among the Ancients whom he chiefly admired: and any elaborate efforts of speculation would have been rebuked by the present genius of France, which then displayed itself in those sketches of society, historical memoirs, and letters in which France has been hitherto unrivalled. Above all, the genius of Montaigne unfitted him for enterprises of that description; his volatile temperament, and active, prolific understanding, chose rather to exert themselves in short and vigorous sallies upon whatever presented itself with most temptation at the moment. Accordingly, he treats of the virtues individually, and less as a philosopher than as an amateur: and the whole of his mental physiology is but a collection of insulated facts. Even in this sort of flying speculation he cannot be said so much to treat of any subject as to cast a glance at it; and that glance itself is often most oblique, unexpected, and foreign to the subject on which he is immediately engaged.

After all, he is neither moralist nor metaphysician by his own confession. Examine the titles of his Essays, and observe how most of them differ from the contents of a treatise professedly upon moral or metaphysical subjects,—a treatise, for example, like that by his contemporary and friend Charron de la Sagesse. Under the name of 'coaches,' we have a lesson of moderation in their expenditure to princes; under 'cannibals,' a discussion of the qualities most requisite to an historian; under 'cripples,' a dissertation upon miracles. In this manner he seeks to avoid all appearance of pedantry; and indicates that his own habit of philosophising is too genuine to wait upon the gross suggestion of a philosophical text. In the same view, the subjects of his Essays are diversified in the very fashion of his thoughts, as they pass through his mind to the varying occasions of common life. After some remarks upon the 'habit of wearing clothes,' there follows a treatise in his noblest style upon the character of Cato the younger. In like manner, to suit his philosophy, to fashion, and to remove it as far as possible from the schools, we have a great deal of reflection upon matters that had come under his own experience in the

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the course of his employment in the public service,—forming a sort of diplomatic morality. Of this sort are his Essays. 'On ceremony at the interviews of princes;' 'Whether the governor of a place besieged ought himself to go out to parley;' 'The time of parley is dangerous.' Here, it may be seen, is a man who thinks and writes from the life; and who, if he meddles with philosophy at all, does it upon the instinct of an elevated understanding, and not from any motive of scholastic ambition. His very stoicism, in the same view, takes the form of table-talk, and its proudest examples are sought for in the wit of the condemned upon the scaffold. Another class of the essays is occupied in recording certain facts to gratify a trivial curiosity, such as those on 'thumbs,' 'posts,' 'war-horses,' and 'monstrous children.' It seems as if the author had intended to prosecute under each of these, some vein of reflection; but had desisted, *invita Minerva*, and left them to stand upon the interest which they possess as belonging to natural history. They contribute, however, to diversify the topics of his Essays, and to relax, in a manner agreeable to the taste of Montaigne, the severity that belongs to the aspect of philosophy.

What, then, is the particular description or line of morality which is to be found in the Essays of Montaigne? For to say that he is a moralist is not to distinguish him from thousands. Here again we are referred to the circumstances of his life for the matter of his books, for he declares that his whole study was to discover and appropriate such truths as might have an immediate application to himself. He is therefore no teacher of morality to others; his whole concern is to discover and to understand it for the delight and dignity of his own mind. On a rare and blameless principle of philosophical selfishness, justified by the analogy of all creatures striving to secure their own perfection before imparting it to others, we perceive Montaigne, in all his meditations, aiming, in the first place, at what might conduce to the proper regulation of his own mind;—but foreseeing that love and benevolence to others would be the certain fruits of his own virtue, 'He who rightly understands himself will never mistake another man's work for his own, but will love to improve himself above all other things.' As he is exempted then, constitutionally, from most of the vices and feelings of low natures, there is little allusion to these in his book, either in proud disdain or in prudent dehortation. His own rank and fortune were such as not to prompt him to aim at any further advancement in the world: he therefore thinks little about the qualities requisite in the common pursuits of life, and omits

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the whole class of the prudential virtues: these, by the nature of his pursuits, were not much impressed on his attention. Like Milton, Montaigne does not love to contemplate 'clowns and vices,' but the loftiest forms of excellence which his fancy can present; his morality has always reference to the virtues which he admires, and not to the vices of which he is either unconscious or ashamed; he looks upwards with a passionate veneration, and seldom downwards with self-control. From the vauntage ground of a well-disposed nature, he converses only with what is rare and transcendant in morality. He speaks of exalted courage in action or in council, of friendship like that amongst the noblest of the heathens, of candour and of truth not in words alone, but in the silent demonstrations of conduct, of generous loyalty and benevolent hospitality, of a wise moderation in all the desires, and of an universal sympathy with nature even to the 'venomed toad.' On all these his fancy ranges, and with full license, as in its proper sphere. 'For it is the duty,' he says, 'of good men to paint virtue as beautiful as possible; and there would be no indecency in the case should our passion a little transport us in favour of its sacred forms.' No matter how far his own character may linger behind the model of his imagination. 'It is a great matter for me to have my judgment regular, if the effects cannot be so, and to maintain the sovereign part at least free from corruption.' Here is an apology singularly true to the character of Montaigne: though vulgar in the tenor of his life, he will yet be another thing at heart. Better, no doubt, could an entire harmony have been maintained betwixt the 'sovereign part' and 'its effects.' But better, too, that one should stand aloof in uncommunicated excellence, and 'still recoil from its encumbering clay,' than that both should amicably succumb to the same infirmities.

In this line of moral speculation, Montaigne had the example of all his favourites among the ancients, particularly of Seneca and Plutarch. No modern writer on morals has so much the stamp of antiquity. Not that we are to rank him under any one denomination of the ancient philosophy, not even the academic; for he is too much indebted, though generally without acknowledgment, to the ethics of christianity. What he has derived from that source may easily be distinguished throughout his Essays, particularly in his Commentary upon Stoicism, which, of all the ancient systems, he appears to have fancied most, but which he scruples not to try by the better revelations of divine truth. In the manner of his reasoning on such subjects, still more than in the doctrine, he differs from every example

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example among the Ancients. In that respect his genius is all his own, and preserves its proper lineaments above every foreign inscription, like the last characters of a palimpsest. He has the subtlety of a Greek, without his troublesome subjection to forms of completeness and proportion. Where shall we look for more extensive, and philosophical analogies in the moral writings of the ancients? And therein Montaigne acknowledged the best influences of his age; for with the sensibility of genius, he submitted still more to the times in which he lived, than to the visions of his fancy. In his writings, it is evident that he had not been insensible to the bold and inquiring genius of the Reformation;—to the keen and delicate spirit of the politest society of the time;—and he could profit by the subtlety of the schools which he admired, without respecting the frivolous subjects on which it was employed. If we are to look for a resemblance to Montaigne, we must rather turn to the writers of his own time, or to those of a period somewhat posterior. His very image, not impaired by transmission, will be found in the 'Religio Medici' of Sir Thomas Brown. If a prototype existed any where to Lord Bacon, it might be sought for in Montaigne. The English philosopher is not distinguished indeed by the same constant pursuit of the beautiful: for in a far more philosophical spirit he professed himself as the interpreter of universal nature: and, in that view, so analogous to the indiscriminating regards of the Creator, found deformity no less worthy of his attention than beauty—and vice than virtue. Is there not, however, in Montaigne, the same; that extent of vision that better characterizes the philosophy of Bacon, the same pregnancy in his suggestions,—and the same depth of meaning which he discovers in the most familiar examples?

We have seen that Montaigne has no pretensions to any branch of science; that all his views are directed to the higher aspects of morality; and that his aim was to realize these by enamoured contemplation, and to fix them as attributes of his own character. There is something however, at which we have not yet arrived, but which forms the key-stone in the structure of his intellect. 'Let not the subjects I write on,' he says, 'be so much attended to as my manner of treating them.' He thus flings away, as not belonging to his purpose, the whole subject matter of his morals, and seeks attention to the manner and the genius of the moralist. He desires to exhibit nothing but the native form and lineaments of his mind as developed by his studies. 'I wish to make a show only of what is my own, and my own by nature.' On this principle

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he declares that he values not in other men the mere matter of their discourse, but the shape or form of character which it indicates. For the knowledge which any one possesses, he cares no more than the painter or the statuary; since he looks with the eye of an artist to the form or *Bildung* of the mind alone, and values learning only as contributing to its development. All acquired knowledge is with him but the worthless scaffolding to character. Nothing in short that exists is of value, in his estimation, but the mind that contemplates it; and that mind itself has no interest for him, unless as it reveals itself in characters of beauty.

We perceive now to what a narrow sphere Montaigne has limited his philosophical curiosity, and on what sort of objects he has disciplined his understanding to employ its activities, and to seek for all its gratifications.

Here, indeed, he stands a Platonist confessed,—a worshipper of virtue in all its fancied forms of beauty or sublimity,—one who sets no value on the largest stores of human learning if only consecrated to utility, or if only qualified for the promoting of external dominion. The principle of this disposition in the mind of Montaigne may be discovered throughout his writings. It is this,—What is the sum of all the knowledge which the mind of man can receive, compared with what the universe affords. Is it not so diminutive as to be the very image of mortality? 'to my taste it savours too much of death and earth.' In this manner, by the very ambition of his nature, and by a sort of false comprehension in his views, he is cut off from all respect for the common branches of human knowledge. From mere finite extent, he has recourse to form and proportion, —which being naturally incommensurable with extent, can suggest no ideas either of finitude or mortality.

We are aware that this Platonic attribute of his character has not been recognized by all his critics; and unquestionably it is at variance with many things about him. It is at variance with the *air cavalier* and the *air du monde*, which he affects in the most earnest efforts of his philosophy; and under the garrulous, conversational manner of Montaigne, who would look for the raptures of a *belle-esprit*? It is at variance with his diplomacy; with his keen and lively sympathies with the world; and with the vices which he permitted to settle on his personal character. But it is always, that the master-principle of a mind can compel the homage of all the rest, or effect their assimilation to itself. We have traced what appear to be the most important lines in the literary character of Montaigne: but salvum sit jus cujuslibet,—there are other features that may strike

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strike more and reveal themselves earlier. Though dissimilar, they are not incompatible with what has now been pointed out. It does not fall, however, within our course to advert to them at present.

In what follows we submit a few remarks on the personal character of this writer, which necessarily comes before us in any further consideration of his genius in that particular view which we have taken of it.

In the whole circle of literature, indeed, there is not an author who more solicits the reader to a consideration of his personal character; that, in fact, being announced as the great object of his literary performances. The hero is himself; and that, not in his actions, 'for these are only scantlings of a particular figure, and are too much the result of fortune,' but in the naked metaphysical properties of his mind. We know not, in truth, if Montaigne be so generally known for anything pertaining to him as for his egotism. With that characteristic, for good or for bad, his name is inseparably connected: as an egotist he comes up to any example in literature; and it cannot be denied, that he has the merit of carrying off the character with unequalled bravery and success. Well was his apotheosis merited in France by the honour which he thus rendered to the first infirmity of the great nation. We are not of those, however, who censure, or of those who despise the egotism of Montaigne, both of whom appear to proceed upon false principles. For what constitutes the reproach of egotism, but its selfish neglect of the self-love of others. The peculiarity of this man's egotism, however, is, that it rather introverts the curiosity of the reader upon himself, than solicits his admiration to Montaigne. We seek no other proof than this of its legitimacy. In the very occasion of Montaigne's allusions to himself, there is something which justifies the habit, and even invests it with the dignity of philosophy. It is always after expatiating abstractly on some uncommon excellence that Montaigne turns to examine, with abated raptures, his own poor condition, in respect to the virtue which has just been the object of his contemplation. His disinterested admiration is placed first; the reference to himself comes after it. But is not this the very process of which every man is conscious in his own mind, when an object of excellence has been placed before it;—a process not only natural and necessary, but the very method of all moral cultivation. The exhibition of this private movement is what distinguishes Montaigne, who viewed it, against the vulgar fashion, with an extraordinary candour and naïveté, with the frankness of a cavalier, and with the consciousness

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consciousness of inmost rectitude. 'The worst of my qualities,' he says, 'do not appear to me so foul, as I think it foul and base not to dare to own them; and those who know the freedom of their own thoughts, will not be disposed to quarrel with the freedom of my writings.'

One cannot reasonably grudge him the importance which he attaches to his own humours, if he appears not to desire that the same importance shall be attached to them by others; and such is the predicament. He assumes no more room to himself in this majestic world than he permits to every other man; nay, for that matter, like Hamlet, he could be 'confined to a nutshell, and count himself a king of infinite space.' This is the saving virtue in the egotism of Montaigne; and it distinguishes him from all the other mighty egotists in literature. His countryman Rousseau had, in that respect, all the manners of an usurper seeking an universal supremacy. He was not only all-important to himself, as Montaigne and every other creature, by the necessity of their existence are; but the spirit of his egotism was hostile to the rights of others, and rose on their depression. He aspired to an ascendancy over princes, and nations; over creeds, and the most venerable institutions. Montaigne, on the other hand, so far from courting an offensive domination, actually puts himself at the mercy of his reader. People smile at an amiable man too publicly dealing with the infirmities of his character; and look complacently on one who plies the reasonable and harmless task of self-examination. There was a vital difference in the principles on which these men spoke of themselves; and the symptoms differed accordingly. The invariable cheerfulness and sanity of the one, contrast with the endless anxieties and the madness of the other. It seems, indeed, as if the latter had acted, in this particular, at the bidding of an evil spirit; while Montaigne only obeyed, as he professed to do, the injunction of the oracle, 'Know thyself.'

As to the fidelity of the portraiture, we prefer the evidence that arises from the complexion of the author's own mind, to the doubts of the Port Royal Society. He was no gascon in his deep reverence for truth, and we feel that in tracing the lineaments of himself, he is entitled to more confidence than limners of that sort usually receive. 'I would come again,' he says, 'with all my heart from the other world, to give any one the lie, that should report me other than I was, though he did it to honour me.' His vanity makes no false demonstrations. It was unlike the vanity of Cicero, which wanted common honesty. Montaigne indeed appears to have been ashamed of that partner in fame, as one by whom the name of vanity was degraded. Witness

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Witness his dignified reproof of the great orator for tampering with the historians who were to write his life; and, no doubt, if Montaigne was so jealous of self-deception in his own case, he was entitled, in that of Cicero, to reprehend a subornation of testimony.

With all his egotism, it is certain that Montaigne thought there were other prizes than empty honour in the world. This important qualification of it must not be overlooked. 'I am one who aim always at the substantial, and like nothing but what is real and solid, and who, if I durst confess so much, would not think avarice much less excusable than ambition, nor pain less to be avoided than shame, nor health less to be coveted than learning, nor riches than nobility.' How different in all this, at least, from his own relative, whose vanity he has recorded in his Essays, and who, in his last hours, busied himself in soliciting the honour of certain great men to wait upon his funeral; and having secured the promise of that distinction, died as if in the assurance of peace to his soul.

What we have said of the unselfishness of his egotism is supported by all the other elements of his character. One of these stands in direct opposition to every thing reputed odious in egotism,—we mean his disposition to understand and to sympathize with every sort of mind, however differently modelled from his own; the feebleness of all his antipathies; in a word, the boundlessness of his good-nature. The true egotist finds the chief source of his complacency in the contemplation of himself; and nothing so much 'jangles his sweet bells' as that which would distract his attention to other objects. But this catholic temper of Montaigne strips of all its reproaches the charge of egotism which is brought against him. It lies too, as we shall see, at the root of much that was both good and bad in his mental constitution.

It renders him, in the first place, a cosmopolite, who professes to make no more account of his own countrymen, than of a Polander or a Briton; and that, not so much from any impatience of the ties of immediate affinity, as from the great compass of his benevolence. Whatever limits might exist to his sympathies in this respect were always to be discovered in unconscious indifference to the object, and never in a positive or painful aversion.

To what else shall we impute his admitted talents as a mimic? 'Whatever I observe, I make my own, whether it be a silly countenance, a disagreeable grimace, or a ridiculous way of speaking.'

From the same source arose his devoted friendship to Boetia; for

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for what was his extraordinary affection to that individual but the concentration of those feelings which should more naturally, perhaps, have expanded upon the whole world, and which were actually to expand in the subsequent years of his life. Unfortunately, however, this unlimited sympathy extends from an amiable regard to all persons,—to an indiscriminate reception of all sentiments and of all opinions. It renders him inconstant in his humours; inconsistent in his philosophy; and subjects him, as we shall see, to an imputation, on plausible grounds, of scepticism in his religion.

Montaigne could not fail to notice these contradictions in himself; and accordingly he treats us to their whole philosophy in that ingenuous and good-humoured manner in which he usually surveys his imperfections. He is speaking of simple inconstancy; and never was a vulgar frailty so philosophically defended.

'The universe is one perpetual motion; and constancy itself is only a more languid exhibition of that motion which is the very principle of existence. I can never be sure of my object, for by a natural giddiness, it is always wavering, and in the very act of a transition. I take it, as it appears to me at the instant when I consider it,—well aware that I do not paint its essence, but merely its passage from one place to another. In this, perhaps, I may contradict myself, but certainly not the truth.'!!

In his philosophy, accordingly, Montaigne takes the benefit of this sovereign apology for all sorts of inconsistency. At one time he is a stoic, agreeably to the suggestions of his vigorous imagination: at another time, an epicurean, according to the desires of his feeble temperament. Betwixt these opposing schemes, he appears to vacillate without an effort to reconcile them, and with scarcely a feeling of their disagreement. Nothing indeed comes amiss to him, that from any point of view can present itself in any aspect of plausibility. The most incongruous opinions are admitted; while there is no great principle or system of principles professed,—which, indeed, he was incapable of forming, from the very multitude and the variety of his convictions. His genius was only too susceptible; it was fatally deficient in antipathies—tanto buon que val niente. In this manner, that general complacence which was the source of his tranquillity in life, became the cause of his distractions in philosophy. Let us see how it operated on his religion.

On that subject it must be allowed, that the reader of the Essays cannot divest himself of some feelings of uncertainty. Montaigne was, without doubt, a man of sentiments too warm, and

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and too naturally directed, to be without any religion at all; and the mere logical faculty which has so often, in such temperaments, thwarted the instincts that are more infallible than reason, he neither very much esteemed, nor exhibited with any vigour in his own intellectual formation. Indeed, he distinctly declares his attachment to the Church of Rome; and died, it is said, in the full observance of its peculiar ceremonies. He was, in certain of his opinions, as well as in his ordinary conduct, a very faithful servant of the Pope. True to that worshipful authority, but not to his own enlightened understanding, he offers an apology for ignorance in the people, concurrent with the interested orders of the papal court. 'It is not fit, that the Holy Bible, containing the mysteries of our faith, should be rummaged in a hall or kitchen;' nor that the inviolable language of the scriptures should suffer the certain detriment of translation into other tongues. Here was, no doubt, a most acceptable homage to the Church of Rome, then shaken by the Reformation. Montaigne, in that struggle, continued firm to the old-established constitution;—an infidel would naturally have revolted from that party round which the greatest strength of the Faith still rallied. The Church of Rome might have presented a more tempting mark for the practice of his wit; and the sensitive, capricious desire of freedom, that marked his temper, might have led him to covet and to exult in its downfal. But, like a good catholic, Montaigne withheld his shafts,—partly, because that church was in itself an object of his unfeigned reverence, and partly on the sentimental consideration that it had been the church of his fathers. True, it may be said, Montaigne was indeed a catholic confessed; but does it follow that he was a believer? We admit, that the inference is not conclusive; that the hottest catholics may be the coolest infidels; and that other evidence than his simple homage to the Pope might not be superfluous in establishing his religion. In his Essays there are certainly not many passages that bear testimony to his religious convictions; but there are some. Witness the Essay upon Prayer, that abounds in just and noble thoughts, springing from the inmost sanctuary of his mind. The sentiments there expressed are, in their complexion, peculiarly christian, and differ from Montaigne's morality in general, as no pattern or suggestion is to be found for them in the writings of Greece or Rome.

After all, however, Montaigne has come down to us as one of those who have been most eminent in their hostility to the Christian faith. His countrymen, Malbranche and Pascal, were among the first to denounce his scepticism,—and that, not only

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only in his philosophy, where it actually existed, but in his religion, which he has distinctly bottomed on the authority of revelation. In this light, it has ever since been the fashion to consider him in our own country, where he is represented as one of the boldest personations of infidelity. With Tournay and his other apologists, we are of opinion that he has here been unfairly dealt with. The accusation is rested chiefly on his famous Essay entitled 'An Apology for Raimond de Sebonde'; and to that we now beg the reader's attention very shortly,—not only as it is the most elaborate of all Montaigne's speculations, but because, from its unusual method and coherence, it is almost the only one susceptible of analysis.

'Christians are in the wrong to make human reasoning the basis of their belief; for the object of that belief is only conceivable by faith, and by a special inspiration of Divine grace.' Such is the argument of this perilous dissertation. The doctrine it announces was evidently levelled at the Reformers who, in their theological warfare, had set up the standard of pure reason; and as evidently it was intended to support the spiritual tyranny of the Pope, whose best security might rest on such a depression of the understanding in those who submitted to his sway. But in serving his church in this manner, was it necessary that Montaigne should fling away his creed; or that while he indulged his joke against humanity, he could not possibly retain his reverence for its Redeemer? He perilled his faith, no doubt, upon a narrow foundation; and perhaps the worthlessness of human nature, as he describes it, too evidently points to the needlessness of its immortality. The question, however, does not respect the prudence of the reasoner, but the conviction of the man. In illustration of what that conviction might have been consistently with such reasoning, we may mention that the same argument as proposed by Sebonde was considered by many in these times, as affording a signal service to revealed religion; and that Sebonde's book, in which it was contained, was recommended to Montaigne's devout perusal by his own father.

Having thus secured his religion behind the shelter of Faith, Montaigne proceeds to expose the radical uncertainty of every other ground of belief; and opens a tempest of abuse from every quarter upon human nature. In the depreciating spirit of fashionable society, aggravated by a malignant philosophy, he commences by stripping mankind of every mark of distinction from the lower animals. The one is sunk and the other raised, until they stand upon the same level. The whole recorded excellences of the brute are opposed to all the common-place

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place infirmities of the man. Who has not heard, in the former, of instincts superior to reason, and of a reasoning sagacity,—of equity and affection, of magnanimity, pity, and repentance,—of social propensities, and the contrivances of a civil polity from which man might take example? On the other hand, he enlarges upon the happiness and virtue of the ignorant, the evils of imagination, the madness of great wits, the proneness of the human faculties, in their greatest vigour, to unprofitable studies, and the chimeras of all theologies but one—'Man is certainly stark mad: he cannot make a flea, and yet he makes gods by dozens.' Then follows an unrelenting tornado of the metaphysical kind. There is no foundation for the sciences, history, morals or jurisprudence, because there is no axiom in any of these branches beyond dispute; the very ideas of time, space, motion, and truth are but the visions of individual minds. The senses are no less the beginning than the end of all our knowledge. 'Whoever should make up a faggot of the fooleries of human wisdom, would produce wonders. I willingly muster up these for a pattern.'

In this treatise, the reader will find distinct anticipations of all the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century; and it cannot be denied that the mischief which it has wrought has been scarcely less extensive than its influence. More, however, must have been allured by the felicity of the author's vein in this discourse than subdued by the force of his reasons; for the sophistry is, on the whole, far too apparent: and, at any rate, there are worse foundations for a creed than the degradation of human nature. In the meantime, it will be observed, that this sweeping scepticism still professes to hold in reverence whatever has been communicated by faith; and that Montaigne, while a sceptic in his philosophy of human nature, is by no means so, or professedly so, in his religion. That distinction has been generally overlooked; and in treating of his personal character, it has been the fashion to consider him as not more credulous in religion than became such a Pyrrhonist in philosophy: and after all, even in his Pyrrhonism, he appears to have been not much in earnest. 'Very often for the sake of exercise and argument, I have undertaken to maintain an opinion contrary to my own; but in the course of bending and applying my mind in that direction, I have become so thoroughly attached to it, that I no longer discern the reasons of my former belief, and forsake it.' This is explicit; and we perceive now the unfortunate influence exerted on his philosophy, by that extraordinary facility of temper, and indiscriminate toleration of

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of all forms of opinion, which we have already noticed as among the elements of his character.

We have submitted these remarks on the genius and character of Montaigne in those parts of both, which appear to have been liable to some misconception. We have said nothing of what has been too well defined to have admitted of any difference of opinion: we have said nothing of his defects—of his capricious and incoherent meditations,—of his paraphrastic versions of the Ancients under an appearance of novelty,—or of the obscenities so frankly and so joyously expressed in the Essay that bears the modest title of 'Remarks on some verses of Virgil.' Our readers will forgive this recurrence to a writer with whom they have been long well acquainted, if we have offered plausible reasons for representing him as retaining, with all his affectations, the sensibility of genius to the pulcrum et honestum; as an egotist without vanity; as inconstant from temperament, and yet a great thinker; as a Pyrrhonist and yet a Christian. We are not of the opinion that Montaigne is to be esteemed chiefly for the minute and graphic portrait which he has presented of himself; nor as Mr. Stewart has expressed it, 'for the liveliness and felicity with which he has embodied in words, the *previous* wanderings of our own imaginations." This is but a degrading account of the writings of Montaigne—reducing them from the highest aspirations of morality to a level with the fashionable conversations of Swift, and representing every ordinary reader, as a forerunner in his noblest career of meditation.

We have alluded to the extensive influence of Montaigne on the subsequent literature of Europe, and might have adduced some curious illustrations, which we shall reserve for another occasion. In England, as in France, he has been read, admired, and followed. Our own writers, however, have been most ready, in general, to relish and to imitate what was best in the writings of Montaigne. They have taken example for the relaxation of their own style, from the freedom and artlessness of his; they have profited by his conversational manner, gracefully dealing with the topics of philosophy; they have learned something from his ingenuity, his humanity, and even from his idiosyncrasies. But in France Montaigne appears to have operated in a manner altogether injurious: nothing in his writings has been so influential in that country as his scepticism, the seeds of which were scattered so abundantly in his apology for Sebonde: not a hint was there dropped that was not afterwards taken up and fully developed by the more patient and penurious

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penurious thinkers that formed the sceptical philosophy of France. In the one country his ascendancy has been altogether malignant; in the other, it has, on the whole, favourably affected literature, if not morality; and it is remarkable that, in accordance with that diversity of influence, the Essays of Montaigne have at this day a greater estimation in this than in their native country.

ART. X. — *Mémoires de Vidocq*. Vols. iii. and iv. 8vo. Paris. 1829.

NEVER was imitation of foreign laws carried to a greater extent than within the last few years, in matters strictly connected with, nay of the very first and most vital importance to our liberty; against the spirit, practice, and express words of our ancient laws and constitution. Whilst other nations, where there is a government police, are endeavouring with all their strength to shake it off, and to have such power intrusted to the people, we, who for a thousand years have possessed this system of popular right, now destroy it, and seek to introduce a practice, which the constant experience of those among whom it is received, proves to be the most dangerous and effective engine of despotism. Whilst the passport system, so strictly connected with the police, is loudly complained of, deprecated, hated by all the thinking part of the population where it is received, we are tampering with it, and heedlessly breaking an express article of that *Magna Charta* of which we have hitherto been so proud.* In France, where the jury is denied in most misdemeanors, or petty offences tried before minor tribunals (*tribunaux correctionels*), strong efforts are made to have this custom abolished, whilst we, against the most sacred and open disposition of the *Magna Charta*, are daily introducing the principle that Englishmen may be condemned without a jury.† Let those, who speak of the progress of liberty in this country, and who laugh at the fears of such as evince uneasiness

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* Omnes mercatores habeant salvum et securum exire ab Anglia et venire in Angliam, morari et ire per Angliam. Yet this law was not so liberal as that published about the same time by Emperor Frederic II. Omnes peregrini et advenae libere hospitentur ubi voluerint. A pope confirmed this law, which despotism has rendered a dead letter; but no pope nor government has solemnly abolished it, as we have done the above article of the *Magna Charta*.

† Two magistrates have of late been empowered to condemn persons to six months, or even one year's imprisonment, in a great number of cases. Acts being passed without reference to one another, it follows, that the principle being once admitted, is introduced into more laws than the legislators are generally aware of.

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at the power which the government may gain over the people, look in the legislative history of the last hundred years in England, and find an act more openly attacking our constitution than those which we have mentioned.

It is said, that a noble and learned Lord called history 'an old almanack,' which expression was particularly agreeable to those who attempt to put down by laughter the adversaries whom they are unable to oppose by sound reasoning. Yet, on this occasion, the definition of the noble Lord was more correct, than that learned personage himself suspected. History is, to be sure, an old almanack, in which an old woman will look for Moore's prophecies, and display her ingenuity in finding their correctness; whilst others will from an old almanack guess exactly for some future year the astronomical facts which are therein noted. Prince Metternich once answered a foreign Minister who appealed to history, 'Bah! l'historie; nous la faisons.' And that is true; and so the almanack-maker collects from old almanacks the materials necessary to form a new one, as any statesman from ancient history learns how to make that of his time. The Englishman, being possessed of the best practical constitution which has hitherto existed for any considerable number of years, thinks himself the best possible judge on all political subjects. He laughs at foreign politicians, whom he holds very cheap, looking with pride at the immense difference between other countries and his own with respect to government. But this confidence in his own knowledge renders him too apt to condemn or absolve without being at all aware of the point under discussion, and obstinately refuse to listen to facts and experience which may be alleged to put him in the right way. Ninety-nine out of a hundred foreigners, speaking of the complicated machine of our government, of checks on government, of liberty of the press, of trial by jury, of aristocracy, of elections, &c., utter such downright nonsense, that we are really forced to pity them. But this does not mean that they are incapable of forming correct opinions, or that their organs and faculties are not so good as our own. We must reflect that we commit precisely the same errors with respect to their countries, that they do respecting ours; and that as we know our own affairs best, so they are likely to know theirs. If it be difficult to make a slave understand all the machinery by which a free government is moved, it is not less difficult to form a correct idea of all the parts of the machinery by which despotism is supported. It is absurd rashness in foreigners when they pretend to instruct us concerning our government; but

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but it is no less a presumption in us to believe that we understand theirs better than themselves. Concerning police, passports, trial without jury, levying taxes without the consent of the people, and the like, they are likely to know more than ourselves; for they have seen and felt the causes and effects of those various principles which they detest. Why should we, then, pretend to know more than they do about things on which they (unhappily for themselves) can speak *ex cathedra?*

Before proceeding to treat of this subject further, we must be allowed to say, that we utterly disclaim all desire of imputing sinister or treacherous motives to any person or persons whatsoever. We assume that the projectors and supporters of the measures which we firmly believe dangerous to our liberty, are honest and upright men, and that they are guided by motives like our own, *viz.* the good of our common country. That remedies were required, we do not pretend to deny; but we deny the extent of the evil, and contend that the remedies are likely to cause evils of far greater importance. Possibly we are ourselves mistaken; we only claim the same credit for purity of intention which we are inclined to give to others; and we do not despair of showing the abyss into which the measures which we deprecate may eventually plunge the nation. Should we be so fortunate as to point out the full extent of the danger, we feel confident that the innovators will have the manliness to confess their error—they have the power to correct it.

The constabulary force of England, by which the peace of the country was kept for so many ages, is composed of civil officers appointed for that purpose, from their very origin, by the people, independently of government. Their office was not unknown to the Roman laws, in which the *Irenarchae** are mentioned; but although their importance vastly increased with despotism, they being a race of men of which despots are prodigiously fond,† yet their appointment was left to the local authorities, and particularly to the corporations of towns,‡ till even these were

* Irenarchae munus institutum ut per eum provinciae tutela, quietis ac pacis per singula territoria concordia stet. Aristides 4. ἱερῶν Irenarcham vocat φύλακα τῆς ἱερήνης, leges Gothorum pacis adsertorem τὸν τῆς τοῦ δήμου εὐταξίας ἐπιστατοῦντα. *Gothof. ad L. un. Cod. de Irenarch.*

† Curiosi et stationarii munus fuit crimina investigare et judicibus nunciare: ita reges Medorum in eam rem suos habuere κατασκόπους. *Herodot;* et hi quidem curiosi quasi quaesitores quidam. Eam in rem Darius, teste Plutarcho, multos semper habuit ἀνταχουστὰς, qui principis aures appellabantur, et delatorum munere apud eum fungebantur. Et Maecenas agens cum Augusto de his quae ad Remp. videntur necessaria, delatorum quidem ministerio utendum monet, sed non temerè fidem esse eis adhibendam. *Dion.* 52. *Gothof. ad L.* 1 *C. de Curios. et Station.*

‡ *L. un. Cod. de Irenarch.*

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destroyed by a despot, who plainly declared, that everything was dependent on him.* The French police, which we are now imitating, was first introduced by D'Argenson, who left, as a legacy to France, a shocking system of espionage, by which he had cleared Paris of a great number of rogues and vagabonds.† Under the Constituent Assembly, the nobility joined the commons in the request, that the police should be put into the hands of the people, and of the judges.‡ The Convention and Robespierre, then the Directory, placed the police in the hands of government; and to the author of the *Loi des Suspects*, of execrable memory (Merlin de Douai), is due the institution of a Secretary of State for the police, which, under that name, or that of *Préfet de Police*, is to this day one of the greatest obstacles to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty in France.

How happens it that, wherever there has been anything like a remnant of regard for public and personal liberty, no police has ever existed in the hands of government? It is said that the safety of lives and property is of paramount importance to his majesty's subjects, and that every thing should be done to prevent any injury to either. Now, as we conceive that the generality of his Majesty's subjects are nowise inclined to have their limbs broken, or their watches stolen, we should suspect that they might be left at liberty to adopt the best means for preserving them. A government which will meddle in every thing, look after every thing, provide for every thing; which is anxious to take a *paternal* care of the subject, instead of allowing him to take care of himself, is in a glorious train for the introduction of despotism. From the time of Charles V. to that of Richelieu, the governments of the continent were busy at work to crush the nobility. Having succeeded in this, they began to *take care* of the commons. There were abuses in the public charities; in the administration of property belonging to public bodies; in the manner in which local taxes were imposed and collected; in fact, in every thing; for where is there a human institution faultless and incapable of abuse? Government very kindly undertook to set things right, and the consequence is, that the people every where have been stripped of their rights; every thing is in the hands of govern-

* *Leon. Constit.* 46, where it is said, Nunc res civiles in alium statum transformatae sunt, omniaque ab una Imperatoriae Majestatis solicitudine atque administratione pendunt.

† Introduction to the 'Livre Noir,' p. lvi.

‡ La noblesse s'unit au tiers-état dans le vœu de voir la police de propreté et d'ordre attribuée aux municipalités, et la police de sureté passer entre les mains des uges.—*Ibid.* lxi.

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ment; public charities, instruction, revenues belonging to towns, their expenditure, the appointment of local magistrates, —in fine, all depends on government, as much as in the times of the Emperor Leo. The pretexts under which this was effected were excellent; and honest men applauded the apparent remedy, little thinking it would prove worse than the evil.

If those, who admire the continental police, and the gendarmerie system, knew the means by which this engine of despotism is moved, they would be horrified. The word is not too strong. Let any man see the means by which the prince of thief-takers, Vidocq, sought to purge the capital of France from thieves, and he will immediately perceive that there must soon be an end of liberty, law, justice, honour, and virtue, wherever such a system is adopted. Vidocq, in his Memoirs, lays down the duties of the police, in nearly the same words as are employed in the instructions to the new police :

'Prévenir les crimes, découvrir les malfaiteurs, et les livrer à l'autorité, c'est à ces points principaux que l'on doit rapporter les fonctions qui m'étaient confiées.' (vol. ii. p. 297.)*

Now this individual tells us what were the means, which he employed in the performance of his duty.

'Quelques individus sans autre aptitude au métier que cette espèce de rouérie que l'on acquiert dans les prisons, étaient attachés à la police de sûreté, mais ils n'avaient point de traitement fixe, et n'étaient retribués que par capture. Ces derniers étaient des condamnés libérés. Il y avait aussi des voleurs en exercice, dont on tolérait la présence à Paris, à la condition de faire arrêter les malfaiteurs qu'ils parviendraient à découvrir : souvent quand ils ne pouvaient mieux faire, il leur arrivait de livrer leurs camarades. Après les voleurs tolérés, venaient en troisième ou en quatrième ligne, toute cette multitude de méchants garnements qui vivaient avec des *filles publiques* malfamées. Cette caste ignoble donnait parfois des renseignements fort utiles pour arrêter les filous et les escrocs ; d'ordinaire, ils étaient prêts à fournir toute espèce d'indications pour obtenir la liberté de leurs maîtresses lorsqu'elles étaient détenues. On tirait encore parti des femmes qui vivaient avec ces voleurs connus et incorrigibles qu'on envoyait de temps en temps faire un tour à Bicêtre.' (vol. ii. p. 210.)

Add to this, the most disgusting system of treachery, lying, and abominations of all kinds, which the police-agents had no scruple to employ, in order to obtain their end. The two last

* It has puzzled many great men how to find out the means of preventing crime. And yet in the *instructions to the new police*, three-shilling constables are gravely told that they are to do it, and that this is the great secret by which the new establishment is to thrive. This is surely too strong a reliance on the march of mind.

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volumes of Vidocq's Memoirs are revolting in this respect, and we own that we have tried several times, and always in vain, to read them through. So hateful is this villain, when drawing his own portrait, as a police-agent, that he appears comparatively amiable, while relating his former life of rogue. Yet, that the police might be effective, a discretionary power was granted to him, and others like himself, not only of imprisoning those whom they suspected, but of imprisoning those whom they thought might innocently, or otherwise, discover their plans. Vidocq was anxious to know whither a certain rogue had removed; he gets his information from a common porter, but to prevent him from warning the suspected person of the search made after him, Vidocq gives the porter a note to take to the police-office, where the poor man expected five hundred francs to be paid to him. 'Take this man to the treasury,' exclaims the magistrate to whom the note was addressed; and the treasury was a dungeon, where this innocent man was kept till M. Vidocq's *bon plaisir* should be known.

These are the means by which, what is termed *a good police*, is, and must be moved. Will Englishmen deem them proper? Can they consent to be thus governed, and yet believe themselves a free nation? Let any of our readers answer. But let them observe that, in spite of all this, a kind of constabulary force, a *posse comitatus*, a number of armed citizens, were necessary to assist Vidocq and his party. This man, who has no interest to persuade us that other people shared with him the glory of his triumphs, cannot withhold his praises from the *garde national*. From the moment when he left his office, to the time when he published the two first volumes of his Memoirs, he asserts (and he might have been easily contradicted had he transgressed the limits of truth) that the number of thieves and rogues of all kinds, had prodigiously increased in Paris. Yet, he does not claim it as a proof of peculiar skill in himself; he mentions the fact to show that the citizens are the best guardians of their own lives and property.

'Depuis 1814 la continuelle vigilance de la garde nationale avait puissamment contribué à ces résultats . . . . Si j'aime à payer aux gardes nationaux le tribut d'éloges qu'ils méritent; si, éclairé par l'expérience de ce que j'ai vu durant leurs existence, et depuis l'ordonnance de dissolution, je déclare que sans eux Paris ne saurait offrir aucune sécurité, c'est que toujours j'ai trouvé chez eux une intelligence, une volonté d'assistance, un concert de dévouement au bien public que je n'ai jamais rencontrés ni parmi les soldats ni parmi les gendarmes, dont le zèle ne se manifeste, la plupart du temps, que par des actes de brutalité, après que le danger est passé. J'ai

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J'ai créé pour la police de sureté actuelle une infinité de précédents, et les traditions de mamanière n' y seront pas de sitôt oubliées; mais, quelle que soit l'habileté de mon successeur, aussi long-temps que Paris restera privé de sa garde civique, on ne parviendra pas à réduire à l'inaction les malfaiteurs.' (vol. ii. p. 489.)

And we here have had for centuries a civic power, which we now destroy without sufficient reason, and regardless of consequences. We say *without sufficient reason*, and we say it advisedly. Our authority for such an assertion, is the preamble of the *Police Act* itself, which is as follows.

'Whereas offences against property have of late increased in and near the Metropolis, and the Local Establishments of Nightly Watch and Nightly Police have been found inadequate to the prevention and detection of crime, by reason of the frequent unfitness of the individuals employed, the insufficiency of their number, the limited sphere of their authority, and their want of connection and co-operation with each other; and whereas it is expedient to substitute a new and more efficient system of Police in lieu of such establishments of Nightly Watch and Nightly Police, within the limits hereinafter mentioned, and to constitute an office of Police, which, acting under the immediate authority of one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, shall direct and controul the whole of such new system of Police within those limits; Be it therefore enacted,' &c.

Now, it does not require a very logical head to perceive the incorrectness of this reasoning. We grant, for argument sake, not only that crime has increased, but that the reasons for its increase are those assumed in this preamble—how does it follow that a new police should be necessary, acting under the immediate authority of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State? If the reasons for the inadequacy of the nightly watch and nightly police were the unfitness of the individuals employed, the insufficiency of their number, the limited sphere of their authority, and their want of connexion and co-operation with each other,—the natural remedy would be, to substitute fit individuals, increase their number as well as their authority, and connect them with each other. Now, has this been attempted? If not, what is the necessity of having a Secretary of State for the police in England? The reasons for this total departure from the ancient laws and customs of the realm would have been conclusive, had it been proved that the radical fault of the police consisted in its being in the hands of the people; and that, to save the persons and property of his Majesty's lieges, to which they themselves were good-naturedly indifferent, it was necessary that one

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of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State should kindly take them under his ministerial protection. It required no great genius to suggest, as a panacea for the alleged evils of the existing police, an increase in the number and authority of agents, and the substitution of fit for unfit ones, at a minister's pleasure. But, since such an obvious method has not been adopted, we must say, either that the evils are not so serious as they are said to be, or else that something dangerous was foreseen as likely to arise from the remedy itself. We are told, in the instructions to the police, that a constable 'is invested with considerable powers;' and, consequently, it is thought that constables are the fittest persons to substitute for watchmen. That the powers of a constable are considerable we admit; and might not this be the very reason that our ancestors did not like to trust a large body of men, necessarily of the lowest station in society, with so considerable a power? Is not this the very reason for which we ought to abstain from giving to such men such powers, particularly when they are authorized to wield them at the will of a minister, and under the sanction of his powerful authority? The care with which our ancestors restricted within the narrowest limits the action of the executive power on the lives and persons of the citizens; that scrupulous attention with which they more especially tried to exclude the military from exercising any authority on the people—are these not plain and open proofs that the powers given to a constable were ample, solely because he was not a military, but a civil officer, dependent on the people, and not on the government? Is not that a breach, and a very deep one too, of the Constitution, by which a force is established, so contrary to the maxims hitherto received on the subject?

Let no one accuse us of unfairness, and of a wish to excite prejudice against the new police, by calling it a military power; for, if there be reason to complain of this term, it is this—that we do the innovation too much honour in calling it a military power. It has only the faults of a military power of the lowest description, and none of its redeeming qualities. A body of men who are subjected to the strictest discipline; who are all dressed alike, in a particular uniform; who may hope to rise to the superior stations by their activity, intelligence, &c.; who are obliged to reside in a particular place; who must readily and punctually execute the orders and instructions of their superiors, to whom they owe a *strict obedience;* this body of men, depending altogether on, and immediately submitted to the executive power, is certainly a military corps to all bad ends and purposes. But the army is commanded

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manded by gentlemen, by citizens who are not slaves, or *capite censi*, and who have no interest nor inclination, generally speaking, to introduce a despotism into their country. In the army low and degrading vices are held in abhorrence; and in it, honour, manliness, open bravery, and generosity, are in the highest degree encouraged and prevailing. We have no doubt that the chiefs of the police now appointed are perfect gentlemen in all respects; but the prospective is held out, by the above quoted words of the instructions, that the man who is most distinguished for cunning, treacherous devices, and deceit; for a timely use of corruption of all kinds; for profitably associating with vagabonds and spies, not disdaining to apply his mental faculties to the profession:—that this man is likely to become the head of the new police—that, in fact, any Vidocq may fairly hope to rise to the summit of the scale; for such is the kind of activity and intelligence which is required in this trade. Vidocq, ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς, does, in fact, compare himself to Hercules (vol. ii. p. 443); and all his talent consited in Ἀλωπηκίζειν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀλώπηκα; *Anglice*, in being as great, or rather a greater rogue than those whom he sent to the scaffold. Is there any man so base as this in all our army?

The nursery of these chiefs is the body of policemen themselves, viz. of *gentlemen* who hire themselves originally at the rate of three shillings per day, and who submit to serve under such conditions as are actually imposed, or may possibly be imposed on them in future. This principle of reward, by raising low persons to superior stations, is another new importation of foreign growth into this country, where the climate is by no means congenial to it. For the following reason, it is unjust to call this new police a *gendarmerie*. The army in France, owing to the conscription-laws, is composed of citizens from all ranks of society. The gendarmes are the *élite* of this army. They are all old soldiers, distinguished alike for their courage and good conduct, which there has been abundant opportunity to observe. The best educated young gentlemen, from the best families, may enter the army as well as the meanest peasant, and both have the same right to advancement; but the chances are infinitely in favour of the former. But, here, the policeman is necessarily, in his origin, one of the poorest men in existence, since he sells his life for three shillings a-day, clearly because he cannot earn more. The *gendarmerie* in France, therefore, when we consider who are the persons forming it, and what they were both before and after entering the army, are quite superior, in this respect, to our new

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new police, the members of which are infinitely below the lowest *gendarme*.

It may not, perhaps, be improper to observe how this notion of gendarmerie is misapplied to the new police, when we consider that point respecting *passive obedience* which is inculcated in the instructions, when compared with the notions of law and justice hitherto received in these realms. A policeman, or constable as he is called, is to obey his superior; only, if the order of the superior appear to him improper or unlawful, the constable is to complain to the commissioners; "but any refusal to perform the commands of his superior, or negligence in doing so, will not be suffered." Hitherto, if a watchman or constable exceeded in the execution of his duty, he was held responsible; and we should think the same will be done in future. Yet, is it fair to the poor man to make him answerable for the act of his superiors, to whom he is told, by those whom he must think authorized to order him, he must pay implicit obedience? Why place a man in the necessity of either breaking his discipline, or the law? A gendarme can never be so awkwardly situated; for he being, to all intents and purposes, a soldier, an order from his superior is a warrant to him for his actions.

Nor is it enough that the policemen should be infinitely worse than gendarmes: the manner by which they are supported is an anomaly in our legislation, and adopted only in the most despotic countries. The gendarmes in France subsist with the consent of the nation; since, whenever it may happen that the nation wants to get rid of them, it can do so, by resisting the expense necessary to their support. But not so with the new police. The money for their payment is levied without the people's consent; at the free pleasure of a Secretary of State, or his creatures. We have already heard the parishes complain of the enormous sums of money asked from them on this account; and they have reason to thank the Secretary of State for not asking more. In the mean time this Minister has the power of compelling the people to pay, and they must pay whether they like it, or not. There is no limit to all this: let the system of the new police be increased and spread throughout England, and there will be an army of satellites entirely dependent on the Administration and powers that be, uncontrolled and subservient, ready for anything to which they may be impelled by wickedness or folly. And in this view the new police deserves to be considered as a political engine.

Any one, who has watched the circumstances by which the introduction

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introduction of the new police has been accompanied, will have observed that the *instructions*, now printed, differ from those which found their way into the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of September, 1829. The differences are all tending to do away with the idea, which excited the alarm of the public, that this new police was to be considered as possessing an inquisitorial power. Most of the newspapers were alarmed at this, and the consequence was, the modification of the *instructions*. The respectability of the newspaper above-mentioned, in which these *instructions* first appeared, is a sufficient guarantee that they were originally such as were published in it. But for any one who has eyes, and knows anything of these matters, the alterations are insignificant. A police must be inquisitorial by its own essence; and the only means of rendering it innocuous, is to leave it in the hands of the people. *Instructions* may be changed, but the thing is always the same. To obey the Minister is the first duty of the police, as now constituted; they must look up to him for advancement, pay, rewards, &c.; and he is the sole judge of their abilities and activity. Now, the Minister has the power of directing such abilities and activity to political ends. A secret order from the Secretary of State to the head of the police, with the means of corruption which a government can at any time command, and the policeman, charged with the protection of men's life and property, will be turned into a political spy, even without his knowing it. From the servants, the wife, the children, the father, he will discover and report who was at their house last night, at what time their friends returned, to whom they write, from whom they receive letters, what they live upon, when they dine, at what time they go to bed, and when they rise. It is a gross insult to the good sense of the people to say, in defence of this accursed continental eaves-dropping, that honest people do not care if their actions be known to all the world. Upon this same principle, why are not the police authorized to open all letters, for instance, of persons suspected of criminal conduct? This would be a means of knowing their actions; and yet should we, for this reason, authorize such an infamous practice? Moreover, if there be any case in which the notions of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, are capriciously attached to men's actions, it is, as is well known, in political questions.

Were the new police intended to be confined to its present limits, it would be a dangerous precedent, but no immediate evil could be expected to arise from it. But, as it is only a trial in its present state, and there is a prospect that, sooner or later, all England will be submitted to its power, we ask, what will become

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come of our laws against soldiers being in a place, where an election takes place or the assizes are held? Our ancestors will be ridiculed, of course, but it was under their laws that this country preserved its independence, whilst all the rest of the world was overpowered by the merciless hand of despotism. Meanwhile, this is certainly a total change from English principles; since a police company may be capable of doing still more mischief than one of soldiers.

Our police, it is true, to be as tyrannical as it is on the continent, wants a powerful support—a passport system. But we are not sure that we shall not soon be favored with it. It is certainly very often useful for the purpose of discovering rogues and thieves, (not to speak of the use which can be made of it for political ends), and in the mania for imitating whatever is done by the despotic governments of the continent, we may expect that some plan for the establishment of passports in England will be introduced. The way has been already paved to it by Mr. Peel, in the 7 Geo. IV. cap. 34, commonly called the *Alien Act*. Were such an act executed to its full extent, there is no country in the world, in which foreigners would be submitted to so many tyrannical regulations as in England. The best of the business is, that Mr. Peel coming down to the house, to tell the members that he has to propose the repeal of the *Alien Act* (by which ministers were empowered to turn a foreigner out of the country), and instead of this, to propose an act *simply* for the registration of foreigners. For this, he was cheered by the leading members of the Opposition, and actually complimented by Sir Robert Wilson. The act, however, so gently announced, is nothing more nor less than a passport system, in which *cartes de sureté*, and *permission de sejour*, and a *surveillance*, and the *dévoir de se presenter à la police* are introduced for all foreigners, who shall come to England in future, or who *cannot prove that they have not been out of it*, for the seven years immediately preceding the 1st of July 1826*. It is observable, that this act is as useless, as it is dangerous as a precedent. Since a foreigner cannot be ordered to quit the country, what use on earth can it be to know where he lives, and where he intends to live? or to be informed of the length of his nose, or the width of his mouth, or of the colour of his whisker? What interest can it be for an English minister to know, what was the place of residence of a foreigner before he came to England†? The laws

* This is but one of the absurdities with which this act abounds. How can a man prove that he has *not* been absent from England seven years? How can a *negative* be proved?

† By this act it is prescribed, that a servant, being a foreigner, shall, under a fine of

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laws, which have been sufficient for governing this country for ages in the most dangerous times—the laws which were competent to restrain ill-intentioned foreigners when a Pretender, supported by the most powerful monarchs of Europe, threatened our country with invasion from abroad and rebellion at home—these laws are found inadequate in time of peace, and when the nation is arrived at an unprecedented height of strength and prosperity? Has there been even the smallest suspicion that any foreigner, since the peace, ever endeavoured to attack our constitution? If there had been any such madman, could he not have been crushed by those laws, which are enough to govern twenty millions of native subjects?

The old Alien Act was not, and could not be dangerous. First of all, it was a provisional law, the duration of which was limited to a short period, and which could scarcely have passed into an abuse, since it was necessary to go before parliament, whenever it was to be renewed: Secondly, it suspended the law of the land, but did not destroy it: Thirdly, it might be tyrannically exercised on one or two occasions against a foreigner, but no bad consequences could come to Englishmen from it. In the actual *Alien Act* the thing is quite different; it regards only foreigners at present, and only captains of ships are charged with the honour of being spies to the police (§ 2). Yet the machinery is organized, the principle is systematically admitted, and its provisions might be soon extended to natives, and the honour of *espionnage* communicated to drivers, coach proprietors, &c., by a simple process. Should any plausible reason present itself (quod Deus avertat) such as a foreign invasion, or a domestic rebellion, it would be very easy to show to a frightened parliament (and ministers well know how to frighten them) that it were better, even in accordance with sect. 16 of the actual act, that natives should be easily distinguished from foreigners. What harm can there be of any native carrying carefully wrapped up in his pocket a certificate (which now only foreigners are obliged to carry about under the penalty of twenty pounds for each omission), that he is an English born and bred subject? and why should not coach-proprietors, innkeepers, and the like, keep a register of all travellers? Would it not tend to strengthen government against the enemies of the country? No doubt it would: yet these apparently very simple and very innocent dispositions contain a perfect passport system. Wherever this blessing has been conferred, it has begun in this very manner,—precisely as in England; first with

of 50*l.* or six month's imprisonment, declare even the *age* of his or her master or mistress. We are ashamed of such laws being written in English.

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a law affecting foreigners only, then followed up by some very simple enactments respecting natives, which, being little by little enlarged by such clever hands as Fouché, Savary, Metternich, &c., have been reduced to a method, by which a state is a large prison for those who live in it; in which you cannot move without the government knowing and permitting it; from which you cannot go out without special leave being granted; and to which you cannot return without it being immediately seen what places you visited;—which affords you the comfort of being obliged, as often as any spy thinks it worth his while to give you annoyance, to give an account of yourself, and tell minutely why and wherefore you went to such or such places.

We do not mean to excite unnecessary alarm by holding up to the fancy imaginary evils. We do not pretend to say that what has happened in foreign countries will certainly take place in this, and still less do we say, that it will soon happen. We only wish to call the attention of our countrymen to the consequences which, in other countries, have followed the system now adopted here. Of these things it may be truly said, 'c'est le premier pas qui coute,' and to moral maladies more than to physical ones is the injunction applicable: *principiis obsta.* One thing is clear; that, with the new police and the alien act, we are more nearly approached to a system of despotic government, than we were when nothing of the kind existed. When the government had not a body of men at command, it could not abuse them; and we were further from a passport system when we did not ask papers from foreigners, nor force any upon them, than we are at present. It is very difficult to imagine the moral evil which may result from curtailing the share which the people of this country have hitherto had in their own government The *inscitia Reipublicæ, ut alienæ* must be the inevitable consequence of such an abridgment of the people's powers; and we cannot feel concerned for a constitution, the existence of which is indifferent to us. That government will not, and cannot abuse this police at present, we know very well; but it will be the more dangerous in future. It will cease to be looked upon with suspicion, and will, therefore, more easily be rendered mischievous, the more the people confide in its harmlessness.

Another extremely bad moral effect, likely to result from the institution of this government-police is, that it will tend to accustom the people to see persons, with an uniform, exercising a great power on the civilians. That kind of very reasonable and wholesome mistrust, which the people of this country have hitherto had for soldiers, will gradually wear away. Give an authority

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authority over the civilians to men in uniform, and soon the consequence will be inferred of the relative superiority and inferiority of the two classes. We are not afraid that a military despotism can be introduced in this country at present, but we wish that the dislike for every thing of the kind should be kept alive, rather than diminished, in the people. Here, also, our mania for imitating foreign customs has led us to adopt fashions which are quite at variance with the old English notions of liberty. We see soldiers and sentinels walking up and down before gates of public amusement or concourse, as if London were a fortress, or an ill-affected place. Soldiers attend the theatres, and the Hanover Rooms, as they do the British Museum. Of what use are they? Let us leave this display of power and strength to those governments, who know they have an enemy in each of their subjects, and who fear lest any public assembly should afford an opportunity for throwing off a detested yoke. It is said, that we must have soldiers escorting the sovereign and mounting guard at his palace, to keep up the due respect for royalty. We are not sure of that. At all events we know, that there is no sovereign on earth who needs less of this display of soldiery, both for his own safety and to command respect to his high station, than the king of England; for there is no sovereign on earth more loved or respected by his subjects than our own. It is no flattery to say, that he deserves his subjects' affection and reverence as much as, we are compelled to say, the greatest number of continental sovereigns deserve to be mistrusted and disliked by the people whom they rule.

We shall in conclusion observe, speaking of the moral effects which this new police is likely to have, that their continued and strict vigilance may put a stop to riots and quarrels, the number of the policemen being larger than that of constables, as is well known to the parishes who are to pay them; but they will, in proportion, tend to effeminate the people, and render them slavishly fearful of any government force, and consequently more easy a prey for a despot. A mob is always a very dangerous thing; but the desperate roughness of an English mob is proverbial, and justly so. This mob, however, would make a better stand, if properly directed, than any other in Europe, against those who would wish to tyrannize over them. Whenever the government, by a tyrannical police, has succeeded in subduing altogether the riotous spirit of the mob, tameness has been the greatest facilitator of tyrannical oppression. No police was ever more strict than that of Venice. One of the *sbirri dal zecchin*, (a kind of policeman), was enough to impose respect, and even

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silence, on a multitude; but it was a multitude of degraded slaves. *Malo periculosam libertatem, quam quietum servitium;* and we like better a bold, and daring population, than a very submissive one. It is observable how, in the legislations of free countries like ours, the crimes against persons (where unaccompanied by treachery or unfairness), are more slightly punished than they are in countries, which boast of a better criminal code than the English. But we extend the idea of *murder*, to many offences which are not so qualified by those laws; because our object is not to accustom the people to trust altogether to the police when they happen to be *fairly* knocked down, but to prevent this being done with unfair advantage. We are fully aware of the difference which there is between this and any other country; but we think that sooner or later the same causes would produce the same effects in this country which they did in others. Those, who so confidently place their hope in such a difference, ought to remember, that we owe it to those very laws, now superseded by foreign ones, which left to other countries no liberty, and scarcely the power of estimating the constitution under which this country has flourished. Our peculiar laws and manners inspired that vigour and strength in this nation, which surprised the world: animated by the pure English spirit of those laws and usages, we offered the *unique* spectacle in the annals of mankind, of a nation increasing in power and influence for so many ages, and, during the same time, struggling and conquering for her liberties at home. In the most critical moments the army did not forget that they were citizens, and joined the standard of liberty, as was done in the golden days of Rome. Had there existed a formidable mass of satellites of despotism, as the new police force must be, if extended over all England, unconnected with the country—directed by a minister—commanded by men, hired to obey blindly those who pay them —remunerated with taxes levied without the consent of the people—to whose avidity rewards and advancement are promised in proportion to their submissive and passive obedience, and who are necessarily taken from the lowest class of society:—Had such a force then existed, who knows what the consequences might have been? and who can guess what they may be in future? Then as to the press; who does not feel in how many ways its influence may be paralyzed? We know very well that *now* the liberty of the press is unbounded in this country; but we likewise know that there are laws which, if enforced (and this again depends on the general state of liberty in the country), would be more than enough

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to destroy in six weeks the best established journals. These pass away, but institutions still survive. Cæsar, as well as Augustus, did not take notice of libels directed against them, but how did things proceed, some ten or twelve years later? 'Carmina Bibuli, et Catulli, referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur. Sed ipse divus Julius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere; haud facile dixerim moderatione magis an sapientia; namque spreta exsolescunt; si irascare agnita videntur.' But in spite of all this, under Tiberius, Cordus was obliged to kill himself; and as for his works 'libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres.'

It is obvious, that with twenty thousand such satellites, under a minister, skilful, bold and enterprising, choosing well his time, and under a Sovereign disposed to support him with all his might, daring attempts might be made against the subject, if even unsucessfully, yet with a great chance of success. This is clear. Why should we then run the risk, and afford any minister possessing other requisite qualities, a temptation of trying a desperate game, by putting into his hands such a dangerous weapon as this new police?

The present number of policemen, we know, is too insignificant to excite any fear, even were circumstances favourable, and our ministers either so base or so foolish as to attempt anything against the Constitution. But it is against the principle that we contend. We dare say the new police will work well as far as keeping streets quiet, and perhaps even in preventing robberies,— all things considered, particularly the attention and powerful assistance which the Administration, which created it, will give to it. But if this new police should work thus well, it will be extended to all the rest of the country, and then the danger will be truly great. Yet there is a remedy to all this, and in the hands of the people themselves. If they use it well, the evil will not go further; and we hope ere long to see this embryo of an innovation so unconstitutional, crushed in its birth. Should the new police prosper, the people, and they only, are to be held responsible for the consequences. It is evident that this police will have an interest in shewing itself more diligent and successful than the old popular ones. There is but one remedy—*not to be outdone:* this remedy we implore the people to adopt. We cannot urge its adoption more strongly than in the words of a contemporay journal, hoping to witness the full effects which the following powerful recommendation is intended to produce:—

'Let, then, the parishes still unafflicted by this unconstitutional novelty take warning, that it is only by taking away all pretext from the

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the minister, they can hope finally to escape the visitation. Let them remodel or strengthen their police force as they may find necessary; and in doing this, let them not hesitate to adopt any change, consistent with constitutional principles, which seems to offer advantages.

'We regret to see that, in all the complaints of the gendarmerie which men are making, they dwell much more upon particular cases of misconduct or neglect than upon the odious principle of espionage, and the terrible weight of irresponsible power which make the establishment an object of dislike and fear to thinking men. This resting on details, when a principle more properly challenges a vigilant resistance, is a common but a fatal error. If we content ourselves with wrangling against the poor three-shilling constables, we shall soon find that we are rather assisting, than preventing, these real dangers?

'If the gendarmerie should prove, as doubtless it will, more efficient in preserving peace and order than the watch has been, why should not each parish have its own police force, modelled, if need be, after the gendarmerie, but divested of the two qualities which render that body a just object of dislike and alarm—namely, its enjoined duty of *espionage*, and its absolute *subjection* to the minister.

Let the experiment be tried by any one parish, and we doubt not in the least that it will be successful, and may tend to restore to the people a power which they have held since the days of Alfred, and which has been now wrested from their grasp.

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COUNT RABY—ABUSES IN HUNGARY.

Justizmord und Reigerungsgreuel in Ungarn und Oestreich, oder actenmässige Geschichte wegen Toleranz und Menschlichkeit in unsern Tagen schrecklich verfolgten Ungrischen Edlen Mann Raby von Raba und Maura. 2 Bände. Strasburg, 1797.

THE unheard of persecutions and sufferings which this patriotic nobleman was doomed to endure during a long and painful succession of years, being calculated to throw a light upon the internal state and administration of Hungary, that *terra incognita* of civilized Europe, we presume that a short sketch of his eventful public life, extracted from his Memoirs, published at Strasburg in 1796, will not prove uninteresting to our readers. The total lawlessness prevailing, according to his account, in a Christian country, and the striking instances of utter disregard shewn by the Hungarian administration to the best of sovereigns, as revealed in his narrative, are facts so unexampled, that it would be impossible to believe them, were they not substantiated by documents, the authenticity of which has never yet been questioned. When reading the account of his thorny public career, we clearly discover the causes that prevented that enlightened and patriotic emperor, Joseph II., from realizing the plan of reformation which he laboriously attempted. We are made acquainted with a powerful set of nobles and magistrates, who were strongly leagued to uphold a long established system of oppression, and to resist every attempt of their monarch to introduce the dominion of equity and justice, whenever it interfered with their despotism and extortion, and who were not ashamed of the commission of the most flagrant falsehoods, in order to serve their detestable purpose; and readers, living in a country, in which even the lowest subject enjoys the benefit of the protection of the law against the most powerful, will scarcely think it possible that there could have existed in Christian Europe, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a respectable nation that would have tamely submitted to such heinous excesses of a lawless aristocracy, as are detailed in the subsequent outlines of the Memoirs of Mr. de Raby. But, as the woeful tale of the persecutions which he suffered was published to the world at large, and the dignified monsters, who were the authors of them, unhesitatingly named by him, and publicly branded as peculators and traitors to their king and country, without any one of them having, to the present day, attempted to impeach his veracity, we are constrained to give full credit to his statement.

Mr. de Raby was born at Presburgh in 1752. His family derived its name from the Castle of Raby, situated at a small distance from Prague, in Bohemia. The miseries, attending the civil wars in that country had induced his ancestors to emigrate to Hungary, whose kings bestowed upon them considerable domains. Mr. de Raby being educated in one of the public institutions at Vienna, the emperor, Joseph II., took particular notice of him on a public visitation, and being highly pleased with his person, talents and acquirements, appointed him, in 1773, a clerk of the Hungarian exchequer. When the young de Raby waited upon that prince to thank him for his appointment, he was informed by him, that he would soon discover abuses of the most flagitious nature, and strongly enjoined to report them to his majesty. Mr. de Raby wanted very little penetration to find in a very short time, that he was associated with a set of public functionaries, who were not ashamed of robbing the treasury, purloining the public money, and oppressing

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oppressing the subjects in the most barbarous and merciless manner. He reported these crying disorders to the emperor, as by his oath he was bound to do. The consequence of this denunciation was a severe reproof from Joseph, who threatened the infliction of the most exemplary punishment, if the shameful abuses of which he had been informed were not instantly discontinued. The members of the Hungarian Exchequer, totally unused as they were to the control of superior authority, determined to seize the first occasion that should offer, for being revenged upon the informer, who soon discovered more flagrant instances of the delinquency of these public officers. Going one day at an unusual hour, attended by a servant, to the office, to search for some papers, he unexpectedly found the director of the department for the expedition of the rescripts issued by the treasury, busily employed in the store-room, where the writing materials of the office were kept, in packing up a variety of articles, which a couple of servants were to carry off in a handbarrow. These articles consisted of whole reams of writing-paper, sealing-wax, quills, wax-candles, sheets of parchment, &c., &c. 'What business have you here at this late hour of the day?' snarled the director at the unwelcome intruder. 'I am here on duty,' Mr. de Raby replied, 'But you, sir, do not seem to be here for any honourable purpose, the proofs of which are here before my eyes,' pointing at a large linen sheet, in which the servants had tied up the stolen articles. The director, as it afterwards appeared, had been carrying on this pilfering trade for a long time, having sent the stolen goods to the jews at a market-town in the vicinity of Presburg, where they sold them publicly. Mr. de Raby thought himself bound in duty to give information of his discovery to Baron Orczy, the vice-president of the exchequer. But this denunciation proved more fatal to himself, than to the delinquent. His chamber in the exchequer was, in his absence, opened by means of a master-key; a large quantity of writing-paper belonging to the office was smuggled into it, and himself, in his turn, charged with having robbed the store-room. Without trial he was deprived of his appointment; and when he complained to Baron Pfeffershofen, who had presided at the inquiry into the business, of the illegality of the proceeding, that nobleman had the coolness to reply: 'You are served justly, for it was no business of yours to inform against the director; the stolen effects not having been your property, you have rendered yourself guilty of a glaring act of insubordination, and are not fit to serve any longer in our office.' When Mr. de Raby declared he had done no more than conformed to his oath, he was told '*To go to the d—l with his oath, and be more discreet in future.*' Finding it impossible to obtain justice at Presburg, notwithstanding the notorious delinquency of his superiors, and his own equally well known innocence, he went to Vienna, to appeal in person to the Empress-queen Maria Theresa. Joseph II., recommending his case particularly to his august mother, an imperial decree was issued in 1779, to the Hungarian Exchequer, requiring that department to answer to its illegal and despotic proceeding.

After numerous consultations, a most calumnious report was at length returned to the sovereign; but Mr. de Raby proved his innocence so clearly, that a peremptory order was at length sent to Presburg, that he should, without delay, be reinstated in his former situation. This order was, however, so totally disregarded, that he was again obliged to repair to Vienna, and implore the protection of his sovereign. Joseph II. again advocated his cause with her Imperial Majesty, who made him a present of a gold snuff-box containing fifty ducats, and a valuable watch set with brilliants, telling him, 'My son, I am fully sensible of the loyal zeal with which you have endeavoured to perform your duty, and give you this, as an acknowledgment of

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of my approbation of your conduct. I have declared you to be capable of serving me again, and, in order to deliver you from any further connexion with those detestable officers of the Hungarian Exchequer, I give you leave to apply for a vacant place in my residence.' But Mr. de Raby, being fully aware how impossible it was for her majesty effectually to shield him against the future cabals and machinations of her Hungarian servants, returned to Hungary, firmly resolved to confine himself to the cultivation of his estate in that country. Shortly after his arrival, he was applied to by a widow lady of the name of Tanka, owing him a considerable sum of money, to protect her against the oppression of her brother-in-law, who, immediately after the decease of her husband, had entered her house with an armed force, whilst she was absent from home, broken open her chests and drawers, demolished her furniture, and carried off every valuable which he could find, and, amongst others, all her family papers. She was even in hourly danger of being driven by him from her family seat. Mr. de Raby advocated her cause at Vienna with great success, and eventually compelled her rapacious relative to make a complete restitution to her, an event which was unheard of in Hungary, and greatly increased the number of his enemies. Notwithstanding the personal interference of Joseph II., he was less successful in his defence of another widow, who, with her orphan children, was stripped of all she possessed, and reduced to absolute beggary. The character of Mr. de Raby had been so grossly traduced by the judges of his unfortunate client, in the course of the lawsuit, that it was impossible for him to suffer matters to rest there. He went, therefore, to Vienna to obtain from the emperor an order for a new trial before an impartial court. The sovereign exhorted him to patience, pledging himself, however, that he would see justice done to his protegée, charging him, at the same time, with a commission that could not but render his enemies more inveterate. Going to his house at Tirna for some documents, he found, to his utter amazement, that it had been broken open by the local authorities, in virtue of a forged order from the emperor. Mr. de Raby prosecuted them for this daring and flagrant breach of the most sacred laws, but could obtain no satisfaction, notwithstanding the repeated commands of the emperor, urging the strictest inquiry into the particulars of that heinous offence, and was at last obliged to stay all further legal proceedings, having been robbed of a large chest containing the documents on which they were founded.

The high opinion entertained by Joseph II. of Mr. de Raby's talents, patriotism, and incorruptible loyalty, unfortunately became the main source of all the subsequent persecutions which repeatedly reduced him to the brink of despair. The inhabitants of St. André, a market-town appertaining to the royal domains of the king of Hungary, had complained to the emperor of the vexations and trying exactions which they had to suffer from their magistrates, and petitioned that their public accounts for the last twenty-five years might be examined. The emperor commissioned Mr. de Raby to inquire into the truth of their complaints. Previously to entering into a detail of this investigation, he gives an account of the political and ecclesiastical state of Hungary, of which we shall select the following striking particulars:—Hungary, though commonly considered a monarchy, is, in fact, an aristocracy, under a head of a very limited power. The king is the greatest landowner in the country; there is not, however, a single nobleman more grossly imposed upon and cheated than he. Even of the produce of the regalia, exclusively belonging to him, one half only, at most, finds its way into his treasury. The great number of inferior officers renders it extremely difficult to detect the frauds, which they commit the more impudently, as they cannot be ignorant of the robberies of which their superiors are guilty. The

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king is, indeed, entitled to issue such orders as are not contrary to the constitution, but the states never hesitate to throw them under the table, whenever they clash with their own interest. The nobility and clergy, in fact, exclusively compose the nation; the citizens being held in very little estimation and the country-people entirely disregarded. The palatine is nominally considered the second person after the king, but virtually subordinate to the Archbishop of Gran. This prelate possesses the privilege of granting letters-patent of nobility, which, however, must be countersigned by the king. A nobleman, when distress is to be levied on his property, may oppose the execution of the sentence of the law at the head of his people, armed with sabres and pistols, and thus *virtually* protest against it. If the defendant be a lady, she uses a cane instead of a sabre. This opposition having been made, the lawsuit is commenced *de novo*, and thus may be perpetuated for ages. Should the nobleman, in consequence of the superior power of his adversary, be driven from his estate, or because he was sick or absent at the time of seizure, he avails himself of the first convenient opportunity to surprise his antagonist with an armed force, and thus regains what had been legally taken from him. These reciprocal seizures being commonly effected at night, we may suppose that they must be frequently attended with flagrant excesses. The plebeians are kept in better order; far from being allowed to oppose the execution of the sentence of the courts of justice, they are not even permitted to appeal to the throne, this being considered a crime against the constitution of the country. Entire communities, rendering themselves guilty of such a crime, are driven together by the militia, when from forty to fifty of them are severely scourged in public, to convince them of their being in the wrong. There are many courts of justice in Hungary, but few plaintiffs know to which of them they are to apply; nay, the lawyers themselves are sometimes ignorant of it. Every lord of a manor possesses the power of adjudging capital punishment. Bribery is so common, even in all the superior courts of justice, and perpretrated so barefacedly, that it would appear to be a matter of course. The most respectable man cannot flatter himself that he shall obtain justice, let his cause be ever so clear, if he cannot add weight to his arguments by a few rolls of ducats. The litigating parties outbid each other, fully persuaded that money will make the judges propitious to them. The amount of the bribes is regularly shared among the different officers of the court of justice, in proportion to the influence they derive from their respective situations.

To judge from Mr. de Raby's documentary account of the administration of justice in Hungary, it seems that the laws were framed exclusively for the benefit of the nobility and clergy. All public posts are in the possession of these two classes. The same crime, for which a plebeian is punished capitally, is compensated by a fine, if committed by a nobleman, or an ecclesiastic, if it cannot be otherwise hushed up. Even the commission of murder can by them be atoned for in this way; and the highest punishment inflicted for it upon a nobleman, is a short imprisonment. Plebeians purloining the property of another are hanged without ceremony; whereas the nobility rob and pilfer publicly with impunity, unless they should have injured the property of one of their own caste. Widows and orphans are most frequently exposed to depredations, because they are least able to resist them. What renders the obtainment of justice still more difficult are the enormous fees that must be paid by the parties, and the facility with which a cause can be transferred from one court to another. The Roman catholic religion is still predominant in Hungary, although the law directs that the numerous protestants should enjoy the same privileges as their Roman catholic fellow-subjects. The Wallachians, and Russians, who are settled in great numbers in Hungary,

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Hungary, are, in fact, of the Greek profession, but, under the denomination of united Greeks, have incorporated themselves with the Roman catholic church. They have, however, bishops of their own, who are subordinate to the Archbishop of Gran, and acknowledge the Pope's supremacy. Their priests are allowed to marry, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under both forms. Joseph II. ardently desired to remedy the rooted defects which undermined the prosperity of his subjects in general, and particularly wished to realize his humane plans in Hungary; but every new regulation which he attempted to introduce in that country, however salutary and necessary, was, by the nobility and clergy, obstinately opposed, as an infringement of their constitution.

But let us return to Mr. de Raby's account of himself. In consequence of the emperor's orders, he went, in 1784, to Ofen, and thence to St. André, in order to come to a proper understanding with that community, whose cause he was to advocate, and to procure the requisite documents. St. André is a large market-town, pleasantly situated on the Danube, at a small distance from Ofen and Waizen, and has a population of more than a thousand souls. When Mr. de Raby inquired into the state of the exchequer of that community, sixty thousand florins had been paid into it; but he found it completely empty, and the magistrates totally incapable of giving a satisfactory account of the manner in which the money had been disposed of, and, besides, was informed, that it was burthened with a debt of forty-eight thousand florins. Mr. de Raby ascertained that the magistrates had divided among themselves the major part of these sums, and employed the rest to bribe the court that might have called them to account. Mr. de Raby having reported these particulars to the emperor, the lord-lieutenant of the county to which St. André belongs was ordered to form a committee of impartial persons, to scrutinize this matter more closely. Whereupon de Raby repaired to Tirna, for the necessary papers, when he, as before-mentioned, found his house broken open by public authority, and stripped of every thing valuable. Persons being appointed to assist him in the examination of this crying infringement of all the laws of justice, who had themselves had a share in the booty, he was continually harassed by them, and such malicious attempts were made to ruin his character, that he found himself necessitated to repair to Vienna for redress and protection. Two new orders were now issued by the supreme court at Vienna, to the lord-lieutenant and the magistrates, enjoining them not to injure Mr. de Raby's person and property, and to forward, as much as possible, the execution of his commission. In spite of all the cabals of the commissioners, and of all the obstacles which they threw in his way, the most shameful dilapidations, the most exorbitant extortions, and the most disgraceful briberies were proved; nevertheless the committee reported to the Hungarian chancery at Vienna, *that the accounts of St. André, for the last ten years, had been examined and found to be correct.* Mr. de Raby, who, in the mean time, had gone to Vienna, was ordered to repair, within eight days, to Pesth, and to verify his report before the assessor. When he arrived there, he found that that magistrate had gone to Vienna, and desired him to await his return. Whilst he was waiting for him, he discovered that the magistrates of St. André had accumulated, by means of extortion and peculation, a private chest of more than eighty thousand florins, which served them chiefly as a fund, out of which they bribed the superior courts. New endeavours were now made to remove him from the committee of inquiry, and a large bribe was offered him, if he would resign his appointment. The firmness with which he still maintained his ground, irritated his antagonists almost to madness. They threatened to

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send him to the house of correction, and had him watched by an armed banditti, who were to take away his life, and would undoubtedly have gained their end, had he not been guarded day and night by persons appointed by the community of St. André. Mr. de Raby having sent three thousand ducats, with which they had attempted to bribe him, to the emperor, to be distributed among the poor of Vienna, his enemies contrived to have poison administered to him. On his sending for medical assistance, none of the physicians of the neighbourhood thought himself at liberty to attend him; and had not a physician of another district been prevailed upon, after the lapse of twenty-four hours, to administer an antidote, he must have fallen a victim to the villainy of his adversaries. Having lingered more than ten weeks, he partially recovered, but never could regain his former health. Mr. de Raby, seeing that the vexations of the corrupt authorities with whom he had to deal, would never allow him to realize the emperor's intention, went again to Vienna, though not quite recovered from the late attempt at poisoning him. Almost immediately after his arrival at Vienna, he was informed that his enemies had accused him of bigamy, and of having robbed and murdered a jew on the highway; and had requested that he should be imprisoned immediately on his return. He laid this information before the emperor, humbly imploring him to release him from the execution of the perilous commission with which he was charged. But his prayer was again rejected; the emperor, repeating his solemn promise of the most effective protection, providing him with a new letter of safe-conduct, and ordering him to deliver to Count Niczky a written declaration of his grievances, in order to enable that nobleman the more speedily and effectually to remove all obstacles that might be thrown in his way. But that personage received him with threatening looks, pretending to be astonished to see him at Vienna, when his commission required him to be at Ofen, and commanded him, on pain of exemplary punishment, to repair forthwith to his post. Having informed the emperor of this unexpected reception, and received repeated assurances of his sovereign's protection, he went to St. André. He met, however, again with such insurmountable obstacles, and was annoyed so intolerably, that he found himself once more necessitated to apply for the sovereign's interference, proving to him, in the most satisfactory manner, that both the magistrates of St. André, and the persons associated with him in the inquiry, were guilty of numerous public and private offences and crimes, and imploring him to give positive orders for a speedy termination of the investigation. The lord-lieutenant of the district now received a peremptory command to account for the causes of the remissness with which it had been carried on hitherto, and to appoint new and careful commissioners. But this command was not attended to; nay, Mr. de Raby was summoned by the authorities of Pesth to defend himself against the charge of having officiously meddled with public affairs, and threatened that coercive means would be employed to prevent a like interference in future. Mr. de Raby now drew up a statement of these despotic proceedings; but scarcely had the spies of his enemies discovered that he had put a parcel for Vienna into the post-office at Ofen, when it was resolved that he should be sent to prison as a rebel against the Hungarian administration. Accordingly he was taken up by their satellites, and carried to Pesth. On his arrival there, at the office of the Comitate, he was completely stripped of every thing he had about him; he then was chained cross-ways, and confined, along with eighteen highwaymen, murderers, and other felons, in a dungeon only nine feet by six, where he had the naked stone pavement for his couch. In a short time his body swarmed with nauseous vermin. The heat and stench of the small den, in which so many

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many ill-fed and unclean prisoners were cooped up, almost suffocated him, and their being compelled to make use of a vessel in common, infected the air to an insufferable degree. His sight grew dim, his head giddy, and his breathing difficult; he was scarcely able to stand; and, on the third day, was seized with a violent vomiting of blood. In this dreadful state, in which he was kept eleven days, he received no other sustenance than bread and water. To render his situation worse, he was again loaded with heavy irons, and dragged into a narrow, damp dungeon, inaccessible to every ray of light, where his lamentations could reach no human ear. All hopes of deliverance seemed now to have disappeared—all means of application to the emperor completely wrested from him. But Providence had ordained it otherwise: after a confinement of six hours, he was, through the interference of Baron Orezy, removed to the nobility-prison, where he was locked up in a strong room, and left to his solitary meditations. He was every day, for a month, criminally examined; the pettiest annoyances were employed to render his imprisonment more severely felt. A friend having sent him a bird, to afford him some amusement in his dreary cell, he found his little companion suspended lifeless to the grate of his dungeon, as he was one day returning from the court of inquiry. Another bird, which was sent him, shared the same fate in his absence. Then he contrived to tame a mouse, which amused him by gambolling familiarly about him, and readily obeying his calls; but this fared no better, being poisoned by his diabolical tormentors. Count Maylath, the president of the court of inquiry, spared no pains to gratify the malice of his persecutors, proposing a great number of insidious interrogatories to insnare him. Being at length completely wearied out by such proceedings, he declared to the president, that, seeing there was not the least hope of obtaining justice at the hands of his self-created judges, he committed his cause to the Supreme Judge of the world, being resolved to abstain from all further denunciations to the emperor, and protested that he had not accepted, from any selfish view, the commission with which he had been charged by his sovereign, but, in executing his command, had sacrificed a great part of his fortune. This declaration was, however, of no use to him, his fetters being exchanged for heavier ones, and his treatment rendered still more intolerable. In this desponding situation, he learned that the emperor had arrived at the encampment near Pesth, within a small distance of the place of his captivity, and he contrived to send off two petitions, but received no answer. His clients now presented a memorial in his behalf to the monarch, signed by more than a hundred respectable inhabitants, praying that he would vouchsafe to order the prisoner to be set at liberty, and pledging their lives and fortunes for his innocence. Closely as he was guarded, he was, nevertheless, informed of all that was passing, by some servants of the court, who were partly prompted by humanity, and partly gained over by large bribes, to assist him. They provided him with writing materials, took his letters to the post-office, and brought him receipts of their delivery, receiving for each letter fifty ducats. The gaoler's servants, being suspected of having assisted him, were severely flogged and put in heavy irons. Several of them were shockingly maltreated. The emperor, who had been made to believe that Mr. de Raby had been long ago liberated, was highly surprised when he learned that none of his commands had been regarded. He ordered Count Niczky to appear before him, reprimanding him severely for having repeatedly deceived him, commanded him, on pain of being cashiered, to liberate Mr. de Raby, without further delay, and an order was now issued for his discharge, but to no effect. Some unknown persons were bribed to persuade him to make his escape, offering him their aid, but

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but he gave their anonymous notes to the keeper of the prison. His judges, being determined not to admit their being in the wrong, could not resolve to liberate him in a legal way. They besides apprehended that, if he should recover his liberty in the regular form, some serious consequences to themselves might result from it. More irons were put upon him, and his allowance, which had been ten kreuzers (six and a half drs.) a day, was, at first, reduced to seven, and, at last, to four kreuzers (one and a quarter dr.). Count Maylath repeated his captious interrogatories, and the prisoner was frequently kept standing, heavily chained, till one o'clock in the morning. All attempts to ensnare him having proved abortive, he expected every hour that he should be discharged, but was ordered again for examination. Being very ill from a violent vomiting of blood, and nearly deprived of the power of motion, from want of exercise, whilst the weather was excessively cold, he begged to be excused attending the court, and obtained leave to have his cell warmed three times a day. The order, issued for that purpose, was, however, executed so over-zealously, that the stove of his cell was cracked in several places, and the suffocating heat greatly aggravated his misery. Nevertheless he gradually recovered. One night, being fast asleep, he was suddenly roused by the appearance of twenty-four fellows in Turkish garments, having their faces covered with black crape, and being armed with muskets, pistols, and long knives. They pretended to have been sent by the community of St. André and the emperor, to deliver him from captivity, threatening him with instant death if he refused to follow them. Upon his declining to avail himself of their assistance, they dragged him from his couch, knocked off his fetters, and carried him, unopposed by the numerous guards that were in the prison-yard, to the bank of the Danube, where a vessel was in waiting to receive him and his pretended liberators. Having rowed their boat across the river, they placed him into a carriage with three of his conductors, and he soon perceived that he was on the road to Vienna. Ill, and thinly clad, as he was, the piercing air of a cold December night made him apprehend that he should die on the road. The rest of his conductors were following him on horseback, dropping off one by one, and only two of those that were with him in the carriage, staid with him on the second stage, where they changed their dress, allowing him to enjoy the benefit of a short sleep. They pretended to be inhabitants of St. André, compelled him to put on a female dress, forcing upon him thirty florins, and attended him to Vienna. In the morning preceding Mr. de Raby's abduction, the authorities, pretending to be completely ignorant of this singular transaction, sent a requisition to the police of Ofen and Pesth, to arrest the prisoner as a rebel, who had escaped, and to confine him closely. A *posse comitatus*, consisting of Hussars and Haiduks, was sent in pursuit after him, whilst all the property he had at St. André was, for the third time, forcibly carried off. Not a single article of apparel was left behind by these legalized robbers. After a search of three days, in such places where it was known he would not be found, warrants for seizing him were despatched all over Hungary. He reached Vienna in safety. On his application to the police of that city, to arrest his two conductors, the officers despatched after them were so slow as to give them full opportunity to effect their escape. Mr. de Raby now presented himself in his female disguise to the emperor, informing him of all the cruelties he had been made to suffer, as well as the mysterious manner of his forcible liberation. However the members of the Hungarian chancery pretended he had attempted to seduce the country-people to insurrection, and escaped from prison, where he had been confined for high-treason. The Counts Nicsky and Maylath went to Vienna, to give weight to this charge by their verbal testimony and

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and official authority. The emperor, being informed that the fellows who had abducted Mr. de Raby from prison, had been arrested in Hungary, he ordered them to be sent to Vienna, to be confronted with him. But compliance with this order was refused, on the plea that this was contrary to the Hungarian constitution. His majesty, therefore, sent Mr. de Raby to Ofen, attended by two commissaries of the police of Vienna, where he was to be interrogated by the director of the police of that town, in the presence of the magistrates. But the director declared, he could not conform with the emperor's command, as he was bound to obey the instructions of the local authorities, by whom he was ordered to deliver up Mr. de Raby. Count Niczky replied to the protest of the Vienna commissaries, that *the emperor had the command at Vienna, but himself in Hungary.*

Accordingly, Mr. de Raby was, in the presence of the imperial commissaries, stripped of his money and papers, cross-chained, and thrown into a damp dungeon, where he was suffered to lie all night on the bare brick-floor. The Vienna commissaries, desiring to see the prisoner the next morning, were told that he had been suddenly seized with a contagious distemper, and being obstinately denied an interview with him, demanded a certificate of their having safely delivered him to the police of Ofen, and departed immediately for Vienna, to inform the emperor of what they had witnessed. The next morning, Mr. de Raby, loaded as he was with ponderous fetters, was dragged by six Haiduks before the criminal tribunal, and examined respecting his alleged escape from prison. He faithfully related how the affair had happened, referring his judges for the confirmation of his deposition to the testimony of the two persons who had attended him to Vienna. Sipos, the first of them that was brought up for examination, hesitated a long while before he would speak, and when urged to confess, he began to tremble, wrung his hands, and declared at length he was afraid to say what he knew of the business. Being encouraged by one of the assessors of the court, he at last deposed that himself and his comrades had disguised themselves in the apartment of the keeper of the prison, by the order of the authorities. Mr. de Raby rejoiced at this declaration, exclaiming that his innocence now was as clear as the noonday sun; when his judges bade him be silent, clamorously accusing him of sedition, and of having encouraged the people of St. André to rebellion. The deposition of the witness was declared to be a barefaced falsehood, and the poor fellow was ordered to be severely flogged, put in irons, and sent to gaol, for having dared to impose upon the court. The second witness, having been properly tutored before he appeared in court, declared he had been on guard before the prison door, when Mr. de Raby was missed, but had neither seen nor heard anything of him; the wife of one of his comrades had, however, informed him, she had seen the prisoner fly out of the window of his prison with a thundering noise, at daybreak. This deposition, absurd as it was, was highly applauded and rewarded. Mr. de Raby now was declared to be a conjurer, and loaded with the vilest epithets. The final result of this examination was the sentence, that, being fully convicted of the abominable practice of the black art; of having excited his Majesty's subjects to rebellion; and of the commission of divers other crimes, he had forfeited his life, and must prepare for execution. The locksmith of the place was sent for, Mr. de Raby was stretched out upon the floor, and the locksmith ordered to rivet a set of ponderous chains round his legs. He then was ordered to go down stairs, but was so much exhausted, that the gaolor's men were obliged to support him; and before he had descended to the first floor, his heavy fetters had so much chafed his legs, covered only with a pair of thin silk pantaloons, that every step he took

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took was marked with his blood, which profusely trickled down from his lacerated limbs. The dungeon in which he was confined, was a damp and cold hole, secured by double iron doors, with a window not broader than a span, and rendered almost impenetrable to light and air by a treble iron grating. His irons were riveted so short to the wall, that he could neither move a single step, nor stand upright upon his legs, but was compelled to lie day and night upon a kind of pallet covered with straw. At his head was placed a pail of water, covered with a rind of ice, and some coarse bread, and at his feet an utensil, the sight of which was sufficient to spoil the keenest appetite. In this dreadful situation he apprehended he should be left to pine until released by death; yet, confidently as his barbarous judges had counted upon his being completely cut off from all human intercourse, and from the possibility of communicating his miserable state to his sovereign, his oppressed clients were too deeply interested in his fate, not to have attempted all possible means likely to effect his enlargement. The original cause of his sufferings was so generally known, that many persons who never had been connected with him before, warmly sympathized with his sufferings, and endeavoured to render them less painful. The large rewards they held out to those that would undertake to assist them in succouring Mr. de Raby, tempted several persons to run the greatest risk to afford him relief. He was put in possession of writing materials, and enjoined to lose no time in applying to the emperor for his protection. Difficult as the task of writing was in his situation, on account of his arms being double chained, he contrived at last to compose a memorial to the emperor, in which he informed him of the deplorable consequences of the zeal with which he had laboured to execute his commands, conjuring him to save him from utter ruin. This paper was, by his unknown protectors, immediately forwarded to Vienna, and his oppressors were thunderstruck when the lord-lieutenant unexpectedly received a peremptory order from the sovereign, forthwith to liberate him, and to report who were the authors of the unjust and ignominious treatment Mr. de Raby had complained of to him, in order that they might be brought to condign punishment. This order was, likewise, so completely disregarded, that, instead of affording him protection, it rendered his situation worse than it ever had been. The Comitate pronounced sentence of death against him, which was, however, annulled by the emperor, but renewed five times by his implacable enemies, although they had been peremptorily ordered to set him at liberty without any further delay. The only advantage he derived from the repeated cassation of his sentence, was his being indulged with warm victuals, bread unmixed with chopped straw, and a blanket to warm his frozen limbs. His protest against the fourth reiteration of his sentence of death, he was obliged to write with his blood, for want of ink. According to the last sentence of the court, he was to be imprisoned in chains for the term of ten years, in a subterraneous dungeon, and every three months to receive twenty-five stripes, and to stand in the pillory at St. André and Pesth. Now his allowance was reduced to bread and water. At length the emperor did what he ought to have done a twelvemonth sooner, in a country in which the tribunals most shamefully abused the privileges of the nobility; he declared, that if Mr. de Raby were not set at liberty immediately, he would cause him to be liberated by military force. Any further caballing appearing to be of no avail against that measure, his fetters were knocked off, and he was informed he was at liberty to go whither he chose. Thus he had languished in chains from February 1787 to July 1789, treated like a felon, and now was discharged without the benefit of a purifying sentence, for a copy of which he made repeated, but

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but fruitless applications. He recovered, but slowly, his health, which had been severely injured by the rigour of his long confinement, and was not before the 10th of August, 1789, able to report to the emperor the manner in which his late mandate had been executed, informing him at the same time, that his arbitrary judges had insinuated to him, during his captivity, three forged imperial orders. The emperor being confined by illness at Laxenburgh, when his report arrived at Vienna, it unfortunately was delivered at the Hungarian chancery, and left unnoticed. The vintage being at hand, Mr. de Raby went to St. André, where he owned a house and several vine yards; but, on his arrival, was informed on the part of the chief magistrate, that he must quit the territory of Pesth within three hours, on pain of being sent to prison, as he might not expect ever to regain possession of his late property in it. His house being locked against him, he applied for a lodging at several public-houses; but no publican would take him in, which obliged him to stay with a poor nobleman of the town, who, in consequence of his hospitality, received a severe flogging in the market-place. Learning that the emperor was dangerously ill, he hastened to Vienna. On the 7th of October he was admitted to an audience of the monarch, who compassionately listened to the account of the numerous and grievous wrongs he had suffered, ordered him to repair to Ofen and tell the president of the court of lord-lieutenancy, that he commanded him to aid him in his endeavours to obtain redress. But that nobleman refused to admit him, and Mr. de Raby was advised by some friends, to make his escape with all possible expedition, as an order for his detention was preparing, which made him return to St. André without delay. Learning, soon after his arrival, that he had been outlawed, and a price of two thousand florins set on his head, he fled to Vienna, where he arrived, only to be more deeply afflicted than at any former period, by the death of his august protector, Joseph II. Before Leopold II. was crowned king of Hungary, Mr. de Raby could not expect to derive from his protection, the least furtherance of his cause in that country. The Hungarian states required of that prince, that he, previously to his coronation, should annul all regulations and innovations introduced by his predecessor. The firmness with which he resisted this unjust demand protracting that solemn act a long time, Mr. de Raby presented, February 28th, 1791, to the Archduke Francis, a memorial, in which he stated all his grievances, requesting him to recommend him to the protection of his imperial brother, who was already partially acquainted with his case. The day following he presented a similar memoir to the emperor, who, having looked at it, started from his seat, and said:—'Are you that honest man who has sacrificed his property and blood for the benefit of the State? I am glad to see you.' He then solemnly pledged himself that he would procure him ample satisfaction, and dismissed him most graciously. However, the Hungarian chancery contrived, by means of a variety of tergiversations and artifices, to procrastinate the adjustment of Mr. de Raby's concerns from time to time, and Leopold II. died before redress could be obtained. Francis II., who succeeded him on the imperial throne, having patronised him so generously when Archduke of Austria, he justly expected that his affairs would be taken up more vigorously. Neither was he altogether disappointed in his expectations, as far as they rested on the *good will* of the emperor, who declared to the president of the committee of inquiry, that he was ready to do anything that could tend to retrieve the honour of that oppressed patriot, and indemnify him for his past sufferings. The result of this new investigation was a declaration of the commissioners, that he had been falsely accused, and that a justification

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fication of his character should be inserted in the public papers. This sentence being laid before the council of state, the members of which could not, as courtiers, refuse their assent, one of them had the courage to confirm the decree of the Aulic committee by his manual signature, observing, however, *that it was not advisable in the then revolutionary times, to divulge matters of so scandalous a nature.* But here the matter rested, the majority of the counsellors of state declining to have anything to do with it. In vain did Mr. de Raby inquire in the imperial cabinet after the progress of his case, and when he solicited the emperor to use his authority to bring it to a speedy conclusion, he was referred by Francis, who was just going to join the army, to his brother Leopold Alexander, the Palatine of Hungary; but that prince said to him, on his application, '*You must needs appear to have committed a mistake, because the public are not to be informed, that in the district of Pesth, where I, in the capacity of Palatine, am the first magistrate, officers are appointed that perpetrate the greatest crimes and rogueries.*' Soon after this unpropitious interview, the prince died. New persecutions being commenced against Mr. de Raby, he applied once more to the emperor, on his return from the army, and was thunderstruck, when that monarch said to him—'*I pity you from the bottom of my heart, because I cannot save you—they are going to confine you again.*' Not long after, he was, with the emperor's connivance, banished to his native place, and strictly enjoined to trouble the sovereign or any of the courts of justice no more with his concerns. His friends, apprehending that he should be dragged to Hungary by the police, whose secret spies were watching all his steps, urged him to save himself by flight, and having provided him with a disguise, a purse filled with ducats, and a postchaise, he set off, travelling day and night, and safely arrived at Passau, June 3, 1796. Thinking it indispensable for the vindication of his character, that the public at large should be made fully acquainted with the history of his persecution, he drew up a written account of it, but could not in any of the German countries procure a publisher, the liberty of the press being at that time very limited all over Germany. In the vicinity of Ulm he was made prisoner by a French foraging party, and taken to General Laroche, to whom he gave a circumstantial account of the numerous acts of oppression that had made him quit his native country. Mentioning to him that he intended to publish a justificatory statement of the unheard of injuries he had suffered, but could not procure a publisher, he was advised by him to go to Strasburg, where he would be at full liberty to do it, and furnished him with the following passport: 'Citizen Matthias Raby, of Raba and Maura, in Hungary, is permitted to proceed to Strasburg, and there to seek all the aid and support he deserves, having quitted his native country for the purpose of saving himself from the acts of tyranny and persecution to which he was exposed there, on account of his patriotic principles.' At Strasburg he was most liberally supported by a great number of literary gentlemen and persons of fortune and influence, who enabled him to publish the Memoirs from which we have made this extract, and which he concludes as follows:—'Should my enemies and judges think themselves capable of vindication, I call upon them, thus publicly, to do it within a twelvemonth. Let them produce their proofs before all Europe. The public opinion will judge between us. Their personal persecutions can affect me no more; their police-officers, poison-mongers, and executioners, cannot reach me here. Should my confession disgrace them, they will be sensible that by the most shameful abuse of the administration of justice they have incurred the censure of their fellow-citizens.'

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SHORT REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Euripidis Tragoediæ et Fragmenta. Recensuit Augustus Matthiæ, vol. ix. Leipsig, 1829, pp. 474.

The valuable labours of Mr. Matthiæ on the remains of Euripides are completed in the volume at the head of our Article, which forms, perhaps, the most valuable part of his Edition. The notes of this Editor are estimable rather from the diligence with which the opinions and conjectures of others are collected, and the judgment with which these are weighed, than from any novelty, in the way either of interpretation or emendation, which they contain. In a recension of the text of the extant tragedies, which owe so much to the extraordinary acuteness and ingenuity of Porson, and the happy boldness of Elmsley, Mr. Matthiæ's qualities could not be so usefully employed; but in editing the fragments, which remained in a state very unworthy of the present advanced stage of classical learning, scattered as these were through numerous authors, and emended piece-meal by more numerous critics, the industry and fidelity of Mr. Matthiæ found a more appropriate field. With a diligence which cannot be sufficiently praised, he has compared all the passages in which fragments of Euripides are cited, in the principal editions, and extracted the verses, with all the context that throws any light on the quotation, and the most remarkable various readings. He has then, by collecting together the fragments of each play, (whenever its name can be ascertained) sought to obtain a notion of the plot, which in the less well-known portions of mythological story, is sufficiently illustrated from the Grammarians and Writers on Mythology. In most cases, however, it happens that a very imperfect notion of the disposition of the piece can be obtained, as a large portion of the fragments consists of moral sentences, frequently preserved in Stobæus, which can throw none, or at most a very dim light, on the characters, action, or place, of the drama. Next follow the fragments which are ascribed *nominatim* to Euripides, but without any mention of the particular play. Of these Mr. Matthiæ's Edition reckons 276; but the real number is not so great, as the order of Musgrave's edition being preserved, many which appear in his collection are either referred to particular tragedies, or rejected on other grounds. Next come the Fragments which by some writers are ascribed to Euripides, by some to other poets, twenty-two in number. Last of all are the 'doubtful fragments,' *i. e.* fragments which are cited without any name, but are conjectured to belong to Euripides; these amount to forty-four.

The corrected list of the lost plays of Euripides, given by Mr. Matthiæ, contains fifty-seven or fifty-eight names; which, with the eighteen extant, makes a sum of seventy-five or seventy-six. This agrees so nearly with the numbers stated by Suidas, and the author of the life of this poet published by Dr. Elmsley—seventy-five, seventy-seven, and seventy-eight—that we are probably in possession of the name, at least, of every play written by Euripides.

Our readers will not suspect us of any intention of regularly going through the fragments of each of these fifty-seven plays, or of stating the plot, and examining the remains, of each drama, from the Aegeus to the Xantriæ. We must content ourselves with choosing, almost at random, a few of the flowers of this poetical collection.

Acolus,

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Acolus, fragment 15.

γυναῖκα δ' ὅστις παύσεται λέγων κακῶς,
δύστηνος ἄρα νοὺ σοφὸς κεκλήσεται.

If the second word in the second line is correct, it should be written ἄρα; but we suspect some corruption.

Alcmæon ὁ διὰ Ψωφῖδος, fragment 1.

μάλιστα μὲν μ' ἐπῆρ' ἐσισκήψας πατήρ.

Mr. Matthiæ, who seems to have a lurking tenderness for anapests, prints ἐπῆρεν.

Alcmæon ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου, fragment 6.

φίλε φίλε πρόβατε μόλε τηνῖ· ὁ δὲ σποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος Κορίνθιος ἵμολε ἀγχίαλος.

These corrupt words Mr. Hermann emends thus:

φίλαι, φίλαι πρόβατε, μόλεσθ' τίς ὅδε, ποδαπὸς ὁ ξένος Κορινθίοις ἵμολεν ἀγχίαλος.

Antigone, fragment 14.

Μὴ οὖν θέλε λυπεῖν σαυτὸν εἰδὼς ὅτι πολλάκις
τὸ λυπεῖν ὕστερον χαρὰν ἄγει.

One MS. has εἰδὼς τοῦθ' ὅτι. Mr. Hermann corrects,

μή νυν θέλε
λυπεῖν σαυτὸν, τοῦτό γ' ἰξειδὼς, ὅτι
πολλοῖς τὸ λυπεῖν ὕστερον χαρὰν ἔχει.

Antiope, fragment 20.

Κἀπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται
νίμων τὸ πλεῖστον ἡμέρας τούτῳ μέρος,
ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνῃ βέλτιστος ὤν.

These lines are also quoted by Aristotle, Rhet. l. 11. 28. where the second verse is written thus, νίμων ἐπάστης ἡμέρας πλεῖστον μέρος; and in the last line the best MS. of the Rhetoric has τυγχάνει, which, notwithstanding Mr. Matthiæ's defence, appears to be without doubt the right mood.

Ib. fragment 44.

οὐδ' εὐτυχῆ τὸ πάμπαν οὔτε δυστυχῆ

Read οὔτ' εὐτυχῆ.

Bellerophon, fragment 8, from Stobæus.

Ἀνὴρ δὲ χρηστὸς χρηστὸν οὐ μισεῖ ποτε
κακῷ κακός τι συντίθησιν ἡδονῆς.

The second verse occurs as the 107th fragment from an uncertain tragedy, quoted by Aristotle in this manner, κακὸς κακῷ γὰρ σύντιθησιν ἡδονῆ.

Cressæ, fragment 13.

μόσχων τίρεινα σάρκις χωρία τε δαΐς.

Mr. Matthiæ does not mention the certain emendation of Porson, μόσχων τι σαρξὶ τίρεινα. See Porson's Tracts, p. 246.

The long fragment of the Danaë, first published by Commelinus, is rightly pronounced by Mr. Matthiæ to be spurious, on the authority of Jacobs, Elmsley, and other critics. Many errors both of syntax and prosody are pointed out, to which Mr. Matthiæ might have added, v. 3, Ἀκρίσιος ἴλιηχιν, τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς, the metre of which is comic, not tragic.

We will transcribe the beautiful eulogium of Euripides on his native country (Erecth. p. 172,) as emended by Mr. Hermann, without offering any apology, as those who have *not* read the lines, must read them with pleasure, and those who *have* read them, will read them with pleasure again.

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Ἢ πρῶτα μὲν λιὼς οὐκ ἰσακτὸς ἄλλοθεν,
αὐτόχθονες δ' ἴφυμεν. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις
πισσῶν ἡμείους διαφερηθεῖσαι βολαῖς
ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν ἐξαγώγιμοι.
εἰ δ' εἰς πάριργον χρή τι κομπάσαι λόγου,
οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἴχομεν ὦ πιπραμένον,
ἵν' οὔτ' ἄγαν σῦρε οὔτε χεῖμα συμπίτνῃ.
ἃ δ' Ἑλλὰς Ἀσία τ' ἐντρίφει πάλλιστα γῇ,
δίλιαρ ἴχοντες, πάντα συνθηρεύομεν.

The first lines of this fragment make it probable that in the Ion, v. 603, Hermann, εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἰκτίσαντον γένος, where αὐτόχθων and ἰκτίσαντος refer to the same substantive, there is some corruption. Compare with the last part, Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. ii. 7.

Hippolytus prior, fragment 10.

ἐρῶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγὼ
τίκτουσαν ὕβριν τὴν πάρος εὐπραξίαν.

Mr. Matthiæ takes no notice of the metrical fault in the second line. Perhaps τὴν ἄγαν εὐπραξίαν. It seems to us that *present*, rather than *past*, prosperity makes men insolent and overbearing.

Peleus, fragment 3.

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποισι τοιοῦτο σπάτος,
οὐ δῶμα γαίας πλειστὸν, ἔνθα τὴν φύσιν
ὁ δυσγενὴς κρύψας ἂν εἶη σοφός.

For ἂν εἴη Mr. Gaisford proposes νομισθείη. Mr. Matthiæ, however, remarks that the particle is necessary, and would approve the emendation of Heath, κρύψαι' ἂν εἰ καὶη σοφός, *if* there was any instance of καὶη for καὶ εἴη. It should be observed, likewise, that κρύψαι' ἄν for κρύψειν ἄν should never be admitted on conjecture. See Elmsley ad Eurip. Med. 416, note.

The fragment of the Phaethon, detected in a palimpsest MS. at Paris, and transcribed by Hase and Bekker, is given chiefly after the edition of Hermann, *Opuscula*, vol. iii p. 1—21. We will only extract from it one passage, v. 12—14.

ὦ καλλιφεγγὲς ἅλι', ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας
καὶ τόνδ'. Ἀπόλλω δ' ἐν βροτοῖς σ' ἐρῶς καλεῖ
ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων.

The MS. has Ἀπόλλων and καλῇ, for which Mr. Hermann corrects as above. This passage was previously well known from the citation of Macrobius, who appears to have misquoted it by an error of memory. Mr. Matthiæ remarks, '*Apollinis cum sole confusi hoc antiquissimum exemplum est, atque adeo, nisi fallor, apud antiquos scriptores, id est eos qui ante Alexandri M. tempora vixerunt, unicum.*' This subject is further pursued by Müller, in the Dorians, book ii. ch. v.

Ib. fragment 9.

τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας εἶτ' ἔμαρψεν ἡνίας.

Εἶτα est *tamen*,' says Mr. Matthiæ. We wonder at such a mistake as this from so good a grammarian. Nothing can be more different than the meaning of *tamen*, and of εἶτα used between the participle and verb.

Philoctetes, fragment 1.

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἠριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ, &c.

Aristotle quotes ἠριθμημένον. We prefer the accusative case. See Elmsley ad Eurip. Heraclid. 693. Med. 727.

Ib. fragment

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Ib. fragment 13.

πατρὶς καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἀεὶ
μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦσα δ' ἀσθενῆ.

By the help of the reading of a MS. and a conjecture of Mr. Matthiæ's, these senseless and unmetrical lines are restored as follows:

πατρὶς καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν τυχόντ' ἀεὶ
μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦσα δ' ἀσθενῆ.

'*Every man, whoever he may be, is raised by the prosperity, and depressed by the sufferings of his country.*'

Polyidus, fragment 8.

τοιγὰρ ἐν πολῷ ψόγῳ
ἄπασι κεῖσθαι δυστυχὴς, οὐκ εὐτυχής.

'*Pro οὐκ εὐτυχὴς* (says Mr. Matthiæ) *Grotius dedit καὶν εὐτυχής, ut Musgravius etiam legendum putat; male: nam contraria subjunguntur etiam sine copula.*' We do not understand this reasoning. A particular reading is absolutely required by the metre, and is preferable for the sense. Mr. Matthiæ says, that the sense does not absolutely require it. This is very true, but the emendation is no less certain.

Aristoph. Ach. 439.

Δεῖ γάρ με δᾶδα πτωχὸν ὄντα τήμερον,
ὄντα μὲν ὅστις εἰμὶ, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μή.

Οἱ δύο στίχοι οὗτοι (says the scholiast) ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου. We suspect that the second alone of these two verses is from the Telephus. At any rate the end of the first line must have been altered by Aristophanes; as the fifth foot would not be admissible in tragedy. Τήμερον, moreover, is a comic form.

Incert. Trag. fragment 162.

κορυφὴ δὲ θεῶν, ὁ περὶ χθόν' ἔχων
φαεινὸς αἰθήρ.

Perhaps νέπτιος αἰθήρ. Compare Aristoph. Thesm. 43. ἰχέτου δὲ πτοὰς νέπτιος αἰθήρ.

The 4th of the *fragmenta incerta* appears from the metre of the 4th line to belong to Menander, whose name it bears as well as that of Euripides. Compare with the last verse, ἐπαίρεται γὰρ μεῖζον, ἵνα μεῖζον πέσῃ, the well-known passage of Juvenal, '*Numerosa parabat parabat excelsæ turris tabulata*, &c.;' and '*Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviore ruant.*'

Fragment Dub. 42.

θεοῦ γὰρ ἐκτὸς οὐδεὶς εὐτυχεῖ βροτῶν.

Read οὔτις. We will take this opportunity of correcting a line attributed to Menander, which halts in the same foot as that just quoted. Menand. Sent. Sing. 104, p. 316. **Meineke.** γύμναζε παῖδας, ἄνδρα γὰρ εὐ γυμνάσεις. '*Quærenda est medicina*,' says Mr. Meineke. The remedy does not lie at a great distance. Read εὐ γὰρ ἄνδρα γυμνάσεις.

Upon the whole, this edition of the fragments of Euripides is a considerable accession to ancient literature. Mr. Matthiæ has availed himself, with great diligence, of the many improvements furnished by the collations of new manuscripts, and the conjectures and elucidations of modern critics, and his edition may in these respects be considered as nearly complete. We do not, however, despair of living to see the fragments of Euripides treated with greater success by some one better versed in the knowledge of iambic metre, and who has not the infirmity of mind which Mr. Matthiæ complains of, '*quod ad locos scriptorum conjectura sanandos parum idoneum est, et ad dubitandum propensius.*' But we question whether any future editor will be able to improve as much on Mr. Matthiæ, as Mr. Matthiæ has improved on his predecessors.

Georgius

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Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus. Ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii. Bonn, 1829. 2 vols. pp. 1384.

These two massive volumes contain the sixth author already published in the new edition of the Byzantine historians. The chronological works of Eusebius and Syncellus, though written by authors of the Byzantine age, do not particularly concern the Byzantine history, and would not necessarily form part of a complete collection of those historians. Mr. Niebuhr, however, seems to have conceived the very reasonable and useful project of making his new edition a body of Byzantine *literature*, rather than of Byzantine *history*; and accordingly he announced to the world, in his *Kleine Schriften*, (p. 184, note,) his intention of including both Eusebius and Syncellus in the Bonn edition, and not imitating the inconsistency of the Venice collection, which admitted Syncellus, but excluded the more valuable Eusebius. At the same time he stated, that Syncellus would appear in a greatly improved form. This promise has been fulfilled to the letter by the labours of Mr. W. Dindorf, who being provided with the collations of two manuscripts, and possessing a very accurate knowledge of the Greek language, has rescued the unhappy Syncellus from the barbarous attacks of a certain Mr. Goarus, and given his chronological labours to the world in a correct and intelligible form. Mr. Dindorf's labours, however, do not extend beyond a revision of the text, and a statement of the various readings. Of the Latin version, which is printed at the bottom of each page, and greatly increases the bulk and expense of the work, Mr. Dindorf remarks, '*Interpretatio Latina Goari est, quam ego plane non attigi.*' Either a Latin translation was worth printing, or it was not; if it was, why reprint the old one, with all its imperfections on its head, and not adapt it to the corrected text; if it was not, surely a faulty version is doubly worthless.

The first volume contains the text of Syncellus, and the short chronological abstract of Nicephorus. The second volume comprises a dissertation on the work of Syncellus by Bredow, in which there is much valuable information on the Christian chronologers; after which we fall upon the commentaries of Mr. Goarus, of which we can only say, that if they cost him as much trouble to write as they did us to read, the labour was heavy and irksome indeed. First comes a dedicatory epistle to Seguier, the Chancellor of France; then a preface to the candid and learned reader; then a long diatribe against Scaliger, occupying forty pages; and last, though not least, the emendations and annotations; though by what right that which does not emend is called an emendation, we profess ourselves unable to discover; and must either suppose that Mr. Goarus was blinded by a love for his own offspring, or that, by a well-known figure of speech, like *lucus a non lucendo*, he christened from contraries. We will cite the last sentence of these notes as a specimen of the sort of trash which it has been thought expedient to reprint in the 19th century. '*Hucusque Georgii Syncelli opus mentem et calamum delinuit. Ager brevis et angustus, spinis obsitus, confusa ruderum congerie horridus, laborem quem vir librorum culturæ peritus conjiciat, ignarus et iners animus non credat, sustinendum impulit. Novavi, aravi, excolui. Totum quaqua patet? Non glorior: nisi de potiori. Qua diligentia vel solertia? decernent eruditi. Quod de labore meo judicium est; incultum agrum, at solum ferax, copiosæ sementi recipiendæ idoneum, arte meliori messem uberiorem reportaturum, pro rudi et inculta Minerva mea aratro proscidi.*' We confess that we are unable to perceive the use of reprinting all these prefaces and notes at full length. The only value which they now possess is derived from their scarcity, a quality which of course vanishes in a reprint. If it was impossible to find any person, who would undertake to compile an account of the life and writings of Syncellus, and illustrate

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illustrate his chronological work, it would have been easy to extract all the useful matter from the notes of Goarus, which would have occupied a very small compass, and to omit such ridiculous effusions as that which we have just quoted. The whole is concluded by an index of subjects by Goarus, and of authors cited in the text, by Mr. Dindorf.

On the arrangement of the text by Mr. Dindorf we can bestow unqualified praise, and on this ground alone we can recommend the work to our readers, whether interested in sacred, profane, or ecclesiastical history. When, however, the new edition of Eusebius appears, we trust that not only the text will be improved, but that the Latin version will be made to agree with the text, that the life will be brief and satisfactory, and that after the admirable labours of Mr. Niebuhr,* the text will be clearly and concisely illustrated.

Das Evangelium der Jesuiten aus der Theorie und Praxis dieser Väter zusammengestellt und der lieben Christenheit neuerdings zur Beherzigung vorgelegt, von Friedrich Girardet, Pastor der Evangelisch Reformirten Gemeinde zu Dresden. Ed. 2. Leipzig, 1829, 8vo. pp. 223.

To begin with the faults of this little volume, we believe the Rev. Author has chosen the very worst form in bringing his truths to light. It consists of a series of letters addressed by a young artist, pursuing his studies at an academy in a Catholic country, to his friend at home, a Protestant clergyman, who, it seems, was apprehensive of the dangerous influence any intercourse with Jesuits might have on the religious persuasion of the young man. He, on the contrary, relying on the firmness of his own faith, is desirous of becoming acquainted with the tenets of that formidable society, and for that purpose courts the company of a reverend Father, whom he allures by the never-failing bait, that here a soul may be won to heaven, and a body to the Church on earth. But this Father Eusebius is of such gross stupidity, that we may safely aver, if the Order had but three such members at a time, it would speedily die of a natural death. Though the Writer very properly remarks in the beginning, that it would be unjust from the moral theology of the order to argue on the private morals of the single members, and again, that they are as careful to conciliate the conscientious by the strictness, as to win the unrighteous by the laxity of their morals; yet Father Eusebius himself seems to have forgotten this fundamental rule, when he undertook the conversion of a young man evidently not the most perverse of his race. He seems not even to have had an idea that much of the casuistry in the moral tenets of the order is introduced chiefly to bring about something like a reconciliation between very great sinners and their own consciences, arguing *que ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*, and that if once an impression was made on any mind, an intelligent Confessor would know how to improve it, and follow it up perhaps to a total amendment. Thus in the present case, where it was his obvious duty to avoid any thing merely bordering on ambiguity in morals, he suffers himself to be led by the young stranger to a discovery of a series of doctrines which the most barefaced atheist would blush to own, which could have no other effect than that of disgusting the hearer, whilst their grossness makes him doubt the seriousness of their meaning.

As to these doctrines themselves, that their authenticity may not be doubted, Father Eusebius is so extremely obliging as to cite the books from which he quotes them, and his incredulous disciple has therefore only to believe his own eyes. We must of course suppose the Rev. Mr. Girardet

* *Kleine Schriften*, p. 179—304.

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to have read all the authorities he mentions, which, we confess, we have not; but from what we have seen we dare answer that their depravity necessarily deprives them of all influence save on minds already lost to every sense of honour and virtue. In this assertion, we believe, a short sketch of the doctrine of probabilities will suffice to bear us out.

According to this doctrine of probabilities every tenet is valid that is supported by the authority of an approved member of the Society. Thus two opinions may be directly opposite to each other, and yet both be applicable according to circumstances, only one is more probable than the other, in the same proportion as the authority from which it claims its origin is more or less respectable, that is to say, bears a higher rank in the Order. This degree of probability may, however, not influence the judgment or final decision of the doubting; 'for,' says Immanuel Sa, (*Aphorism de dubio*, p. 183,) 'one may do what one supposes to be permitted in consequence of such an opinion, even if the contrary be more certain.' Father Eusebius, in our book, is probably the only one among his brethren honest enough directly to confess: 'we answer what we think fit, or rather, what is most to the minds of those asking us, and what they desire to hear;' but the same may, without difficulty, be inferred from the words of his less candid brethren. Thus, P. Laymann, (*Theol. Moral.* l. i. fr. 1, c. 2, §. 2, n. 7,) expresses the following opinion: 'If any teacher be asked his advice, he may not only give that advice which to his own mind is the most probable one, but even any other contrary to his own opinions, provided it has been maintained as probable by another, (Sc. Jesuit,) and is more favourable to, and more to the liking of, the person asking his advice, than his own opinion (*si forte illi et favorabilior et exoptatior sit*).' It is, therefore, no more than what consistently follows from this doctrine. P. Bauny (*Fr.* 4, *de Pœnit. Qu.* 13.) avers: 'Whenever the Confessing has acted according to any probable opinion, the Confessor is obliged to absolve him, even if his own views are opposed to it. To deny the absolution in such a case would be committing a deadly sin. And thus it came to pass that the Jesuit Watts, at Paris, was called a heretic by his brother Jesuit Codret, because, when William Parry, who in 1584 was executed for his attempt on the life of Queen Elizabeth, came to confess himself to him, he had endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, and refused his absolution. For Parry, forsooth, had previously asked the advice and opinion of the Jesuit Palmio at Venice, who had approved it, and found it very much to the honour and service of God.

To obviate any difficulty that might arise from any such opinion directly militating against the precepts of the Gospel, or the conclusions of the Fathers of the Church, it is another fundamental maxim, '*omnia intelligenda juxta Societatis Jesu constitutiones et declarationes*,'—every thing is to be understood according to the tenets and the declarations of the Society of Jesus; and, in order to bring this about, the admirable doctrine of the *mental reservations* has been invented. According to this doctrine it suffices if we say the truth *within ourselves*, let the meaning conveyed by our words to the hearer be what it will, even though we make use of an oath to gain them credit. Suarez (*Opus de virtute et statu religionis*, t. ii. l. 3, c. 9, ass. 1, n. 2, p. 473,) affirms with respect to this point, '*Making use of amphibology*, (a good euphemism for an indirect lie) in swearing, is committing no wrong by itself, and not always perjury. For that only is a lie which is in opposition to the thoughts of the speaker himself, as he is only obliged to make his words accord with his own thoughts, and not with those of his hearers. Whoever, therefore, makes use of words of a double meaning, cannot be said to speak against his own thoughts, because he only takes those words in his own sense; what he says is therefore no lie, and consequently it is not wrong

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speaking thus, the lie alone constituting the wrong. From this position it necessarily follows, that affirming any such assertion by an oath cannot be called perjury, God not being called to witness a lie, as no lie has been told'. To illustrate this by a few examples: if a prisoner is asked whether he have committed the crime he stands accused of, he may safely deny it, provided he understands: 'in order to confess it,' (*subintelligendo ad dicendum*); or that he had not committed it since he was in prison. Or if he is asked about his accomplices, he may deny having had any, provided he himself means only those crimes he has committed alone. Again, if any body should embezzle sums of money, which he is wanting for his own subsistance, from fear they might else be seized by his creditors, and himself be reduced to beggary, he may, if asked by the judge, swear not to have embezzled any thing. The same may be sworn by those knowing about it, provided it be evident to them that he only has embezzled those sums for that purpose, and has therefore nothing concealed which he was bound to declare. Or if any body comes from a place which is really not afflicted by any contagion, though it is erroneously thought to be so, he may swear that he is not coming from that place, understanding, as far as it is considered as a place of contagion. And these are tenets not proposed by any obscure or insignificant member, but fixed by the precepts of the very highest among the brotherhood, such as Thomas Sanchez, in his *Opus mor. in præscripta Decalogi*, p. ii. b. 3, c. 6, n. 31 and 35.

We cannot refrain from adding a few more of the most extravagant positions already proffered by that reverend Society, begging only our readers to remember, from what we have said in the introduction, that all these principles are not to be considered as positive injunctions for every body, or at least for every member of the Society to obey, or to believe in, but only as offering a latitude of interpretation to those who else might find it too difficult perhaps, or absolutely impossible, to come to any composition with their own conscience. Thus it is with the deadly sin of Simony. The Order would have gained but few friends among the clergy at large, had they not found means to demonstrate it away. But the reverend Father Gregor. a Valentia, of the Society of Jesus, in his *Commentat. Theologicis*, vol. iii., has a large chapter on this point. 'To give a secular good for a spiritual one,' he says, (that is to say, money for a prebend,) 'and to give it as the price of the latter, is undeniably committing Simony. But to give it merely as the motive which might dispose the proprietor to confer the prebend on the donor, is no simony, even if the proprietor should have considered and expected the money as his main object. And on the part of the Ordinary it is no Simony, if he conferred the prebend on the donor, that he may not have any further obligation to him.' Charitably interposing in behalf of poorer sinners, Escobar gives it as his opinion, that it is no Simony to accept a prebend for which one has promised to pay a sum of money, provided one has the intention of not keeping that promise, because this would only be an apparent Simony, and as little to be termed a real one, as false gold may be called true gold.

Another charitable doctrine is, that which allows sons to rejoice at the death of their parents, provided these leave an ample inheritance; for it is not the death they rejoice at, but the riches they will get by it, and a child has only distinctly to separate these two ideas in his own mind in order to keep his conscience clear. As to the instruction for domestics, with regard to the cases in which robbing their masters would not be committing a sin, it seems, from an occurrence that took place at Paris in the year 1647, as if the reverend Fathers were not always inclined themselves to be done by, as they would have others done to. John d'Alba, a domestic at a college of Jesuits, being

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being apprehended in a theft on his masters, was by them delivered over to the hands of the secular judge. John did not hesitate to confess the act, but denied its being a crime, alleging in his favour the express words of one Father Bauny, who exculpates any domestic robbing his master merely to supply a defect in his wages to which he has only agreed because compelled by necessity, in which emergency he contended to have found himself. The judge seemed indeed not much disposed to relish such doctrines, but, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the obsequious scholar deserved no less to be scourged before the doors of the college, and the writings containing such things to be publicly burnt by the executioner: the culprit was finally dismissed with a warning to abstain for the future from putting such doctrines into practice.

In conclusion, we shall recommend the following work to those who may be desirous of collecting more ample information:

'Extraits des Assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses en tout Genre, que les soi-disans Jésuites ont dans tous les Tems et persévéramment soutenues, enseignées et publiées dans leurs Livres, avec l'approbation de leurs Supérieurs et Généraux: Vérifiés et collationnés par les Commissaires du Parlament, en exécution de l'Arrêt de la Cour du 31 Août, 1761, et Arrêt du 3 Sept. suivant, sur les Livres, Thèses, Cahiers composés, dictés, et publiés par les soi-disans Jésuites et autres Actes authentiques. Déposés au Greffe de la Cour, en 1761 et 1762. Paris, 3 vols. 8vo. 1762.'

Denkmal der Erinnerung an Moses Mendelssohn, zu dessen erster Säcularfeyer im September, 1829—*oder Gedanken über die wichtigsten Angelegenheiten der Menschheit aus den Schriften des unsterblichen Weisen nebst einem Blick in sein Leben* von Dr. Gotthold Salomon.—Hamburg, Hoffmann & Campe, 1829, 8vo.

After the great question of Catholic Emancipation has been finally determined, much has been spoken in recent days of a total emancipation of the Jewish nation from all civil disabilities. We disclaim all intention of here entering upon this subject, or even having had it in view, when we resolved to make our readers acquainted with the above-mentioned little volume. As far as we are able to discern, and judging from general principles, such a measure would be followed by an effect, far different from that hoped for by those who now most ardently desire it; for we cannot but consider it as the most efficient mode of conversion to Christianity. Every reason that might give the least claim to martyrdom, to the boast of suffering for the sake of religion, will disappear; they will, as a religious sect, be allowed to mingle on an equal footing with all the classes of the community; they will have the right of being received into guilds and corporations, and to be promoted along with the rest, according to their merits; and if we are not quite mistaken, the extension of a privilege to another does all but take away the prejudices and bad feelings of the present possessor. But, we may ask, will they really have the benefit of all this? Instead of a sweeping clause prohibiting their participation in a certain class of rights, they may have against them all the petty intrigues, the chicanery, that may effectually prevent them from enjoying what the laws intend giving them; but from a national cause it will have been reduced to a personal one; from a national feeling to a personal feeling, more difficult to be borne, because more individually felt; and seeing that nothing more may be done for them from without—that the only obstacle, the only cause of so much embittered feeling is in themselves, how many will be able longer to hold out against a persuasion from which the only odium, that of national oppression, has been taken off? But we reserve the subject for maturer discussion, and

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revert to our theme, that of introducing to our readers a man, whom his nation may well glory in, as he would have been an ornament to any country and to every age. The little volume before us may indeed be called a monument to his memory, with respect to the facts recorded, though we could have wished a style partaking somewhat more of the elegant simplicity of its prototype. Mere rhetorical flourishes never improve an eulogy.

Moses Mendelssohn was one of those few men who, by the mere force of their genius, are able to overcome all obstacles in their way to that most arduous height for mortals to attain—the summit of wisdom and moral perfection,—as far as the words 'man' and 'perfection' may be construed together. Born of poor Jewish parents, a century ago, when many of those prejudices that have since subsided or, at least, been much softened down, were still most strenuously harboured and expressed—without means of subsistence, without even knowing the German language, otherwise than from the corrupt jargon used among the lower classes of the Jews—he rose to rank among the highest philosophers of his age; the age of Kant, Lessing, Jacobi, Lavater, and so many others; to be loved by many, admired and esteemed by all; to impart, by his writings, to the German language an elegance of expression, of which, till then, it had scarce been thought susceptible, without taking away from its original force and vigour; and to have so far silenced all national prejudices against himself, as to offer the first example of a Jew being proposed as a member to a public body—the Royal Academy at Berlin. This proposal, and the universal applause with which it was received, certainly did as much honour to that learned body, as it little redounded to that of the great philosopher, then on the throne, to refuse his assent on account of Mendelssohn being a Jew. Whether Frederick II. was betrayed to such an unphilosophical answer by a motive of jealousy, or of policy, we are at a loss to understand. Mendelssohn revenged himself by saying, 'I should only have been grieved had the king proposed, and the Academy refused to receive me.'

Mendelssohn was born at Dessau (Anhalt) on the 6th of September, 1729. His father, Mendel, was a sort of clerk to the synagogue, and from his earliest infancy kept his son at school; but being very poor, and having to support a large family, he was obliged to consent to a separation as soon as young Moses had attained his fifteenth year, when, according to a precept of the Talmud, the Jewish boy is obliged to watch over his own mental welfare, a duty with which the necessity of providing for his bodily necessities has been always combined, at least among the poorer classes of that people. Mendelssohn wandered to Berlin, where he earned a scanty subsistence by teaching young children, while he was himself most strenuously intent upon enlarging his knowledge and the capacities of his mind. By his own unassisted efforts he acquired a sufficient knowledge of the old languages, to be able to read the classical authors in the originals, and the rising sun often surprised the young student in his garret, still studying the writings of Leibnitz and of Wolf. His irreproachable conduct and amiable character soon gained him a number of friends; but it was not before the year 1750 that fortune placed him in a more comfortable situation. One Mr. Bernhard, a rich silk manufacturer at Berlin, at that time engaged young Mendelssohn as a tutor for his children; but on account of his fine handwriting and arithmetical skill, employed him also in his counting-house, and finished by making him chief agent in his extensive business; a situation which afforded Mendelssohn a comfortable livelihood for himself and family, and in which he continued to his death. (Jan. 4th, 1786.)

As will be seen from this rapid sketch, the life of Mendelssohn affords no romantic or extraordinary events. It was throughout the life of a philosopher

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sopher and a sage, and every word, every action, proved him such. We shall now briefly notice the works which he has left, by which he first attracted the notice of the world, and which will carry his fame to posterity. We shall conclude by recording some of the emanations of his pure soul and penetrating wisdom.

His first essays were the *Philosophical Dialogues*, which Lessing introduced to the world, and which, meeting with great success, were soon followed (1761) by the *Letters on Sentiments*, (Briefe über Empfindungen,) in which he endeavoured to investigate the origin and developement of our notions of the Beautiful, and to analyze its elements. Two years later appeared his treatise, *On what is evident in Metaphysical Sciences*, which gained the prize proposed by the Royal Academy at Berlin, and led to the event above mentioned. But what will secure his own undying fame is his work styled, *Phædon, or on the Immortality of the Soul*, in three dialogues, —an imitation of the *Dialogues* of Plato. Purity of sentiment, cogency of reasoning, and a noble, manly, yet elegant style, make this a truly classical work. Lavater thought he could not better show his sense of the merits of the author than by writing to him, inviting him to accept the blessings of the Christian religion, of which he seemed so well deserving; but we must refer the reader to the work itself for Mendelssohn's answer, which is favourable both to him and to Lavater, but in which he declines the invitation, declaring his firm persuasion in the truth of the faith of his fathers. The most distinguished among his other works are: A Commentary on the Preacher of Solomon, in Hebrew; a beautiful translation of the Psalms into German; a translation of the Pentateuch, with a very learned Commentary; a treatise on the Ritual Laws of the Jews, concerning Inheritances, Wardships, &c., undertaken at the request of the Prussian government; &c. &c. His last was an apology for his friend Lessing, who after his death had been attacked by F. Jacobi, in a work, *On the Doctrine of Spinoza; in Letters to Mr. Moses Mendelssohn.* (Breslau, 1785.) Mendelssohn published his answer in form of an appendix to that correspondence, under the title, *M. Mendelssohn, to the Friends of Lessing;* but he died before its appearance, his already declining health having probably been still more enfeebled by that dispute.

The author of the little volume before us has, with reference to the second part of the title, brought his subject under six different heads, viz. I. On God. II. On Truth, Reason, and Philosophy. III. On Religion, State, and Church. IV. On Man, his calling, his education. V. On Immortality. VI. Miscellaneous philosophical observations. To which are added, VII. a few Letters. We are not disposed to quarrel with this arrangement, though perhaps it is neither the most logical, nor is there always any correspondence between the title and the subject of which it actually treats. We have also been unable to find any distinction between the two words affixed to the fifth rubric—*Fortdauer Unsterblichkeit*, i. e. *continued existence*, and *immortality;* still we hope, by selecting a few specimens of what is offered to us, to gratify our readers.

'Seeking for truth, with a pure heart, is the adoration most worthy of that God, who alone is able to send us assistance.'

'The State will be satisfied with mere outward actions, with works without the spirit, without any accordance with our thoughts. Even he who does not believe in the laws, is yet obliged to follow them, as soon as they have been sanctioned. The State may leave to the individual the right of judging the law, but not of acting according to his judgment, for, the latter right he was obliged to renounce, when he became a member of society, as without such renunciation civil society must cease to exist. It is not thus with religion

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gion. Religion knows of no action without the spirit; no concord of works without the concord of minds. Religious acts, without religious thoughts, are mere puppet-shows, no divine service. They must, therefore, spring from the spirit itself, and are neither to be bought by rewards, nor to be enforced by punishments. But religion also declines all communion with civil acts, as far as they are not the produce of the *mind*, but of *power*. The State, therefore, has not to expect any assistance from religion when only working by rewards and punishments; for as far as this is the case, the duties towards God are little considered, and the relations between man and his Creator are without effect. Any assistance that may be afforded to the State by religion is by instructing and consoling, by instilling, through her divine doctrines, into the minds of the citizens the spirit of patriotism, and raising, by her celestial promises, the wretch who has been condemned to death, a victim to the public weal.'

'Any religion, inconsistent with the welfare of human society, cannot be the true one.'

'With true humility in our hearts, we yet may be proud of the dignity of man, and of his rank in the creation.'

'The development of our powers and faculties by social life, is our calling on earth, the purpose of our being here, the will of God, our own happiness; it is, therefore, the principal basis of all morals, of religion, and reason; of politics and learning; as well in its gymnastical part, regarding the body and its powers, as in its musical part, cultivating the mind and its capacities. The whole life of man is *education*. The boy at school is educated to be hereafter a man, the man is educated in this world for a higher existence. Theology and politics contain the precepts for this universal education. They must both proceed upon the same plan, or they will spoil instead of perfecting. It is true, the union of politics and religion is subject to a most unfortunate abuse, and human society has long suffered from its destructive effects. *Locke* himself imagined it to be impossible to prevent this abuse, or to secure to mankind its most precious jewel, *liberty of conscience*, otherwise than by confining the idea of a State merely to temporalities, thus removing it from all encroachments upon the opinions of men with regard to their future existence. He lived in an age when minds were not yet sufficiently enlightened on toleration, and to escape stumbling on one side of the precipice, he was obliged to approach another; but it still was deviating from the path of truth.'

'Our pleasure at the beauties of nature is fired to raptures, if we reflect on the infinite perfection of the Master who has produced them. How cold must therefore be the pleasure of the atheist, who is obliged to rest satisfied with the beauty of the objects!'

'The thoughts on reason and human intellect, with which I yesterday had concluded my lecture, mingled themselves with the relation of the tour to the mountains of Switzerland with which our guests had last night entertained us, and formed themselves in my fancy to a dream that has an almost allegorical signification. We travelled together among the Alps, having for guides two persons, the one of the male, the other of the female sex. He, a young robust Swiss, of strong limbs, but not of the most refined intellect; she, long and slender, serious, her regards turned, as it were, inwardly, of romantic looks, and fantastically dressed, having behind her head something resembling wings. We followed them for some time until we arrived at a cross-way. Here they seemed to quarrel; *he* hastened with quick steps to the right, *she* hovered to the left on her aerial wings, while we stood confounded on the road, not knowing which to follow, till one of us, looking about, perceived an elderly matron approaching us with measured steps. When

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When she had approached so far as to make herself audible to us, she said, "Be of good comfort, ye wanderers! you will not long remain without a guide. Those persons that have been given to you for guides, are called *Common Sense*, and *Contemplation*; (Sensus communis,—Contemplatio;) they will sometimes quarrel for a short time, not unfrequently for trivial reasons. If, then, travellers are but constant enough to wait at the cross-road without following either of them, they soon turn back to have their dispute determined by me. In most cases the right will be on *his* side, and the female, contrary to expectation, suffer herself to be instructed. If, on the contrary, the right happens to be on *her* side, he remains headstrong, and is not to be brought to concession. At the most persuasive reasons I may offer to him, he, in his rustic manner, will laugh in my teeth; answer by some truism, and proceed on his way. The travellers, however, who put faith in me will know what to rely on."

'"And how," asked one of us, "do you call yourself, who thus are deciding their disputes?" "*On earth*," she replied, "I am called *Reason; the celestial*"——Here she was suddenly interrupted by an astounding noise. An enthusiastic crowd had from the neighbourhood assembled round Dame *Contemplation*, intending to expel *Common Sense*, together with *Reason*. They impetuously rushed towards us with great clamour, we grew affrighted, and I awoke.' The explanation of this beautiful allegory we may leave to the reader.'

Beitraege zur Kenntniss des gewerblichen und commerciellen Zustandes der Preussischen Monarchie. Aus amtlichen Quellen. von C. W. Ferber. 1829, 8vo. pp. 290, with 9 Tables.

This is an interesting work, compiled by the author, who filled, during forty years, a high situation in the Prussian financial department, and thus had free access to the official records and documents. The publication is creditable to the liberality of the Prussian Government, under whose eyes it has been printed. It states, that trade and industry have much advanced since the fetters of prohibitions, or high customs, have been relieved, and that more might still be done by proceeding in the same career. We shall give a short view of the principal subjects treated here with candour and impartiality, and we hope that the details and matter of fact, which we are furnishing from trustworthy documents, will not be disregarded.

1. *Cottons.*—Raw Cottons imported and re-exported from 1823 to 1828.

	Imports.	Exports.	Remaining for Prussian Manufactures.
1823	68,827 cwt.	29,219 cwt.	39,608 cwt.
1824	61,177	28,546	32,631
1825	64,706	33,134	31,572
1826	88,046	38,060	49,986
1827	94,508	44,731	49,777
1828	44,203	5,637	38,566

Cotton Yarn and Twist, during the same period imported, re-exported, and manufactured.

	Imports.	Exports.	Remaining for Prussian Manufactures.
1823	61,202 cwt.	10,115 cwt.	51,087 cwt.
1824	67,245	12,603	54,642
1825	68,996	3,201	65,795
1826	86,818	3,041	83,777
1827	90,524	5,011	85,513
1828	98,111	4,600	93,511

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By giving permission to import foreign Prints, formerly prohibited, the Prussian looms were very soon enabled to produce them in greater quantity and much cheaper than formerly. The number of looms working entirely in Cotton, or Cotton mixed with other materials, has annually increased, being in

1819	14,276 looms
1822	19,424
1825	22,139

Red Yarns, formerly received from the Mediterranean, are now manufactured at Elberfeld, and the raw Cotton of America and the East Indies, spun at Manchester or in the Rhenish Provinces, and tinged at Elberfeld, is re-shipped and sold with profit at Calcutta. The exports of this single article amounted in

1825 to	409,090 pounds
1826	562,430
1827	1,668,150
1828	2,317,890

A capital of 50,000 dollars, allotted by Government for the support of the weavers who might suffer by the sudden repeal of the prohibition of Twist, has not been touched for a single farthing.

The profits of the trade cleared by this single article are estimated by the author during the year 1827 at more than four million pounds sterling.

2. *Iron.*

	Cast Iron.	Forged Iron.	Iron in Plates.	Manufactured Iron.
		IMPORTS.		
1825	47,882 cwt.	67,648 cwt.	8,137 cwt.	14,324 cwt.
1826	77,786	66,354	9,541	16,035
1827	77,943	70,465	9,821	16,461
1828	69,470	77,943	10,201	16,242
		EXPORTS.		
1825	27,523	34,674	10,005	66,536
1826	131,266	37,812	10,437	85,356
1827	60,068	51,176	10,637	99,108
1828	84,294	26,555	10,701	103,933

The increase of exportation of Manufactured Iron, simultaneous with that of the importation of Cast Iron, shows of how little avail the prohibitory duties of France, Russia, Poland, Austria, and other States have been. The impediments thrown in the way of the exportation of engines and machinery from England to Prussia, have led to no other result than to the establishment of different flourishing manufactures of machines in the latter country.

3. *Corn.*—The exportation of this necessary article has been very small during the last-mentioned years, principally on account of the greater comfort and superior nourishment of the people in Prussia. This could only take place by the progress of the manufactures, which has been accelerated by the artificial price of wheat raised in England and France, through their corn-laws. Let England, which cannot receive the quarter of wheat for less than 42 shillings from Prussia, persist some years more in maintaining its corn-bill, and its high duties on this article, and Prussia and Germany will have outstripped it in many more branches of commerce, formerly the exclusive property of this country.

4. *Timber.*—The highly charged Baltic Timber, much preferable to that of Canada for any purpose of naval architecture, has been driven from the English market to France and other southern countries, formerly provided with this commodity from England.

5. *Linen.*

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5. *Linen.*—Only the quantities of Yarn imported and exported (the exportation being charged with a trifling duty) can be given, those of manufactured Linen, being free of any duty, are unknown. The fine Linen Yarn spun by the hand in Westphalia, where spinning is taught in schools established for this purpose, is still maintaining its precedence. During the exposition of 1827 of the products of industry, 2400 ells (1600 yards) of Yarn, spun by a widow near Minden, weighing not more than the 128th part of a pound, were generally admired for the equality and fineness of the thread.

One manufacturer of Linen, Mr. Kramsta, at Freiberg, exported in the year 1827 far more than 300,000 pounds sterling of this single article.

6. *Gunpowder.*—The exportation of Powder, the preference of which to the French gunpowder is in the proportion of 6 to 5, is still on the increase.

7. *Silk.*—Already in 1821, 8363 looms were working. Since that time the production has been still increasing.

8. *Wool.*—The number of sheep kept in Prussia amounted in 1825 already to 11,606,429, whereof more than half the number had been improved by crossing the breed with Merinos. At present, fifteen millions of sheep at least are found in the monarchy. The imports and exports of Wool from 1822 to 1828, were the following:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1822	42,725 cwt.	87,606 cwt.
1823	60,751	99,292
1824	62,131	128,833
1825	91,460	114,626
1826	50,937	62,137
1827	63,177	133,159
1828	39,314	121,923

The yearly produce of Wool amounts at present to 250,000 cwt., of which two-fifths only are unimproved. Part of this Wool, and part of the imported Wool, amounting to 128,000 cwt., was manufactured in 1827 to a value of Cloth of more than six million pounds sterling. Notwithstanding the prohibition of Woollen Wares in Russia and Poland, and in spite of the war raging in Turkey and the Mediterranean, 53,743 cwt. of Cloth and other Woollen goods have been exported in the year 1828. Messrs. Frings, Visseu, & Co. at Aachen, manufactured in ten hours an ell of dyed Circassienne, ⅞ broad, from the raw state of the Wool.

9. *Wine.*—The production of this article in the monarchy amounts to more than 1,000,000 pounds sterling.

10. *Books.*—The number of Printing Presses amounted in 1825 to 695, that of the Bookbinders to 1446. Notwithstanding the augmentation of these numbers, the importation of Books has increased, as is proved by the following interesting table:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1825	15,819 cwt.	8,652 cwt.
1826	16,634	8,441
1827	18,713	8,715
1828	20,549	10,437

11. *Shipping.*

	ENTERED.		CLEARED.	
	Ships with	Lasts.	Ships with	Lasts.
1826	3,223	285,994	3,191	284,976
1827	3,697	325,309	3,655	323,791
1828	4,095	336,401*	4,116	349,172

This

* Of these, 93,498 lasts were British and 169,713 Prussian shipping, which may serve to prove how groundless the complaints have been made in parliament on the decrease of the

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This is only the shipping by the Baltic ports, the largest imports and exports of Prussia go down the Elbe, through the port of Hamburgh, and will be found in the English tables under the head of *Germany*.

The Prussian fairs at Frankfort on the Oder and at Naumburg, formerly shut against foreign goods, have prodigiously increased since 1819. In the year 1828, the quantity of imported goods amounted at Frankfort to more than 153,000 cwt., of which more than one third were foreign, and at Naumburg to 29,000 cwt., of which three-fifths came from abroad.

The remarkable growth of opulence and comfort among the lower orders is proved by the increasing consumption of Coffee and Sugar, and by the growing produce of the tax on the different trades and occupations (gewerbe—steuer). This tax has given during the last five years the following results:—

	Trade.	Wandering Occupations.	Mechanics.	Inns, Taverns, &c.	Bakers & Butchers.	Brewers.	Millers.	Shipping & Carriage.	Totals.
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
1824	575,201	98,936	166,483	335,281	208,975	50,343	175,539	41,492	1,652,551
1825	572,559	100,264	172,170	344,464	207,790	54,636	175,214	28,552	1,655,652
1826	592,361	136,516	181,879	352,899	216,038	59,394	187,757	30,639	1,757,484
1827	626,776	148,590	199,309	365,082	225,092	63,239	200,790	31,870	1,860,750
1828	662,726	160,658	213,342	371,233	232,989	58,666	203,659	32,138	1,935,413

These few lines, sketched out from a mass of information, will serve to prove how much Prussia has been benefited by giving up part of its former prohibitory system, how much more it might gain by throwing away the remaining part, and what an accession of strength its last commercial treaties with Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Darmstadt, will give to its present commercial system. An example well worthy of imitation among the German States.

Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo, pour servir à l'Histoire de Napoléon. 8 vol. 8vo. Paris 1828-9. Bossange. La Mort du Duc d'Enghien.

While Napoleon lived, the actors and accomplices in the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien were apparently forgotten. But Time, 'who brings all things unto their level,' and deals terrible, though sometimes tardy, justice on the memory of the mightiest, has dispelled the mystery of murder, and devoted the murderers to eternal infamy. The following is an account of that horrible catastrophe, which is worthy of attention from the worshippers of tyranny, and in a particular degree, from the ministers who do not flinch before a few *gouttes de sang*, when urged by the despot of the day.

The treaty of Amiens had been broken—a conspiracy was forming in England for the overthrow of the Republic, and against the person of the First Consul. The plot was headed by French emigrants, and Georges Coudoudal was charged with its execution, in conjunction with Pichegru. The train was laid; Bonaparte's police discovered that Pichegru, Coudoudal, and their adherents had just landed on the coast of Normandy, that Dumouriez was at Altona, while one of his emissaries, the Count de Moustier, had taken his route towards Ettenheim, a town situated on the right bank of the Rhine, in the duchy of Baden, where the Duc d'Enghien then resided.

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the British shipping. The discriminating duties of the French ports have had the consequence, that in 1828, 116 ships laden with salt sailed from Liverpool to the Prussian ports in the Baltic, and not a single one from Noirmoutier, where salt may be had nearly for nothing. By the mere system of reciprocity in trade, England is furnishing *eighteen times* the value of goods to Prussia than France, with a common border of several hundred miles.

Coudoudal

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Coudoudal, Moreau, the two Polignacs, the Marquis Rivière, and the greater number of the conspirators were arrested at Paris. Proceedings were commenced against them; but it soon became manifest that Coudoudal and the others were but instruments of some more powerful and important personage, awaiting the favourable moment for declaring himself.

'Spies,' says the Duc de Rovigo, 'were every where appointed; the people of Coudoudal were interrogated, as also those of the house where he had lived, but nothing was elicited. At length two of his servants, examined separately, confessed that every ten or twelve days their master used to be visited by a gentleman of whose name they were ignorant, who might be about 34 or 35 years of age, with bald front, fair hair, of middle height, and ordinarily robust. They stated that he was always well equipped both in linen and clothes, that he must needs have been some great man, because their master always went to receive him at the door, and every one, even Messrs. de Polignac and de Rivière, rose on his entrance, and did not resume their seats till he had left the room; and lastly, because, whenever he came to see Coudoudal, they retired together to a cabinet, where they remained alone till the moment of his departure, when Coudoudal re-conducted him to the door.'

Efforts were made to discover who this personage might be, so much respected by the conspirators. All the princes of the House of Bourbon were called over. The description given by the servants corresponded neither with the age of the Comte d'Artois, nor with the person of the Duc de Berri: the Duc d'Angoulême was in attendance on Louis XVIII. and the Duc de Bourbon was known to be in London. Thus suspicion fell upon the Duc d'Enghien. The Government of Buonaparte, despite of the allegations to the contrary put forth in the Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo, is proved, as Bourienne has shewn, to have been acquainted with the residence ef the Duc d'Enghien, on the right bank of the Rhine. And no sooner had suspicion fallen on him, than the First Consul dispatched an emissary to Ettenheim, for the purpose of ascertaining what had been the pursuits of the prince during the six months last past. On arriving at Ettenheim, the spy proceeded to make the necessary enquiries, and was informed that the duke lived very privately, that he received a few *Emigrés*, was fond of hunting; that he had an *affaires du cœur* with a French lady, the Princess de Rohan Rochefort, who shared his exile; and that he was frequently absent for several days. Here was nothing very conclusive against the prince—but the informer had heard some one pronounce the name of *Moustier*, as that of a person resident at Ettenheim. This name he confounded, or pretended to confound, with that of General Dumouriez—and from that moment believed no more in the hunting or amatory propensities of the prince, but hastened to Paris with a report, in which he declared that the Duc d'Enghien was leading a mysterious kind of life; that he frequently received *Emigrés*, whom he provided with money; that Dumouriez was at Ettenheim, in the capacity of an agent on the part of England; and that the duke was often absent eight, ten, or twelve days, without any one being acquainted with the place of his concealment. Napoleon, according to the Duc de Rovigo, was terrified; Bourienne says that this terror was feigned; but both agree that a council was called, at which he presided, and to which he summoned the two Consuls, Cambacères and Lebrun, Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, the chief Judge, and Fouché. Cambacères wished to oppose the arrest and death of the Duc d'Enghien; but Napoleon, alluding to the vote which he had given in the matter of Louis XVI. answered angrily, *Vous êtes devenu bien avare du sang des Bourbons*—and the arrest was ordered.

The Abbé de Montgaillard in his history of France, the Baron Massias in the

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the pamphlet which he published in 1823, relative to the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, and the Duc de Rovigo, in his Mémoires, are all unanimous in accusing Talleyrand of having evinced the greatest eagerness in executing the arrest of the prince. On the night of the 15th of August, 1804, d'Enghien was carried off by a detachment of *gendarmerie*, commanded by Captain Charlot, and under the superior orders of General Ordener. He was taken to Strasbourg, where his arrival was announced by telegraph, and on the morning of the 18th, orders arrived from Paris, commanding his removal to the seat of Government. He arrived there at about eleven in the forenoon on the 24th, but being detained at the barrier till four, it was evening before he reached Vincennes. Towards five o'clock on the same evening, the Duc de Rovigo was summoned to the cabinet of the First Consul, where he received a sealed letter, with orders to take it to the Governor of Paris, General Murat. By this general he was directed to take under his command a brigade of infantry, which was to assemble that night at the barrier of St. Antoine, and with it to be at Vincennes at night-fall. This done, Murat, without losing an instant, appointed a military commission, composed of five colonels of regiments from the garrison of Paris, namely, Guiton, Baraucourt, Bavier, Barrois, and Rabhe, under the presidency of General Hullin, commander of the grenadier footguard of the Consuls; the citizen Autancourt performing the functions of *Capitaine rapporteur*.

The Duc d'Enghien arrived at Vincennes at seven in the evening, and, exhausted as he was by a long journey hastily performed, and enfeebled for want of food, his examination was immediately commenced. At two in the morning he appeared before the military commission, appointed by Murat, and which, agreeably to the order of convocation, was to *judge without adjournment*. They were occupied till four. The Duc d'Enghien denied all participation in the conspiracy of Coudoudal; admitted having received money from England, but only to provide for his private expenditure; heroically declared that he had conveyed to that power the intimation of his readiness, not to conspire, but to serve militarily against the enemies of his family—and on these confessions, frankly made, without the production of a single charge, or the examination of a witness against the accused, without having allowed him the privilege of a defender, the commission unanimously condemned him—and scarcely was the sentence pronounced, when it received its execution in the ditch by a party of gendarmes, appointed by the Duc de Rovigo; and the body of the victim, clothed and bleeding, was cast into a pit, which had been dug the night before.

Such was the abominable butchery of d'Enghien; we will now proceed to inquire into the causes which led to an act, unsurpassed in the bloodiest annals of revolutionary barbarity.

The attempt of the 18th Brumaire, had opened to Napoleon the career of *coups d'Etat*, and the success of that day—the funeral day of republican freedom—having given him the measure of what he might securely dare, had swelled his pride to the hope for undivided rule. From 1802 the objects of the military parvenu were to become possessed of the crown, and to found, in his own favour, a new dynasty, more oppressive than that which had been shaken off by a national concussion, the gory traces of which were yet uneffaced in France. Strong in the devoted attachment of his old companions in arms, and relying through them on the support of the troops, Napoleon beheld no fearful opponents to his designs, save the original republicans, to whom he had always evinced a decided repugnance, and who, if they were not unwilling to re-establish a throne which they had overturned in the blood of the Bourbons, would still claim from the new aspirant oblivion of the past and an assurance of fortune for the future.

Such

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Such were Fouché, Cambacères, de Sieyes, de Barras, and Talleyrand, the most powerful machinators of the period. Napoleon, therefore, thought it necessary to make the revolutionists forget the hate he had invariably shewn for them, and to this end the most natural course appeared to be the rendering himself a murderer like to them.

That Napoleon ordered the death of the Duc d'Enghien is placed beyond all question by his own avowal, which is thus found in his last testament. *J'ai fait arrêter et juger le Duc d'Enghien parceque cela était nécessaire à la sûreté, à l'intérêt, et à l'honneur Français, lorsque le Comte d'Artois entretenait, de son aveu, soixante assassins à Paris. Dans une semblable circonstance, j'agirais encore de même.* After this, who shall endeavour to justify Napoleon in his rise—who lament him in his fall? Let any of the latter look on the above unblushing admission of murder, and surely he will exclaim:

> 'I grieved for Bonaparté, with a vain
> And an unthinking grief! for, who aspires
> To genuine greatness, but from just desires;
> And knowledge, such as *he* could never gain?'

To him belongs the catastrophe of Vincennes; and it must eternally stand among the bloodiest stains which dim the page of his ephemeral glory, from the time, when he first put forth the feelers of an irresolute ambition, till he finally stood

> 'The Desolator, desolate—
> The Victor, overthrown—
> The Arbiter of others' fate,
> A suppliant for his own.'

Never was the 'damnation to everlasting fame' more perfect than in the following page, which we copy from the Memoirs of the Duc de Rovigo—memoirs which he tells us, in the title, are *pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon.*

'If we coolly examine the part taken in this tragical event by the Chief of the Government, the following remarks must of necessity be admitted: the object of Coudoudal's enterprise was not more dubious than his point of setting out; in less than two years this was the third attempt against the life of the First Consul, but on this occasion the designs of the conspirators did not rest here; they proposed nothing short of the entire overthrow of the revolution, and the rekindling of civil discord, at the very moment when France was about to be burthened with an external war.

'They were sharpening their poniards against the Chief of the Government—they came from foreign countries to smite him in the midst of a nation, whose independance he was defending, and against which they conspired as deeply as against himself; on what title, then, should they have expected that he would regard a right which was disregarded towards him? And when, to deprive him of life, means were employed incompatible with national or moral law, was he alone to restrict himself within limits which they had not hesitated to transgress?

'And, on the other hand, was not the First Consul responsible for all the political interests resting, in some measure, on his individual head? What would have been thought of the solidity of a Government, the Chief of which was wanting in firmness on such an occasion?

'Such perhaps, were the opinions of the First Consul, but others, widely different, have been attributed to him. Some say that by the blow on the Duc d'Enghien, he proposed to terrify the princes of the House of Bourbon, and to dissolve at once all the associations of *Emigrés*, who threatened the frontier:

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frontier: others affirm that his only object was to give a guarantee to the Jacobin party. To the former I shall reply that the conqueror of Marengo trusted to his sword for the dispersion of his enemies—and of the second I would ask, if the Jacobins were formidable after the 18th Brumaire, and whether that day, which was the first of the power of Napoleon, was not the last of theirs? They were already imploring his all-powerful protection; what guarantee, then, was he required to give them?'

So argues Monsieur le Duc de Rovigo, and his arguments, be it always remembered, are *pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon.* Yet we cling to a more unsophisticated creed, firmly convinced that, even though the laws of honour be violated by an enemy, this affords no excuse, but can at most be made only a despicable pretext, for a grosser violation of those laws in his regard. Least of all can such a plea be entertained in palliation of the butcher-like barbarity exercised on the unoffending and high-minded Duc d'Enghien, who knew nothing of the conspiracy in question, and who freely told the judges (who had been appointed merely to pass sentence upon him,) that he would eagerly oppose the enemy of his family with his sword, but never by secret machination. As to Rovigo's assertion that the republican party was powerless after the 18th Brumaire, it is sufficiently answered by the conspiracy of Brest, directed against Napoleon by Bernadotte. The death of the Duc d'Enghien was Napoleon's act, and when Rovigo charges Talleyrand with having been the prime instigator of the murder, he should bring some proof more satisfactory than the mere circumstance of the reading of the report, demanding the arrest, to the council by that minister. Talleyrand was undoubtedly an accomplice in the crime, but the crime itself emanated from a mightier will, before which the voice of the Second Consul Cambacères, powerful as it was, subsided into sullen acquiescence. Besides Napoleon and Talleyrand, two other personages played conspicuous parts in the murderous drama of Vincennes—these were General Hullin and the Duc de Rovigo.

General Hullin, as president of the military commission, allowed the Duc d'Enghien to be judged in contempt of all the forms, and in violation of every principle, of justice. The duke had no defender, he was left to himself, to his inexperience and imprudent vivacity; his sentence was accompanied by the words *exécuté de suite*, though the law requires that a delay of twenty-four hours should occur between the passing and execution of judgment; finally, the prisoner demanded an interview with the First Consul, and his judges refused it. This last circumstance is charged on the Duc de Rovigo, in a pamphlet published by General Hullin in 1823. According to the general, he, immediately after passing sentence, proceeded to write to the First Consul, acquainting him with the desire of the Duc d'Enghien; and also imploring him to remit the rigour of a punishment, which the commission had found themselves constrained to decree, but Rovigo took the pen from his hand, saying: 'This is my affair;' from which Hullin inferred that Savary, himself, was about to write to the First Consul. This version of the story, Rovigo successfully refutes; indeed the words *exécuté de suite* are as fatal to the character of the general, as they were to the life of his victim. But the result of the pot-and-kettle controversy between these two personages is no wise important, and only leaves Rovigo the praise, which he so emphatically claims, of having been a mere murderous machine in the hands of his superiors, whom, blessings on his docility! he conceives that he was religiously bound to obey. The business briefly stated is as follows: Napoleon proposed the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien; Talleyrand requested it in council; a military commission, headed by General Hullin, condemned the prince to death, and a party of gendarmes under the command of Rovigo, then General Savary,

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Savary, executed the sentence. In less than twelve hours, the interrogatory, deliberation, sentence, and execution were all dispatched. Harrel, the Governor of Vincennes, thus relates the execution:

'The prince hastened to rest (shortly after his arrival,) but before he could sleep, the judges sent for him to the council chamber. I was not present at the examination. It finished, the duke re-ascended to his chamber, and when they came to read his sentence to him, he was sleeping profoundly. A few minutes after he was led to execution. So little did he expect his doom, that, in descending the staircase which led to the ditch, he inquired whither they were leading him; to which no answer was returned. I preceded the prince with a lantern. Feeling the cold from below, he pressed my arm, and said—"Will they cast me in a dungeon?" The rest is known.'

Paris was astounded by the intelligence of the death of the Duc d'Enghien; but only two men had the courage to show their humanity on the occasion—one was M. Massias, who on the arrest of the prince, wrote to Talleyrand, declaring that during his residence in the Electorate, the conduct of the Duc d'Enghien had been moderate and guiltless—the other was M. de Chateaubriand, who, returning from the Thuilleries, and hearing of the execution at Vincennes, immediately transmitted to Napoleon his resignation of the office of Minister Plenipotentiary in the Valois. This was highly commendable, for, by so prompt and decided a step, he, in fact, told the assassin: 'You have committed the darkest crime by the basest means, and I can no longer consent to serve a Government which is sullied by the blood of a Bourbon.' The tyrant never forgave the man who had thus despised his patronage and power. Many contemporary writers, and among others the Abbé Montgaillard, have stated that a lantern was suspended at the breast of the prince, as a mark for the soldiers—but this is satisfactorily refuted both by M. de Bourienne and Rovigo. The apologist of Napoleon is less fortunate in his attempt to show that a clergymen was not refused to the prince in his last hour. It is not true, that in 1804, the ministers of the national faith were so rare, as Rovigo represents: nor should we be easily induced to believe that Vincennes was then without a pastor. No, the only obstacle to the procuring spiritual assistance for the unfortunate prince, was the brutish precipitance of the thirsters for his blood. And herein they acted consistently. It would have been but a miserable mockery had they, when busied with the work of hell, pretended a regard for the sufferer's hopes of heaven. Their project was diabolically conceived, and its accomplishment every way worthy of such conception. Its remembrance will cling to their names till the records of their country pass away—and often, in after times, will the barbarity, just described, claim a sigh of compassion for its victim,—for its perpetrators the silence of unutterable execration.

Le Couvent de Baiano, Chronique du 16me siecle. Par J. C. O. Precedée d'une Notice sur les Couvents, par M. Jacob.

This old Chronicle was written originally in Italian, and for many years buried in the archives of Naples, whence a fortunate accident enabled Mr. Jacob to obtain possession of it. His publication is preceded by an historical notice, which is not, like so many others, a long and lazy commentary, destined merely to swell out the volume for the benefit of the bookseller, and the misfortune of the reader. We may safely assert, that by giving this Chronicle, and its introductory notice to the public, Mr. Jacob has furnished a curious and highly useful revelation.

Actual circumstances give to this exhumated work all the point of novelty;

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novelty; not that the author always communicates intelligence till now unknown, nor that the manners and customs of monastic life were hitherto unexplained. Erasmus, Boccaccio, the Queen of Navarre, and, above all, the joyous curate of Mendon, had already, both in verse and prose, played off their keen and caustic gaiety, at the expence of the heroes of the hood. Now-a-days, however, these traditions are grown old, and all but forgotten. Few form any just idea of what a convent formerly was, believing, in the simplicity of their hearts, that monastic life was one of entire seclusion, piety, temperance, and self-denial. So think the devotees: while the romantic ruminators have their imaginative view of a monastery, with its sombre passages, gothic aisles, and lofty towers: the religious stillness of its sanctuary, and its pale inmates wandering, like shadows, in eternal silence, and devoting their days to a purificatory preparation for

> 'An ampler ether, a diviner air,
> And fields invested in purpureal gleams.'

All this is very poetical—and as poetry is the very soul of fiction, we need not wonder at the poetical picture being any thing but true. This heroism of self-conquest, and the consequent exaltation of spirit, has, no doubt, in some instances signalized the secluded inmates of monastic dwellings; but, with the assistance of the book before us, we shall proceed to shew, that by far the greater number of the hooded fraternities and closely-veiled sisterhoods have been doers of iniquity, and that monastic institutions have been most fatal to morality and true religion.

The present generation in France, which has sprung up since monkery received an irrecoverable blow by the revolution, know nothing of the gambols of the ancient pampered preachers of mortification and penance. The motley crew of grave and girded sensualists, shorn and unshorn, clad in variously coloured garments, no longer swarm in every street, begging and threatening eternal damnation to whomsoever refused them gold for their holy trinkets, consecrated wax, rosaries, scapularies, or more unprofitable prayers. These mischievous vagabonds are now unknown to France, but how long they will remain so, is another question, seeing that they infest Spain and Italy as indestructible vermin, while the French authorities evince but too great an apathy as regards the insiduous attempts of the different Orders at re-establishment in a country, of which they were long the ignominy and curse. Are not the legacies, bequeathed to these 'bullies of eternal pains,' in the last moments of expiring dotage and devoteeism, acknowledged by the law, and a stimulus thus given to the ever-grasping hypocrite to 'fright the *soul* from its propriety,' by encouraging the abominable blasphemy, that the decrees of infinite justice may be bartered for the gold, which the dying sinner must needs resign—and that God himself may be bribed or blinded through the medium of his minister! The inculcation and encouragement of such damnable doctrines, will go far towards re-establishing that state of things, whereby he, who resigned the wretchedness of poverty and obscurity, had only to take a vow of obedience to some hoary villain, grown grey in monastic licentiousness; a vow of poverty which it was his main purpose to violate; and a vow of chastity, which was the passport to ungoverned lust—and the ci-devant beggar, became a blessed *Pater*, possessed of power, wealth, and women—these last in most enviable variety, blooming nuns, buxom matrons, and beautiful dames of high degree, being all at the mercy of his force, or fraud. Well might the satirist say, that

> Par une permission du Dieu qui prodigue ses biens,
> Un couvent de Moines fut toujours flanqué d'un couvent de Nonains.
>
> Rabelais

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Rabelais Boccaccio and La Fontaine are sufficiently explicit, as to the great request in which the gentry of the frock and hood were held by such ladies as were left to choose their Father Confessors. Their testimony is confirmed by that of a work discovered by Mr. Jacob, and entitled *la polygamie Sacrée*, in which the most circumstantial details are given relative to the irreligious Orders. After an estimate of the luxurious expenditure in convents generally, the author proceeds to an examination of the persons, male and female, who lived at the expense of the Cross in the Gallican Church, and from deliberate inquiry, it resulted that there were, for every monk, two women, devout or otherwise, dedicating themselves, body and soul, to the service of ecclesiastical debauchery. From this estimate it is evident how unjust have been the philosophers, when declaring that convents were insatiable gulphs, which swallowed up the population of the kingdom. Truly, for the few thousand lazy labourers and undisciplined soldiers whom they received, they in due time furnished a numerous and flourishing race, prepared to walk in the pleasant paths of piety, following the footsteps of their complicated progenitors.

We think it unnecessary to paint the particular character of the monk, Rabelais having afforded a portraiture in the person of Friar John, of which it may be said, *Ex uno, &c.* For the edification of our friends in the 'first flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea' we prefer giving the following facts, which occurred in the dominions of the Emperor Maximilian of Austria.

A gentleman, possessed of a very lovely wife, was seized with a violent attachment for the *Cordeliers*, who had a convent in the neighbourhood of his house. He shared their vigils, fasts, and prayers, in all which he was encouraged by one of the Order, whom he had chosen as Father Confessor to himself and his wife. This reverend personage enjoyed a renown for wisdom and piety, which was nowise confirmed by his personal appearance, his figure being voluptuous, and his sparkling eyes, hypocritically sanctimonious before men, were bold and eloquent to the female children of that holy mother, 'the Church.'

One morning the gentleman set forth on a journey to visit one of his estates at some distance, leaving his wife at home with two maid-servants Suddenly the Confessor appeared, with his arms devoutly crossed and his eyes gleaming with unhallowed fire. 'Your husband,' said he to the fair member of his flock, 'will return soon?' 'Truly not,' answered the lady, 'I know not, indeed, when he will return, as the place to which he is gone is half a day's journey hence.' 'Good,' rejoined the monk, and abruptly departed. He descended into the court, whither the chambermaid followed him, and said; 'Father, the lady, my mistress, sends me to ask what it is that displeases you.' 'Daughter,' answered his reverence, 'come and see some beautifully illuminated pictures, and a portrait of our holy patron!' The maid, accustomed to these monkish courtesies, followed him into a nook, where he, without a word, drew a poniard from his sleeve, and laid her dead at his feet. Scarcely had he accomplished this, when a farmer arrived, bearing the rent due to the master of the family. 'Brother,' said the monk to him, 'my lord is busy in his stable, shall I conduct you to him?' The farmer, whistling a tune, followed the reverend father to the stable, and there received two poniard thrusts in the body. In the mean time the lady, displeased at not having received an answer to her message, sent the second maid to inquire why the other delayed. The assassin perceived her approach, assumed a joyous air, and killed the unsuspecting girl. These three murders left the course open to his infamous project. He accordingly repaired to the lady's chamber, who trembled on seeing his distorted

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visage and blood-besprinkled robe. To her question, 'Father, what is that?' the monster answered, 'Make no noise, particularly as there are none to hear you. Behold! and lest you be treated in like manner, perform my bidding.'—Saying which, he led her to the window, and shewed her the bleeding bodies of his victims! 'By my holy patroness, I pray thee, kill me not,' exclaimed the lady, clasping her hands in supplication. 'Assuredly not, my pretty one,' was the reply, 'I reserve you for a better fate—for, to possess you, I have done all that you see, and would have done worse. You must now dress in the habit of our Order, and proceed to the monastery, in consideration of which, my fair friend, I will secure to you the absolution of all your sins past, present, and to come. Here is the cord, robe, cowl, and sandals—nothing is wanting.' The unhappy lady obeyed, saying—'Wretch! God is my witness that I yield only to the most iniquitous force.' She spoke no more, but, weeping, complied with the commands of the friar, who cut off her curls with the edge of his poniard, and having arrayed her in the outward signs of his Order, set out with her for the convent. They had proceeded only a few steps, when they saw the gentleman returning towards them. 'My love,' said the Cordelier, 'is not that your husband who approaches? look not upon him—neither speak a word, if you wish not to join your maidens and your farmer.' 'How now, Father, are you returning from the collection at this hour?' 'No,' replied the monk, 'but I have just been confessing your lady, who will communicate to morrow.' 'Tis well,' said the gentleman, and went on his way. His valet, however, not recognizing the young Cordelier, as the acolyte whom he had before seen in attendance on the monk, and remarking the delicate feminine figure and imploring looks of the disguised lady, rode after his master, and said, 'Sir, I know not if it be truth, or a temptation of the devil—but the little cordelier is the lady, my mistress. 'Fool,' replied the gentleman, 'but go and see.' The valet hastened his horse towards the monk, who suspecting his object, stopped, as wishing to speak to him, but on his approach, struck him from his horse and cut his throat. The gentleman, seeing his servant fall, thought it accident, and hastened to his assistance, and was also unhorsed by the Cordelier. Being, however, a powerful man, he grappled with the monk and well nigh strangled him. The lady, seeing her persecutor disarmed, held him by the cowl, while her husband menaced him with the dagger. The monster prayed for mercy, and confessed his crimes: but the peasantry, having been alarmed by his cries, assembled, and bore him off in chains, and proceedings were instituted against him. Whether in penitence or malice, does not appear, but the cowled villain declared himself to be equalled in guilt by his brethren, and that numbers of victims of abduction were to be found at his convent. Messengers were accordingly dispatched, the unfortunate ladies liberated, and the monks burnt with their convent in perpetual memory of so horrible a crime.

Let it not be supposed that we have dwelt at unnecessary length on abominations now past away, even in France, and long unheard of under our more fortunate religious government. Never let it be forgotten that the unconquerable tendency of monkery is to darken and debase; and that while it has an existence, so long will there be danger. The beastly fraternities of mendicant vagabonds and irresponsible sensualists are, for the present, rendered harmless; but though the power be gone, it may return while the will remains. This is no question of exclusively protestant interest; nay, it is more properly a catholic one; catholic countries have suffered, and many of them are still suffering, under the infernal operation of monkery—and let France beware how she allows its secret, but sure advances.

We know we may be met by the boastful enumeration of the vast services performed

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performed to literature and science by the several Orders, and particularly by the Jesuits. In opposition to the solitary labours, however successful, of individual industry among those Orders, we would adduce the contracted minds and corrupted hearts of the national youth, wherever those 'worst private instructors' have exercised their poisonous influence. For expressing our opinions thus strongly we may be charged with illiberality; and, if liberalism require the toleration of the tremendous immorality and fatal machinations of monkery, we are content to be illiberal, having a wholesome historical recollection of the time when—

> 'Round many a convent's blazing fire
> Unhallowed threads of revelry were spun;
> There Venus sat disguiséd like a nun,
> While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
> Pour'd out his choicest beverage, high and higher,
> Sparkling until it could not choose but run
> Over the bowl, whose silver lip had won
> An instant kiss of masterful desire—
> To stay the precious waste. In every brain
> Spread the dominion of the sprightly juice
> Through the wide world, to madding fancy dear,
> Till the arched roof, with resolute abuse
> Of its grave echoes, swell'd a choral strain,
> Whose votive burthen was "*Our kingdom's here!*"'

In France that kingdom hath fallen, we heartily hope for ever!

Les Germains. Essai Epique, par Charles Marcellis. 8vo. Paris. 1829. pp. 152.

It is observed by the accomplished author in his preface, that 'Our Northern nations are indebted to the Southern for their knowledge of architecture, painting, music, and, above all, for the art of adorning speech. A milder temperature, and its consequent result, a more delicate and sensitive organization, fewer actual wants, and a greater facility of satisfying them, have combined to inspire the Southern race with a new order of desires, having no other object than pleasure. While in the North, man, obliged by the instinct of self-preservation, struggled against hunger, cold, and all the inclemencies of a rigorous climate, he had already felt, in the South, that vague restlessness which attends satiety, and aspired to the amelioration and embellishment of his existence. A timid imitation must have characterised the arts in a country which had not produced them; for such are the first effects of admiration: and it was only by degrees, and very slowly, that the Northern minds attained their natural independence. In poetry, for instance, their earliest efforts were merely some modifications of Greek and Latin masterpieces; retaining the same plans, the same images, and even the same expressions. After these productions, which may be almost wholly attributed to memory, appeared certain works wherein imagination bore a part; the authors having already shaken off the yoke of the Latin language, no longer worked exclusively with materials extracted from the ancients, but most frequently with thoughts belonging to them. Antiquity was to them a vast treasury, from which they enriched and adorned their writings. Still, the great number of borrowed thoughts, and even the character of their new conceptions, imparted to the poets of this epoch a foreign physiognomy. We seek among them without success for a delineation of what we are; and in reading them, we fancy that either Sophocles and Euripides, or Horace and Virgil are still before us.

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At length some bolder spirits attempted more; they sought their subjects in our own history; their plans in themselves, their colours in the manners as in that nature which surrounds us, and borrowing only from the Southern writers such rules as are universally applicable, they have, to a certain degree, naturalised brilliant poetry in the North. It must, however, be allowed, that those writings are not very numerous, and it is even supposed that their number cannot ever be much augmented; for some condemn our climate, as unfavourable to similar productions. Our barbarous annals, they say, do not yield to the fictions of poetry—our rough and barren soil—our coarse and repulsive manners reject her ornaments, and her cadence is destroyed by our names alone.

'But these are vain prejudices, too lightly conceived by our masters of the South, and too readily admitted by their disciples of the North. To him who possesses the sacred fire of the arts, nothing is barren in any climate: and after all, on what ground-works are founded those boasted compositions of the Greek minstrels?—rustic labours—a dispute between two chieftains, as uncouth and rude as our own ancestors; crimes like those which still continue to pollute thrones with blood; pictures of domestic life, and the praises of a wrestler, or of a charioteer.

'The principle of poetry, then, is in the poet himself; in his heart is the fire, which warms and fecundates an inert matter; his imagination the mirror that magnifies objects while it reflects them, and the prism by which they are clothed in the most brilliant colours; his mouth the source of harmony which diffuses so many charms over the language of men. Undoubtedly it is more easy to write in verse when we transport ourselves among the classical recollections of Greece or Italy, and upon a theatre where the fine arts flourished so long, than when we attach ourselves to our own traditions, or plunge into the olden times of our uncultivated state. For in the South, every thing is prepared, and objects present themselves already converted into poetry by the imagination of the great masters. It is gold, extracted and refined, which only requires the workman's hand.

'But would it not be better to open a new path in which our passage might be marked by happy creations, and which we might enlarge by boldness and perseverance, spreading through it a light capable of attracting all eyes, and discovering to them an entire world conquered under the shades of darkness? There is in our Northern records an event, the greatest, perhaps, that ever was celebrated by history—that irruption of the Northern tribes which caused the fall of the Roman empire. Never was Europe more agitated; never had such vast multitudes of men started up spontaneously to overwhelm distant nations; never was a change so prompt, so universal, so durable effected both in governments, in manners, and in language. How dreadful was this struggle between the North and the South! On one side nations civilized but corrupt, and institutions wise, but fallen into desuetude through despotism; on the other side, hordes still barbarous but full of courage. A society scarcely formed but rich in its first energies. The South presenting cultivated and smiling scenery, all the old recollections and interests of a mighty empire mouldering away: the North a picture of vast and ancient forests; all the new hopes, and that progressive warmth that animates conquest. Finally, on the side of the Romans, all the divinities of Olympus, and that brilliant *marvellous* which unites and confounds itself with their history; and, in favour of their rivals, Odin and the Northern mythology, almost unknown to a great majority of persons, and on that very account so favourable to poetical fiction.

'I am aware that this stupendous revolution is deficient in historical unity; being the result of successive invasions, which cross, and mingle, and fatigue

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fatigue the mind with fugitive images that leave behind only a confused recollection. But is it not the poet's task, to create for himself an action simple, clear, varied, and progressive? Has history ever before offered one like this? Is it not for the arts, a basis on which may be reared the most brilliant productions of imagination? Then let imagination seize upon such rich materials. Let it combine all those successive invasions into one simple fact; and exercising a necessary control over all parts of the subject, let it choose or reject, dispose and invent at discretion; changing all for the sake of embellishing all, to please being its supreme law, probability its truth, and taste its judge.

'I am convinced,' adds our author, (p. 12,) 'that to a work so noble genius will apply itself at some future period. It will remind all the Northern tribes of their common origin; it will present to them a picture of the opening greatness of their ancestors; it will interest us by a faithful delineation of their manners, their opinions, and perhaps by the intervention of those who founded each empire; it will diffuse over this vast conception the glow and charm of poetry; in short, peopling the first ages of Northern history with ingenious fictions, as Homer peopled the antiquity of Greece, it will endeavour to equal its model. May such a genius soon appear! one truly capable of such a work! meanwhile, I venture on the undertaking; for such is the weakness of man's mind, it advances to the desired object without consulting its own powers; it attempts, as soon as it conceives, a lofty enterprise; it knows not itself, and only becomes inactive when many fruitless efforts have exhausted it, dissipated its allusions and demonstrated its impotency.'

On the interesting subject sketched in this preface, M. Marcellis has composed four very spirited cantos, respecting which we must suspend our critical observations until the ingenious author shall have completed his great undertaking, which commences with an invocation of the Northern muses, those daughters of Odin who sing to their harps in gloomy forests and secret caverns.

'Muses du Nord, O! vous dont les voix ravissantes
Se mêlent aux accords des harpes éclatantes;
Qui célébrez vos chœurs et vos sacrés banquets
Dans les bois ténébreux, dans les antres secrets,
Chantez, filles d'Odin, l'antique Germanie.
Les peuples d'Occident aiment votre harmonie.
Retracez à leurs yeux les étonnans exploits
Qui de l'Europe esclave ont reconquis les droits,' &c.

It will here be sufficient to remark, that the action is placed in that epoch, (the very beginning of the fifth century,) when Rome still flourished as a city, but the vast empire was silently obedient to two feeble tyrants. Arcadius acknowledged by the East; the warlike West, respecting the caprices of the cowardly Honorius. Rome no longer fighting but by sacrifices, and replying to the insults of Persians, Arabians, or Germans, only by prayers which resounded throughout the whole empire, while ambassadors were sent to deprecate invasion, and to offer treasures as the price of peace.

'Rome est encore debout; mais cet empire immense
A deux faibles tyrans obéit en silence;
L'Orient reconnoît la loi d'Arcadius;
Et courbé sous le joug du lâche Honorius,
L'Occident belliqueux respecte ses caprices.
Rome ne combat plus que par des sacrifices;
Si le Perse du Tigre environne les flots,
Si l'Arabe insolent menace son repos,

Surtout,

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Surtout, si le Germain deborde ses frontières,
L'empire tout entier retentit de prières ;
Et ses ambassadeurs pour borner leurs progrès ;
Des trésors à la main vont marchander la paix.'

On so vast a field as this, which is here offered to our imagination, a great variety of personages must naturally appear; and we find accordingly, besides the Greek and Roman names, that history has rendered familiar a multiplicity of others less known to the generality of readers; such as Clodomir, Alboirs, Euric, Horsa, Hengist, Uldimer, Cariobald, Dumnorix, Olaf, Divicon, Lethra, Torfin, Childa, &c. Besides Jupiter, Hercules, Venus, Apollo, Minerva, and other gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, we behold the Northern divinities, Odin, Loke, Thor, Freya, Balder, &c.; for, as our author remarks, (p. 143,) the Scandinavian mythology, of which Odin is a principal personage, has been that of the Germans, at least in ages posterior to Tacitus. This is proved by the language of all Northern nations, especially in their denominations of the days of the week.

The last note of this work ascribes the courtesy, with which throughout Europe females are now treated in the Northern nations, among whom love was more exclusive than in the South, and almost deified its object. Heaven which is so frequently an image of the earth, here shows us Odin penetrated with respect for his wife, whilst the Jupiter of Homer threatens the queen of Olympis with the weight of his arm. We hope that it will soon be in our power to announce the completion of M. Marcellis's interesting poem.

La Vie Idéale, ou Dévelopemens Poëtiques de l'Ame, par Camille Turles. Louvain. 1829. 8vo. pp. 145.

In this work M. Turles undertakes to delineate and analyse that profound *reverie* which man, during his youth brings, it may be said, into the midst of all the circumstances or objects that interest or affect him: such as love, friendship, nature, the arts, religion, philosophy, &c. He wishes to trace that struggle, that inward conflict of the human soul, when in a state of variance with itself—its disgust on perceiving the nothingness of all that is merely external or sensible; its delight in contemplating whatever ennobles and exalts it: the ardour and constancy, with which it aspires after an ideal life, as a port secure against the storms, pains, and uncertainties of positive life.

Our ingenious author supposes a young man of twenty years, endeavouring to reproduce in their poetical point of view, and in an order nearly conformable with their developement, that crowd of noble emotions and the great thoughts, which at such an age are so powerful within us. His plan is extremely simple, and the only action results from the internal movement of a soul absorbed in self-contemplation. He might have easily given to his subject a more brilliant, or a more dramatic form. Several interesting passages, however, will be found under some of the following heads:—Recollections of Childhood—The Desire of Loving—Wishes—The Journal, or Paintings of Love—Grief—Friendship—The Reverie—Love of the Mysterious—The Charms of Nature—Travelling—The Sight of a great Capital—Painting and the Human Countenance—Music—Poetry and Eloquence—Literary Fame—The Ideal, and Enthusiasm—Genius—Science—Philosophy—Metaphysics—Impiety—Religion.

As a fair specimen of this work we may refer to the section entitled 'L'Amour du Mystérieux,' (p. 53,) beginning as follows: 'When I first read the Doctor Faust of Goëthe, I was struck beyond all expression with the tint of mystery pervading this extraordinary and astonishing drama, wherein

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is depicted, under most energetic colours, the life of a poor professor of philosophy in the middle ages, tormented by an impotent desire of knowledge, and seeking in the intoxication of pleasure, and in the dreams of ambition, a relief from the anxiety that preys upon him. I seemed to comprehend so perfectly his scientific despair; and, in the trouble of his mind, that soft voice speaking to him in low whispers, concerning nature and beauty which he had neglected to cultivate, for the sake of old, musty, worm-eaten books, skeletons, vials, and all the other dismal implements that constituted the apparatus of a philosopher in the twelfth century!'

This section concludes with the account of a very surprising dream, related by T. P. Richter, from whose works, we have reason to believe, another strange dream has been translated by Madame de Staël in her *Allemagne*.

However well pleased in general with this work, we must express our perfect coincidence of opinion with the editor, when he reproves M. Turles (p. 135), for having injudiciously placed in the mouth of any personage, whether real or fictitious, such gloomy language, as we find in the chapter on Impiety. It is not always sufficient that the writer's own motives be pure, and that his own conscience bear witness to his good intentions. We are justified in apprehending that such pictures and expressions may awaken in certain minds a kind of exaltation, which the subsequent chapter, of a very different character, (*La Religion*,) may not be capable of reducing.

Poësies. Par F. Delacroix. 1 vol. Paris, 1829. Dentu.

The chief merit of this work is, that it 'imitates the honourable Roman in brevity:' the author is a 'moderate minded bard,' and deserves our acknowledgment, for having compressed the mighty workings of his mind within the measure of one small volume. The *Poësies* consist of sundry pieces; the first of which is called 'the Cabin Boy.' It is divided into three parts, namely—*le départ*, *le naufrage*, and *la chapelle*, which indicate the progress of the following story. A young lad, full of the love of locomotion, which is truly a very pleasant passion,

> 'Leavening the blood, as cayenne doth a curry;'

thus resolves on his departure:

> 'I go, and that I may not cry,
> I will not bid mamma good-bye.'

Accordingly he goeth 'all aboard' of the *Saint Gildas*. The poet in launching his hero is untranslateably beautiful:

> 'Il vole—il part—semblable à la jeune hirondelle,
> Mais, comme elle, parti—reviendra-t-il comme elle?'

Herein lies the mystery. In the mean time the mother of this adventurous youth becomes alarmed by his not returning at the usual hour—and, like the immortal Mrs. Foy,

> 'Upon him vile reflections cast,
> A little, idle, sauntering thing!
> With other names, an endless string.'

At length she sets forth in quest of him, and arrives on the shore just as the vessel sails. The sea, faithless to the hopes of the incipient mariner, causes a considerable change in his ideas of navigation. The vessel sinks, and the cabin boy is left buffeting the billows from the mast, where, like an experienced landsman, he exclaims;

> 'Ah, who will help me? Must, then, I
> Though so young, be left to die?'

Having

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Having been brought up in the fear and love of the Virgin Mary, he addresses her in a pathetic orison, in which he makes the following conditional promise to the Madonna:

> 'Je veux, à ton saint nom fidèle,
> Sauvé du péril que je cours,
> Dévotement, pendant neuf jours,
> Aller prier à ta Chapelle.'

Notwithstanding this stipulation, he is left all night in his perilous state, but on the morrow 'a sail in sight appears,' coming to his assistance. Before, however, the boat can reach him, he sinks.

> 'Au bruit des flots se mêle un cri mourant "Ma mère!"
> Et l'enfant sur le mât soudain n'apparait plus.'

Thus ends the 'Naufrage.' 'La Chapelle,' the last part of this eventful story, affords a very fortunate conclusion. The mother of the *Naufragé* has made a pilgrimage to the Virgin's shrine, where she is praying for her lost son, 'When,' says the poet,

> 'She hears a cry,
> Of "Here am I!"'

and, turning round, beholds her son, who has been miraculously saved. Of this performance a French critic says, '*Ce joli poème prouve combien un heureux artifice peut prêter de mouvement et d'intérêt aux sujets les plus simples.*'

Among the other pieces in this volume, the most remarkable are *Herminie*, imitated from an episode in 'Jerusalem Delivered;' *Camille; la Mort de Gaston de Foix; le Gant; A un jeune Poete;* and *les Regrets;* the last of which is distinguished by a vein of tender melancholy, and many turns of expression which prove the author's sound appreciation of the *Méditations Poëtiques*, of Lamartine. Indeed all the poems in the collection evince his reliance, perhaps a prudent one, on the powers of others rather than his own. His versification, when unborrowed, is tame, and requires in the reader

> 'An undergoing stomach to bear up
> Against what then ensues.'

Elementos de Economica politica con aplicacion particular a España. Por el Marques de Vallesantoro. Segunda Edicion, Madrid, 1829.

Many valuable works on political economy have been published in Spain, but none so calculated as that before us to promote the diffusion of sound principles of scientific economy. A proof of this is the promptitude with which a second edition has appeared, a distinction rarely enjoyed in Spain by works of the greatest merit.

The work of Sr. Vallesantoro is divided into two parts. The first is explanatory of the principles and effects of political economy in general, without distinctive application, though instances of abuses and improvements are freely cited from the history of the science in England, France, Spain, and other countries. The second considers the actual condition of Spain, and proposes the reforms which the author believes to be useful, necessary, and practicable in that country. The general system of Sr. Vallesantoro is good, the truths are naturally and clearly deduced; his definitions are exact, and his principles laid down with the clearness and brevity of aphorisms. His pure and concise style will attract many readers whom the nature of the subject might be calculated to repel. He has wisely avoided lengthened digressions, and he maintains the rights of the landed

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landed proprietor, which, like those of the capitalist, have been questioned by some superficial writers.

The second part of the work contains many valuable suggestions as to the reforms which the author thinks ought to be commenced and continued. We regret that we have not space to quote the author's opinions, but thus much we may say, that no existing institution in his country is misrepresented, though all are examined and reduced to their real worth and just pretensions in the general system. This work ought to be perused with attention, not only by natives of Spain, but also by those who have hitherto taken from partial and superficial observers their opinion concerning this interesting portion of Europe.

Hornaquera i buerro. Memoria de D. G. Gonzalez Azaola, commissionado por S. M. en las Reales fabricas de la Cavada, Paris, 1829.

The author of this memorial has published it in Paris previously to his commencing his travels through France, Flanders, and England, by order of his sovereign. The object of his journeying is to ascertain the best method for organizing companies which foreigners are invited to join under the protection of the Spanish Government, and with the most ample guarantees, in order to establish associations for working the coal, iron, and other mines in the Peninsula. The Memorial of Sr. Azaola is well timed, and calculated to instruct and prepare the public mind in Spain for the fruits which may result from the successful performance of the duty entrusted to him by his Government. With this view he represents, as the principal cause of the decline of Spanish influence, that Spain abandoned industry for commerce, and the spirit of conquest—leaving her teeming soil untilled, and her manufactories neglected. He compares the present lamentable state of things with what might be, were the great capabilities of Spain developed with the same care which distinguishes the proceedings of England and France; and after having considered the means employed by Government for the encouragement of the various branches of industry, and the projects for canals and roads at present proposed, and partly carried into effect in Spain; he devotes his attention exclusively to the two subjects of pit-coal and iron, as the only movers of public prosperity. This little work abounds in most useful remarks which may be advantageously applied to the furtherance of enterprizes unhappily too much neglected in Spain.

Historia de la Monja Alferez D. Catalina de Eranso; escrita por ella misma e ilustrada con notas i piezas justificatores, por D. Joaquin M. Ferno 8vo. Paris, 1829.

If the wildest fictions of romantic imagination may yield delight to the reader, though he be conscious of the utter impossibility of the exploits and circumstances narrated, then we need not wonder that the volume here announced has created so lively an interest—containing, as it does, an authentic detail of facts which prove that, 'Truth is strange—stranger than fiction.' A young Biscayan girl, in the 16th century, left a convent of nuns in which she had been placed, put on male attire, and led, for some time, a wandering life, till she entered the royal navy. After proceeding to America she deserted, and afterwards joined the military against the Indians of Chili. In this service she, during several years, distinguished herself by her bravery and bold demeanour, and obtained distinguished honours. At length, dangerously wounded, she declared her sex, recovered, and returned to Spain, where she received a pension from the King, and from the Pope permission to wear male apparel to the end of her natural life. The Editor of this most singular

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singular narrative, already well known by his various editions of the Spanish Classics, being of the same province with the heroine, has had access to all the documents which authenticate her life and character. The adventures detailed in the work before us have, we know, been disputed; but not only are they mentioned by P. Rosales in his *History of Chili*, a manuscript copy of which we have seen, among other literary curiosities, in the library of Mr. Salva; but also by the celebrated Montalvan, a contemporary and rival of Lope de Vega. He wrote a piece which was printed among his other dramatic works, and called *La Monja Alferez*. The narrative of Catalina de Eranso, is remarkable by a beauty of style, purity of diction, and attractive simplicity, worthy of the most distinguished works of the period—a period of unrivalled brilliancy in the literary history of Spain.

CONTINENTAL LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Denmark.

THORLACIUS intends to publish a collection called 'Monumenta Sicula,' a specimen of which he has already given, namely, an explanation of a Greek inscription of fourteen lines, to be seen in the Syracuse Museum, on a piece of burnt loam, on which Artemis is represented as the Goddess of the Moon, of Nature, and of Birth.

A new proof of the attention paid by the Government of Denmark to the promotion of arts and sciences, is its causing the first original edition of the *Zendavesta* to be published, together with a rich critical and exegetical apparatus, under the direction of the learned Professor Olshausen, at the University of Kiel. The first number, printed in the lithographical institute at Hamburgh, has already made its appearance.

France.

PREPARING for publication, in royal 4to. 'An Historical and Picturesque Description of the Course of the Rhone,' from its origin until it reaches the sea. The views in Switzerland are executed by G. Lory, and others, of the most skilful artists of that country; those in France, by several French landscape painters; it will be coloured in a style of excellence rarely met with in works of this nature. The first number will appear in January, 1830, and the whole work will be completed in fifteen numbers.

In the 'Journal des Voyages et Archives Geographiques' it is stated, that in December, 1827, not far from Monte Video, a planter found a grave-stone, with unknown characters, in his field. On lifting the stone a grave was discovered, a large earthern vase, two very old swords, a helm, and a shield much eaten away by rust. The planter had them all brought to Monte Video, and a Greek inscription was discovered on the stone, from which the following sentence was decyphered: 'From the time of the government of Alexander, son of Philip, king of Macedon, in the sixty-third Olympiad... Ptolemæus.' On the hilt of the sword was found a portrait, which was supposed to be that of Alexander; and on the helmet was a worked representation of Achilles, dragging Hector round the walls of Troy.

The interesting nature of this account is sufficient to make us regret its manifest improbability. Such a discovery in Brazil from the time of Alexander is not likely to receive authentic confirmation.

We recommend to the notice of our readers a singular compilation, published at Paris, under the following title, *Des Peuples du Caucase, ou Voyages d'Abou el Cassim*,' in which all the accounts extant concerning the

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the people who, in the 10th century, inhabited that mountainous district, are contained. Numerous extracts of the most interesting character are given from the Persian, Arabian, and Armenian authors, several of which are from unpublished manuscripts. The following singular notice is from the *Garden of the Learned*, a Persian Universal History, by Abu Suleiman Doud, who flourished in 1320.

'The capital of the Franks is Russia, which was founded by Saturn, who is one and the same person with Nimrod. After the seventh king of the blood of Romulus, another kind of prince was chosen, who was always deposed at the close of a year. At present the chief power among the Franks is that of the Pope, whom they believe to be the Deputy of the Messiah. The second is that of him, who is in the French language called *Empereur*, a title signifying Sultan of Sultans. At Rome, when the Pope has placed the golden crown on the Emperor's head, he sets his foot on his head and neck, and thus goes over the whole body of the Emperor. When this is done, the Emperor remounts his horse, and is acknowledged and hailed as ruler. The Lord of the two isles Ibernia and Inglata, is called Skottland, and in his islands there is something truly wonderful: birds grow on the trees. Here grow those trees which bear the extraordinarily large bean shells; each shell contains a bird, which when the shell is ripe, pecks through and flies away. The people catch it and feed it during ten years, at the end of which it is as large as a duck, and the inhabitants feast luxuriously on its flesh.'

An analysis of an unpublished 'History of Mexico,' written by a Spaniard in the 16th century, has appeared in Paris. It treats of a Spanish work, written by Father Saljaqua, twenty-five years after the conquest of Mexico. He has considered the Religious History of the Ancient Mexicans, in six books; in the first, giving the names and properties of twenty-two Gods, which in part resemble the Grecian deities; in the second treating of their Calendar, the Feasts, Sacrifices, and Religious Solemnities; in the third, of the Origin of their Gods, of Immortality, Funerals, Education, and the Priesthood; in the fourth, of Astrology and Prophecy; in the fifth, of the Omens of Birds, Quadrupeds, and Insects; in the sixth, of Rhetoric and Theology. The several accounts furnish materials for interesting comparison with the customs and belief of the Greeks, Romans, and more recent nations. Their year consisted of 360 days, or 18 months, each having 4 weeks or 20 days. The year began on the 2d of February, and had five intercalary days. A market was held at the end of each week, and the immoveable feasts were celebrated according to the Decades, the 1st, 10th, and 20th.

At *Erdrestrom*, two brick images of Egyptian deities, with rams' heads and ammon horns, have been found. They were lying far below the surface of the river's bed, amid a quantity of mud, under which was a large stratum of clay, and, consequently, they must have been there for some thousand years.

Germany.

In the 141st number of the 'Allgem. Anzeiger der Deutschen,' for the present year, Heinrich Grävе has laboured to convince the multitudinous admirers of punch, that this happy amalgamation of the *Vier Elemente* is by no means a modern contrivance; but that the ancients quaffed it as copiously as ourselves. According to the correspondent of the 'Anzeiger,' Julius Cæsar brought the potent beverage to Britain, and therewith regaled the great ones of the land. This hitherto unknown and most cunning contrivance, was more fortunate than fair, if, indeed, the noble Roman *did* thus turn the heads of our forefathers. Of this we are by no means convinced from

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from the logic of Mr. Grâve—we should rather lean to the conclusion, that the worthy German has strained a point in his devotion for that 'quality' of liquid, which

> 'Cometh, as the gentle rain from heaven
> On the place beneath—and is twice bless'd
> Blessing him that gives, and him that takes.'

Two Catholic ladies of Würzburg, named *Von Hutten*, are in possession of a large collection of letters addressed by the most celebrated men of the 16th century, to Ulrich von Hutten. This is, probably, the collection which Hutton, during his residence in Switzerland, wished to publish under the title of *Epistolarum Opus*. Steps have been taken to procure the publication of this treasure, but the possessors withhold their consent, because from the printing of these heretical letters, they anticipate danger to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Religion. It is really to be regretted, that at this time of day the scruples of bigotry should be suffered to oppose the interests of literature. Conciliation, to be effective, should be mutual, and while every concession is made by Protestantism, Catholicism should, nay, *must* beware how it evinces that ancient and execrable love of darkness and mental tyranny, which of old, in its power, was the curse, and now, in its drivelling, is the scorn, of reason and a truly Christian charity.

Niebuhr's *Römische Geschichte*, which has excited so much attention among his countrymen, and no less among the learned of our own, does not appear to be equally calculated for the historical readers in America. A reviewer in the 'National Gazette' expresses himself thus philosophically on the subject: 'So then, that part of the Roman history which was knocked into us at the schools we must unlearn, and read the greater portion of Livy as people read Homer and the Chinese annals. Better had it been that these German scholars had never been born, than that they should afflict us with the necessity of beginning our studies anew.'

In this pathetic lament we by no means sympathize, yet we pity the lamenting and lamentable writer from our inmost heart: and, therefore, counsel him *not* to begin his studies anew, for should he study in the same enlightened and truth-loving spirit, as that in which he writes, more 'knocking' than has already, so much to his grief, been perpetrated upon him, would be requisite, ere he could perceive, that 'it is better, far better, for the interests of mankind, that these German scholars *have* been born.'

The study of the Greek language is generally neglected in the Austrian states, and also in Poland. In the latter country, this study can scarcely advance when, in the schools, every scholar is left at liberty to learn Greek, or not, as he pleases. The grammar in use is a little work, which is but an abridgment from an Austrian school-book. The best part of it is the preface, which is in Polish, and strongly inculcates the necessity of a more diligent study of the Greek language and literature among the youth of Poland.

Professor Blumenbach of Göttingen, possesses a small library of books, all of which are written by *Negroes*, showing that there is hardly a science in which some Negro has not been distinguished.

By the abdication of Professor Eichhorn, this university has sustained a very severe loss; but the state of his health, which has been very precarious since several years, has obliged this eminent jurist to close his lectures, and to retire to private life.

Italy.

In the neighbourhood of the ancient Fiesole in Tuscany, on the territory of Count Pietro Mozzi, 8000 Roman coins, from the time of the consuls, and a wall

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wall built of rectangular stones, have been excavated. At Cahors a beautiful Mosaic, which served as pavement to the ancient temple of Diana at that place, has rewarded the labours of antiquarian research.

A Statue of Venus has been excavated at Bonavia, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. In beauty of form and purity of execution, it is said to excel that of Medici. Unfortunately the head is wanting, but, as it is, the statue measures six palms four inches in height. It has been placed in the Syracuse museum.

Russia.

By the fortunate termination of hostilities between the Russians and Persians, the former have been enabled to do something towards the extension of knowledge, as well as of their own unwieldy empire. During the campaign, Prof. Senkofski, of St. Petersburg, presented to the Government a memorial, in which he proposed that, in the event of peace, a number of rare oriental manuscripts should be stipulated for with the Persians. He subsequently, in conjunction with a friend, furnished a catalogue of 400 of the most rare and costly manuscripts, of which he wished the Russians to obtain possession. The emperor, who, from reasons of state, is highly favourable to oriental studies, sent the memorial and the catalogue to the general commanding in Persia, with the injunction to search carefully in all the convents and mosques of the vanquished provinces for the manuscripts indicated in the catalogue, and if found to bear them off. Prof. Senkofski particularly requested that search should be made for Ptolemy's *Geography*, and other Greek works, which were translated by the Arabians, and the originals of which has been lost.

The Persians freely gave about sixty works, and were well pleased that no copy of the Koran, or any other religious work, was required of them.

Independently of the above requisition, General Suchtelen, after the capture of Ardebil, selected from the library of that place 300 works, some of which are very voluminous, and transmitted them to St. Petersburg.

The Russian minister at the court of Persia was a man of great learning and taste, and further, an excellent orientalist. But the hopes placed in him have been terribly dispelled by the catastrophe which befell him, and it is now to be feared that many of the sanguine expectations of the orientalists will remain unfulfilled.

Dr. Erman is now on his return to Europe through Kamtschatka, China, and round the Cape. Dr. E. has made two very singular discoveries: first, that the whole of Siberia from the European frontier up to the Bay of Ochotock is intersected by good roads: secondly, that in as far as the geological structure of mountains can lead to conclusions relative to their contents, it is highly probable that the northern descent of the chain of the Ural may contain gold and platina, in the same quantity as lately discovered on the western and southern declivity of the same mountain ridge. Should this latter conjecture prove well founded, Russia will be abundantly supplied with the sinews of war.

The great importance of old coins and inscriptions for the illustration of the history of the Crimean Bosphorus, is manifest from an essay in the 78th number of the 'Journal de St. Petersburgh' for the present year, in which new chronological data are mentioned, founded on recently discovered coins. The names and reigns of twenty kings of that country, concerning whom no mention whatever is made by the old historians, have been gradually and consecutively discovered from old coins, by which, with a few slight breaks, a regular succession is established through several centuries. Some of these breaks have been recently filled up. It was known that King Sauromates

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III. had reigned till the year 420 of the Pontian era, his name and image having been found on a coin bearing this date, on the reverse of which was the image of the Emperor Hadrian. His successor, Cotys II. is known first from a coin of the year 426, and from an inscription of 424; but a gold coin lately brought from Staropol to St. Petersburgh, bears on one side the image and name of Cotys II. and on the other the head of Hadrian, with the number 420. Herefrom it is evident that in this year Sauromates III. died, and Cotys II. ascended the throne. The latter reigned till 428, when he was succeeded by Rhoemetalces, who died in 450, and before 452 King Eupatir is known by a coin found in the Bosphorus, bearing date 451. It has been discovered that Cotys IV., Rhescopuris V. and Erus, reigned before the year 531. The rule of Thothorses lasted from 575 to 604; and concerning the hitherto doubtful King Rhadamcadis or Rhadamsadis, whose reign ended in 616, it has been discovered that he reigned already in 607. The reign of his successor, Rheseopuris VIII. the last known king in the Bosphorus, lasted from 616 till 631, though formerly he was not known to have governed after 629.

Our minister for the home department has caused a *Kalmuckian Institute* to be erected here, for the purpose of teaching the language to young men who might afterwards serve the crown as officers and interpreters among the Kalmuck tribes. At a Gymnasium at Moscow, founded by the rich Armenian family of the Lasareffs, the Armenian and Turkish languages are taught by the Russian Archimandrit Michael, who some time ago published a complete Grammar of the Armenian language.

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THE

FOREIGN REVIEW.

ART. I.—*La Vie de Saint Ignace, Fondateur de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par le R. P. Bouhours, de la même Compagnie. Nouvelle Édition, revue et soigneusement corrigée, ornée d'un Portrait. 1820.

THE restoration of the Jesuits was so remarkable an event both in itself, and as an indication of the spirit which prevails in the Romish church, that though it did not excite quite so much attention at the time in France, as 'the affair of Fualdes,' or in England, as the murder of Mr. Wear, or the execution of Fauntleroy, it did not pass in either country without remark. The old contest concerning the society was renewed; pens were again drawn on both sides, and ink shed, little to the credit of the authors, or the country on either* part; and as little, it may be suspected, to the advantage of the publishers. The years which have elapsed have shown that the apprehensions then entertained, however injudiciously expressed, would have appeared well founded, if the authors who expressed them had been masters of their own case. A sect may change its character, as the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Moravians, and, in a less degree, the Wesleyan methodists, have done; and yet to understand the constitution and nature of these sects rightly, it is necessary to be acquainted with the circumstances of their rise and progress. So is it with regard to the Jesuits, and the probable consequences of their restoration: for speculations concerning the future must, in such things, be altogether worthless, unless they are founded upon a knowledge of the past. The character of that society is indeed indelible. Linguet said of its founder, that the only miracle which he worked after his death, was that of inspiring two and thirty authors with the desire of writing his life. Linguet himself made the thirty-third; and it will not be performing a superfluous task if we add another to the list. The original

* 'The New Conspiracy against the Jesuits detected and briefly exposed, with a short Account of their Institute, and Observations on the Danger of Systems of Education independent of Religion. By R. C. Dallas, Esq., 8vo.' This was a bad book, written by a man of good principles, upon an erroneous view of the subject. It called forth a 'History of the Jesuits, to which was prefixed a Reply to Mr. Dallas's Defence of this Order, in two vols. 8vo.' This was a worse book, in which the right cause was maintained by an advocate too ignorant even to suspect his own incapacity for the task which he had undertaken.

 authorities

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authorities are not easily accessible in this country, even to the few studious persons who might be desirous of perusing them; and for the compilations and abstracts which are to be found in our biographical dictionaries and books of common reference, the manufacturers of those miserable articles have generally been as careless in research as they were deficient in ability.

Yñigo de Loyola y Oñez was born in 1491, of an old and honourable family, at the castle of Loyola, not far from Azpeytia, in the province of Guipuzcoa. His father's name was Beltran Iañez de Loyola y Oñez, his mother's, Marina Saenz de Licona y Balda, and he was the youngest of thirteen children. That he was born, for the purpose of signifying a mysterious conformity, in the stable, is a tradition which, though asserted by some of the earlier Jesuits, the later and more critical admit to be apocryphal; and that before he was christened, he desired to be called Ignatius (the name by which he latinized Yñigo) is a circumstance, they say, which requires stronger evidence than can be adduced to prove it—so careful are they not to offend with gnats the throat which is to swallow a string of camels, each with a high-piled load upon its back. Well would it be for the Jesuits if their whole history could bear investigation as well as the genuine and unadorned memoirs of their founder might do! Ignatius, however, being the name by which he was canonized, and is generally known, is that whereby he may most conveniently be called. It was appointed, say his disciples, that he should be born of noble blood on both sides, to the end that men of like noble extraction in all parts of the world should not disdain to come under the strict and severe, but well considered laws which he instituted; and it was also appointed in the ways of Providence, that he should be trained in war, because, in that school, he could best obtain a practical knowledge of discipline, and of the sufferance, the promptitude, the enterprise, and the unhesitating obedience to be required in the members of the society which he was to found. Having received the first part of his education at home, it seems that he was placed by his father at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella; and nothing more is known of him, till, in the thirtieth year of his age, he appears as a soldier in garrison at Pamplona, then besieged by the French. Till that time he has described himself as having been devoted to the vanities of the world; his eulogists have discovered in him all the latent qualities of a lamb; and his enemies, with that slanderous malice which characterises bigotry in whatever communion it is found, represent him as a monster of ferocity. But that he was a brave soldier, and a person of no little consideration

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sideration at that time, is evident from the account which he gave of himself at the close of his life. Pamplona, he said, had been reduced to such a state, that the governor was urged to surrender, upon the single condition, that their lives should be spared; he alone opposed this proposal; urged that the place was still defensible, and ought to be defended till the last, and succeeded in bringing over the other officers to his opinion. That he was, even at that time, religiously disposed, is also shown by the fact, that on the day when the assault was expected, he called aside one of his companions in arms, to whom he made, and received from him in return, a confession of his sins. And that at the same time the vanities of the world had strong hold on him, is abundantly proved by the remarkable circumstance which presently led to his conversion, or, as it may more properly be called, his change of life.

In the action a ball broke his right leg, and wounded the other: seeing him fall, the garrison, who had only held out because of his exhortations, capitulated; he was made prisoner with them; and though in that age war was carried on with great barbarity, he was most humanely and generously treated by the French. They allowed him to occupy his own quarters, the best surgeons of their army attended him for about a fortnight: he was then set at liberty, and sent on a litter to his father's house. The removal, though he had been carried by men the whole way, injured him; the wound became worse, and it was necessary to reset the bone, his present surgeon being of opinion that it had either been ill set at first, or dislocated by the journey. To this he submitted with his wonted fortitude, neither then, nor under the former operation, uttering a sound of complaint, nor manifesting any sign of suffering, except that he was observed to clench his hands forcibly. After this his strength decreased, his appetite failed, other ill symptoms came on; he was advised to prepare himself for the worst, and having made what he supposed to be his last confession, he was told in the evening, that if no favourable change took place before midnight, there would remain no further hope. This was on the eve of the joint festival of St. Peter and St. Paul; to St. Peter, Ignatius had been especially devoted, and had composed in Spanish a hymn to his honour; the favourable change took place: he fell asleep, and awoke from that sleep with a sense of convalescence. Subsequent biographers have added that St. Peter appeared to him in a dream, bringing with him healing from heaven in acknowledgment of the devotion shown towards him by Ignatius, and the hymn composed to his praise.

His recovery now proceeded well in all respects: but such

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had been the nature of the fracture, or the unskilfulness of his surgeons, that the upper part of the bone overlapt the other, so that the leg was shortened; and there was a protuberance under the knee, which rendered it impossible for him to wear what was then the fashionable military boot. He asked whether the protuberance could be removed, and the leg stretched? the reply was that both could be done, but that it would cost him greater suffering than all the former operations. But in his state of mind, full as he was of ambitious hopes, no suffering was to be put in competition with his personal appearance: he chose to undergo the operation; the wound was re-opened, the bone sawn off, and the contracted limb extended by some machinery for that purpose. This occasioned a long confinement; and when, in other respects, he had perfectly recovered, a weakness remained in that leg which compelled him to remain in bed. There he beguiled the time with reading: he was passionately addicted to romances of chivalry; but there were none of these in the castle of Loyola; no Amadis of Gaul or Greece, no Palmerin of Oliva or of England, nor any history of the heroes of their chivalrous and imperial lines: for lack of such, they brought the Spanish translation of a Life of our Saviour, written by Landolphus, a Carthusian; and a volume of the Lives of the Saints, in Spanish also. In this latter he found fictions wild as the wildest inventions of romance, but far more powerfully impressive, because they came to him with the sacred stamp of religious truth; no wonder then that they should have soon possessed the already feverish imagination of one whose bodily frame had been weakened by long suffering, and who was left to himself in solitude. What ensued, resembles so closely the origin of Don Quixote's madness, that Cervantes would beyond all doubt be supposed to have intended that the likeness should be perceived, if he had not elsewhere given proof that he was himself imbued with the superstitions of his countrymen. But had Ignatius taken in his insanity a chivalrous turn, his mistress would in reality have had all the advantages of birth and station which the knight of La Mancha so gratuitously imputed to Dulcinea,—for he was in love with a princess;*

* *Non era condesa ni duquesa, mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas.* It is remarkable that in such of the three and thirty biographers of Loyola as we have looked into, (and they are not a few,) the only one who has noticed this fact is the Jesuit whose account was dictated by the saint himself, and first (in a Latin version) published in the Acta Sanctorum. (Jul. t. 7) A.D. 1731. Yet Ribadaneira certainly had this account before him; nor can it be doubted that both Maffeius and Orlandinus must have possessed it also. Their motive for suppressing all mention of the fact, was probably the same which induced Codrettus to omit the words here quoted, in his Latin version of P. Luiz Gonçalves' original, which was written part in Italian, part in Spanish. They thought it prudent to withhold a fact, which was in itself decisive proof of a disordered intellect.

and

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and when he began to read, his attention was frequently diverted from the book before him by this passion, and he lay three or four hours upon his bed, day-dreaming, how he should obtain access to her, what he should say to her, what exploits in her honour he should perform, and how he should obtain her favour, wholly forgetful of the insuperable obstacle which fortune had placed between him and the object of his desires.

But his book weaned him from these fancies gradually, and not without a struggle. Whether the turn which they took has produced most good or evil to mankind, is a question which men will answer differently according to their degree of knowledge; that charity which hopeth all things would determine one way when it regarded the Jesuits in South America, in California, and perhaps in Canada,—another, when it called to mind their history in every part of Europe. But for Ignatius himself, undoubtedly the determination was a happy one; he himself perceived at this time, that as his thoughts alternated between views of secular and views of spiritual ambition, he was left by the former with an uneasiness and a sense of hollow and deep dissatisfaction, though they began in cheerful and exhilarating feelings; but that the more he indulged in spiritual aspirations, the more was he satisfied with himself, and delighted with the views that opened before him. 'What if I were to do this, which St. Francis, or St. Dominic has done?' was the question which rose in his mind as he read; and then as he dreamt over the open book, he dwelt less upon what it might be difficult to execute, or grievous to endure, than upon the means of overcoming all difficulties,—the resolution which he knew he possessed, of attempting any enterprise however arduous, and the patience and perseverance whereof he was equally conscious, the one of which was not to be wearied, the other not to be subdued. 'St. Dominic has done this, therefore I can do it! St. Francis has done this, therefore so can I.' Thus in after life he described what were then his secret imaginations. To go on pilgrimage barefoot to Jerusalem; to feed on herbs, to macerate his body by abstinence, to subdue it and punish it by self-inflicted pains—these became his favourite thoughts. What the heroes of ecclesiastical romance had achieved, he also could accomplish: he had the same enemy to resist, the same Lord to serve; the same celestial support to look for and to rely on: wherefore then should he delay to enter upon that service with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength! There was an image of the Virgin in his chamber; he rose from his bed at midnight, and falling prostrate before it in soul and body, he prayed that she would deign to

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to accept his devoted service for herself, and for her blessed Son. At that moment the chamber shook as with a violent earthquake; so say his biographers, affirming the miracle resolutely, and doubting only whether the castle was thus shaken by the Devil in furious resentment for this his first defeat by the aspirant saint, or whether the Lord had caused the earthquake as a sign of encouragement to his soldier.

After this, as he lay awake in his bed, at night, he saw plainly with his bodily eyes the blessed Virgin appearing to him, with the holy Infant in her arms, both regarding him with looks of benign complacency and encouragement. Ignatius, with all his fervent enthusiasm, was a vigilant self-observer; however willing to be deceived himself, there is no reason to suspect that he at any time attempted knowingly to deceive others; and therefore when he related this possible and likely vision, he never ventured to affirm that it was actually a divine appearance. That they should conclude it to have been so, he was not unwilling: nor that they should deduce proof of its miraculous nature from the total change of which he was conscious in himself from that hour:* for he was instantly and effectually cured from all worldly thoughts, and purified from all carnal desires. The Jesuits are not the most mendacious society that the world has ever seen, because 'the force of lying could no farther go' than Benedictines, Franciscans and Dominicans had carried it before them; but they have magnanimously competed with their elder brethren in falsehood; and in this instance, suppressing the disclaimer which was taken down from the lips of Ignatius himself, writer after writer among them has represented the delirious impression as an indubitable miraculous manifestation; and the official historian of the order argues that by thus appearing, the Virgin clearly announced herself to be the patroness of that order when it should be established; that its rise and progress were to be ascribed to her heavenly influence, and that in her protection they were to confide, as being specially committed to her charge.

He had now begun to sit up during part of the day, and his employment was to form an abridgement of the book which had been the instrument of his conversion. This was an elaborate performance, on three hundred quarto leaves; he excelled in penmanship, and on this occasion exerting all his

* —"*tantum vitæ anteactæ fastidium eum cepit, præcipuè verò earum rerum quæ ad carnis libidinem pertinent, ut excessisse ex animo ejus species omnes, quas conceperat, ipse sibi sentire videretur. Ab eâ verò horâ usque ad illud tempus Augusti anno* MDLV *quo hæc scripta sunt, ne minimum umquam quidem consensum libidini adhibuit.*—Acta SS. Jul. t. 7, 636, § 10.

skill,

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skill, he wrote whatever related to our Lord in red, all that concerned the Virgin in blue, and the lives of the saints in other different colours. He was too cautious to say anything of his change of mind and his intended change of life to his elder brother, Martin Garcia, or to any other person; but the servants, as well as that brother, perceived that his countenance as well as his conversation was altered. He no longer conversed upon light or trivial subjects; when not engaged in his task of calligraphy, he was either intent upon his book, or engaged in prayer; and his greatest pleasure was to contemplate the starry firmament. His first design was, after he should have returned from Jerusalem, to enter the Carthusian convent at Seville; and with this view he made inquiries through a servant concerning the rules and observances of that order: what he learnt pleased him well, but he gave up the incipient intention, because he thought that in travelling about the world he should be more at liberty to perform such penances as he now meditated, and to exercise that hatred which he had conceived against his sinful self. As soon as he deemed himself strong enough to travel, he deemed it time to depart; and, as a pretext for setting out, he said to his brother that the Duke of Najara, who was then at Navarrete, knew of his recovery, and it was proper, therefore, that he should pay his respects to the duke, who was a friend of the family. Martin Garcia had observed enough to make him suspect that Ignatius intended to enter upon some eccentric course. Taking him, therefore, aside, he entreated him to remember his illustrious birth, the fair reputation which he had already obtained, and the prospect of advantage and honour which was open to him; and he besought him to take heed, lest he should now make shipwreck of his fortunes. But Ignatius, who was always master of himself, practised upon this occasion that art of evasion for which his disciples have been so justly and peculiarly noted. He replied to all his brother's exhortations * so as to satisfy him, without disclosing his own mind, or engaging himself to anything, and then left the castle of Loyola, riding a mule, and accompanied by one of his brothers and by two servants.

From this time he made flagellation a part of his spiritual diet every night. Leaving his brother at a sister's house in Oñate, he proceeded to Navarrete with his servants. Some money was due to him from the duke, probably on account of his pay; this he took up, ordered some of it to be disposed of among persons to whom he thought himself in any way indebted, and gave the

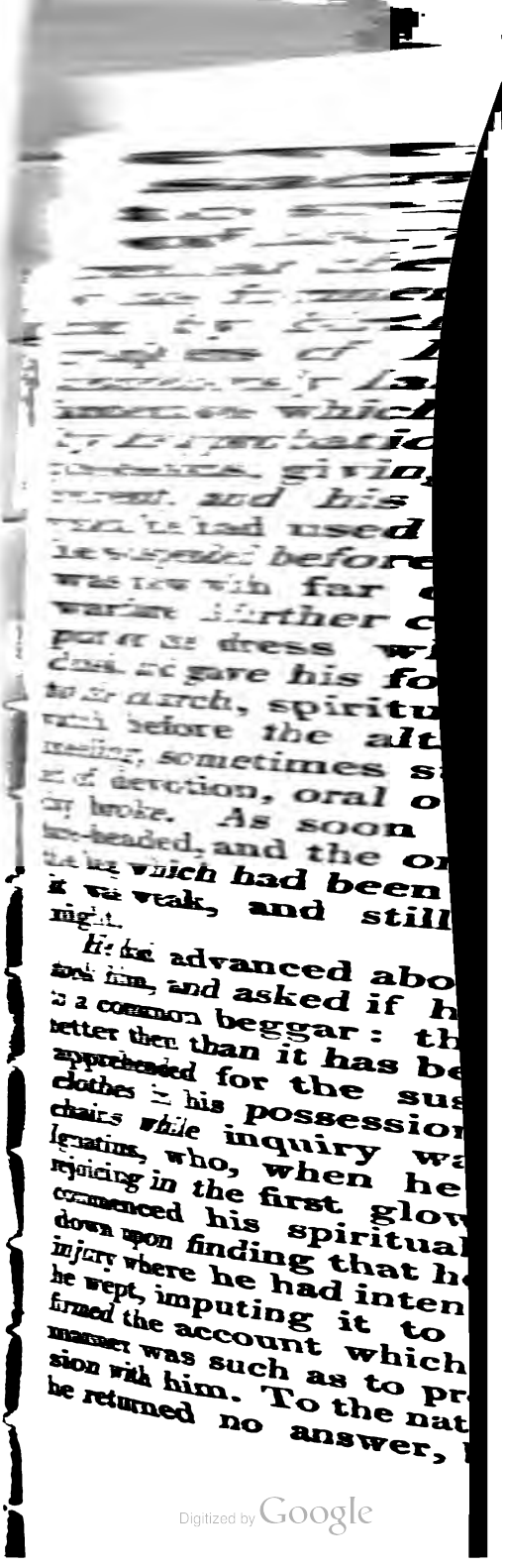
* *Quibus ita respondit, ut nihil a vero discedens (de hoc enim magna illi jam tum erat religio) sese a fratre extricarit.*—Luis Gonçalves, ib. 687.

rest

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g a certain image of our Lady,
. This done, he dismissed his
i Navarrete for Monserrat alone
: was wholly possessed with the
'oic austerities of the worthies
l with such intense devotion.
ife upon this state of mind, he
knew what humility was, nor
'etion; and that the zeal with
n himself, and meditated such
ould entitle him to vie with the
arose not from abhorrence of
heartily, as well as abhorrently
)m a vehement desire of signa-
ne, for the glory of God. An
:he journey to Monserrat may
judgment of himself. A Moor
)ined company with him; their
on debateable ground, and they
Virgin; the Moor admitted the
nced an opinion concerning the
irth, which Ignatius considered
oor, luckily for himself, pricked
e deliberated whether it was not
r and put him to death for the
e had disparaged. His strong
his dagger; but there was also
ıot it was right that he should
ıuist enough to determine the
e—and his mule, to determine.
ıeir talk, had told him he was
istance from the high road. He
ıule's neck, leaving her to chuse
the village, he resolved to find
e heart: but the mule preferred
ad he perpetrated the meditated
ıce would have been, that if he
'om the friends of the slain, his
) in some convent as a religious

'rat, he purchased a piece of
rim's dress made of it coming
led himself also with a rope
'im's staff, a gourd for a drink-
bass-weed. He did not, how-
ever,



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ever, as yet, put himself in this costume, and proceeded to the sacred mountain in his military dress; and on his way thither, to strengthen himself against his own weakness, he made a vow of chastity to our Saviour and to the blessed Virgin. Having reached the monastery, he there went through the whole course of his former life in confession to one of the brethren, a Frenchman by birth, whose name is variously written by the biographers of Loyola, but his great virtue and discretion are unanimously lauded. To this confessor he imparted also the intentions which he had formed, and being confirmed in them by his approbation, he divested himself now of his last worldly possessions, giving the mule, on which he had ridden, to the convent, and his money to the poor. The sword and dagger which he had used in war, when he gained his worldly honours, he suspended before the Virgin's altar as the offerings of one who was now with far other weapons to prosecute a more arduous warfare. A further ceremony remained to be performed. Having put on the dress which he had prepared, he went out in the dusk, and gave his former garments to a beggar; then returned to the church, spiritualizing the customs of chivalry, there to watch before the altar, like a new made knight, sometimes kneeling, sometimes standing, but continually engaged in some act of devotion, oral or mental, to his Virgin patroness, till the day broke. As soon as it was light he set off for Manresa, bare-headed, and the one foot bare; the other was shod, because the leg which had been so severely treated required some care; it was weak, and still bandaged, and was always swoln at night.

He had advanced about three miles when a messenger overtook him, and asked if he had given a suit of expensive apparel to a common beggar: the police in Spain appears to have been better then than it has been in latter times: this man had been apprehended for the suspicious circumstance of having such clothes in his possession, and was detained in prison and in chains while inquiry was made into the truth of his story. Ignatius, who, when he went his way from Monserrat, was rejoicing in the first glow of excitement upon having at length commenced his spiritual career, was in a like proportion cast down upon finding that he had thus been the means of inflicting injury where he had intended to confer a benefit, insomuch that he wept, imputing it to his own wickedness. When he confirmed the account which the unlucky mendicant had given, his manner was such as to preclude all possible suspicion of collusion with him. To the natural question of who and what he was, he returned no answer, but proceeded on his way, avoiding Barcelona,

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Barcelona, because many persons there would have known him, and have persecuted him with attentions and honours which he had determined from this time forth to shun. On setting forth that morning he had fallen in, at a little chapel dedicated to the Apostles, with a lady by name D. Iñes Pasqual, who had come for devotion from Manresa to our Lady of Monserrat. Of her he inquired where was the nearest hospital in which he could be entertained? The nearest, she replied, was three leagues off, at Manresa, whither she was returning, and if he chose to accompany her to that city, she would take care that he should be received there, and have whatever comforts such an institution could afford. The lady was struck with his countenance, his manners, and his whole appearance; and urged him, because of his lameness, to take an ass which she had in her train, but no persuasions could induce him to depart from his purpose of proceeding on foot; the more painful his way, the more gratifying it was to that temper of mind, which regarded self-inflicted sufferings as an acceptable offering to the Almighty. When they reached Manresa, she recommended him to the matron of the hospital, and sent for his entertainment the dish which had been prepared for her own supper, and continued for some days to supply his meals.

But Ignatius had not chosen this place of abode that he might be regaled there. He fasted rigorously, and carried on the war against the flesh in which he had engaged, by flogging himself three times a day, letting his beard grow, never cutting his nails, and never combing his hair. Seven hours in the day he devoted to prayer: he constantly attended not only at mass, but also at the vesper and the compline services; he took no food but bread and water, the bread being what he begged in the streets; and of this so little, that his daily diet might have been deemed fasting, except on Sundays, when he always confessed and communicated, and then allowed himself a meal sufficient a little to abate the edge of hunger, and drank a little wine if it was offered. The time not employed in prayer, flagellation, and begging for himself, he spent in begging for others, in attending upon the sick, and in exhorting those with whom he conversed to piety. This manner of life soon attracted notice, the more so because neither the miserable apparel which he wore, nor the filth which he affected, nor the matted state of his hair, which was now never combed day or night, much as all this disfigured him, could debase the mien and manner, and features of one accustomed to the highest circles both in camps and courts. The story of the beggar also had become generally known; he was, therefore some great person who, withdrawing from

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from secular greatness, and concealing carefully his rank, had entered upon a saintly course of life. The Spaniards in those days were as much prepared by their prepossessions to meet with living saints as dead ones; heresy they were ready enough to suspect and abhor and persecute, but they were not apt to suspect either hypocrisy or madness when taking this direction. They saw in Ignatius a sincere devotee; they supposed him to be a greater personage than he was, and looked upon him as a saint in the shell. Such an opinion he was not far from entertaining of himself after the delirious impression which he had experienced in the castle of Loyola: and at this time there was an ocular spectrum frequently present to him—in day-light, and when his eyes were open; it was near him, floating in the air, indistinct in form, but something resembling a serpent with resplendent eyes, which yet were not eyes, nor could he distinguish what indeed it was, nor of what it consisted; but it was exceedingly beautiful, and he felt the greatest pleasure and consolation in beholding it, and when it disappeared he could hardly bear its loss. Thus he described the physical phenomenon, believing, when he thus described it, that it had been an illusion of the old Serpent himself, who about the time that he first saw it, began to inject temptation of various kinds, not such as assailed St. Antony in the desert, but such in truth as might be expected to arise in a man of his temper and temperament, when his bodily strength had been broken down, and the pulse of his enthusiasm had consequently fallen. Recollections arose of his birth and breeding, his former station, his former habits of life: these he compared with his present situation, in a hospital, in filth and in rags, the companion of beggars! This temptation he at once quelled and punished by drawing closer to the beggar at his side, and courting more familiarity with him. He then shrunk from the prospect of living in this painful, and, as he could not but feel it to be, beastly life, till the threescore and ten years of mortal existence should be numbered: could he bear this? the question he thought came from Satan; to Satan he replied triumphantly, by asking him if it was in his power to ensure life to him for a single hour? and he comforted and strengthened himself by comparing the longest span of human life to eternity.

There was an old Beata in Manresa, in such high reputation for holiness, that the King of Spain had sometimes sent for her and consulted her. This woman had become acquainted with the saint-aspirant, and she expressed her ardent hope that our Saviour would one day be pleased to appear to him. This, which was indeed a real temptation, he was not in a state of mind

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mind to consider, nor, at that moment, to feel as such, though he seems afterwards to have regarded it as a prophetic anticipation. But he was then in the low fever of enthusiasm, and sinking with debility. The act of prayer became painful and difficult; he felt that dryness and desertion of which those who mistake bodily sensation for spiritual feelings, so often complain. When he betook himself to the sacrament for consolation, fears and scruples came upon him as 'the vivifying wafer' approached his lips, so that by the force of those feelings he was borne away, as if by a gust of wind, and he could only exclaim, Lord, I suffer violence! and cry out for help against the enemy, and say with the apostle, 'Miserable man, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!' His sins were now perpetually in his mind, and he began to think that he had not fully confessed them; though he had written them down to the intent that nothing might escape him, when he made his general confession at Monserrat, and re-written this self-accusatory roll at Manresa, in conformity to the advice which he heard delivered there by a preacher. But the natural effect* of such a process was only to disquiet him the more. It then occurred to him as the only remedy, (and it has the approbation of his biographers,) that his confessor should, in the name of our Lord, forbid him to entertain any such scruples, and command him to set his heart at rest. This wish, however, he did not venture to make known, and he was tempted to put an end to these intolerable fears, by throwing himself out of the window, and bringing upon himself at once the worst that could be dreaded. The course of reading which had crazed him, saved him from this catastrophe, in which the tragedy of religious madness so often has ended. He called to mind the legend of a hermit who obtained some favour which he earnestly desired from heaven, by religiously binding himself to touch no food till it should be granted him. This, like other tales equally false in themselves, and mischievous in their application, he held devoutly true, and resolved that he also would neither eat nor drink till it should please God to manifest his mercy towards him,—making, however, with latent sanity, the reservation, that if this did not occur while it was yet possible for him to survive the experiment, he would give it up when it could be carried no further without incurring the guilt of suicide, and would then ask for bread. 'Help me, O Lord,' he cried, for 'I find no remedy in

* This is well observed by his biographer Maffeius. '*Sed (quod sæpe contingit) quod sibi adjumento fore putabat, id erat ei contrarium maxime; siquidem ipsâ commemoratione rerum, quas aliquando oblivisci oportuerat, fiebat ut etiam si quid ipsâ die mitigatum fuerat, recrudesceret.*'

man,

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man, neither in any creature; if it were to be found, I should think no labour great for finding it. Show me, Lord, where it may be found; if it were necessary that I should follow a dog to obtain it, I would do so!'

On Monday he began this experimental fast; and, according to the account which he himself dictated, persisted in it through the week, without feeling any extreme weakness. On the Sunday, making his confession for the past week, according to his custom, he told the confessor how long he had fasted; was ordered in consequence to fast no longer, and practised the Catholic virtue of obedience to the priest so faithfully, that he obeyed without any reluctance or hesitation, though he thought himself far from the point of debility at which it was his purpose to have stopped. In thus obeying, he obtained a state of peacefulness which lasted two days; on the third the old scruples returned, and again he felt an impulse to abandon the course upon which he had entered. This, however, was no strong temptation; for on the score of the world Ignatius had more to deter him from retracing his steps, than from continuing in the way of ascetic holiness. Had he returned to his military vocation, the reproach of insanity for what he had already done would adhere to him through life; he was now also in the way to higher honours than were within the reach of a soldier, how splendid soever might be his services and his fortune: and the doubt which he might feel concerning his own calling, and the approbation of heaven, was at all times weakened by the impression which he made upon others, and the credit for sanctity which was given him. Zeal and perseverance he possessed in common with other saints of the same class; he differed from them in the slow but sure good sense with which he regulated a conduct insane in its commencement and principle, detected from time to time his own errors, discovered his own deficiencies, and then patiently amended the one and corrected the other. In this case, he says, it pleased God, that from all these scruples and temptations he awoke as from a dream: by reflecting upon the process in his own mind, he perceived that such scruples were like slight wounds, that heal easily and kindly if they are left alone, but which, if meddled with and irritated, may become dangerous, and even deadly. So he determined never again to open the old account of sins, which had been honestly cast up, and for which he had received in due form a discharge in full. This resolution he had the wisdom and the strength to keep as well as to form; and the celebrity which he subsequently attained rendered his experience in this mental disease as salutary to others as it was to himself.

But

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But Ignatius was in that curious state of mind in which he could be 'at once wise and amazed, temperate and furious.' He was wise enough to suspect that what seemed to be visitations of grace by the feelings which they excited, and the consolation and delight which he experienced in them, were nevertheless hurtful in their effect, and therefore to be distrusted, because they kept him wakeful in those hours, which, after a day fully employed in the discharge of all his duties, were needful for sleep, and not to be dispensed with,—wherefore he eschewed such trains of thought and overcame them. On the other hand, he was persuaded that one day, while praying to the Virgin, on the steps of the Dominican church, the mystery of the Trinity was represented to him visibly in the likeness of a triple harp, and filled him with such joy, that he could not for some while suppress his tears and sighs, and was made so perfectly intelligible to him, that he could speak of nothing else. Moreover, all the most subtle points and difficulties of philosophy were at once rendered to him clear and easy, and he saw as in a mirror distinctly the sum and substance of all that knowledge which the strongest intellect could be capable of attaining by the longest course of persevering study. At another time the manner in which God had created the world was revealed to him; but unfortunately for cosmogonists and geologists, he was not able, after the lapse of a few years, to explain this sufficiently for others to receive and preserve for posterity the miraculous communication. A remarkable circumstance occurred about this time with the serpentine apparition which he had hitherto delighted in beholding whenever it appeared; for it appeared as he was in the act of returning thanks before a cross, and Ignatius observed, that it was neither so bright nor so beautiful as it had always been before. Some little previous suspicion, which, probably, the form of the phenomenon had excited, was thus confirmed; it was no doubt a diabolical illusion, proved to be so by its fading before the presence of the cross; and from that day, whenever he perceived it again, which he often did, he drove it from him with his staff in contempt.

The mind had no part in producing this optical illusion, only in reasoning upon it; but when it is affirmed, that at the elevation of the host, he saw distinctly therein the visible presence of our Lord and Saviour in his divine and human nature, it becomes evident, that, in this instance, the visual image was produced by the imagination. On the authority of others, not of his own, (and this is especially to be observed,) it is also affirmed, that at this time he was entranced from one Sunday to another, lying all

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all that while speechless, motionless, and so apparently lifeless, that certain pious persons would have had him buried forthwith, if others, who were somewhat more prudent, had not thought it necessary first to ascertain whether he were dead, and in so doing, felt a faint pulsation of the heart. He awoke from this ecstacy, as from a sweet sleep, sighing forth the name of Jesus. The historiographer of the Jesuits, as Orlandini may properly be called, says it is a pious and probable conjecture, that as great mysteries were revealed to Paul when he was rapt into the third heaven, so during these seven days the form and constitution of the society which he was to found were thus manifested to Ignatius. Now, too, his knowledge of the whole Christian system became so complete, and his faith in it so entire, that if there had existed no monuments of it, no evidences whatever, and the very Scriptures themselves had been lost, his belief, it seemed to him, would have been the same, undergoing no diminution, and requiring nothing to confirm it. What confirmation, indeed, could he need who frequently saw both our Saviour and the Virgin with his bodily eyes? he saw them as white forms, but no distinction of limbs was visible. So accurately did he observe what no doubt were actual *spectra*, never suspecting what indeed even a sane intellect would not in that age have suspected, that the apparition was from within, not of an extrinsic object.

But while Ignatius manifested these clear proofs of a diseased imagination, proof was equally given of that sound practical judgment which distinguishes him from all other heroes of hagiology. He had now become an object of respect and admiration as well as curiosity. Persons of all ranks flocked, some to see, others to consult him concerning their spiritual state; and that he might not deter such applicants by the filth and fetor of his appearance, he began first to clean himself, and, though retaining still the poverty of his apparel, so far to improve it, as that it should neither be squalid nor offensive. And having now unawares, and by no intention of his own, commenced practitioner in spiritual medicine, he made a study of his own case, and drew up rules for others as the result of his self-experience. At this time, therefore, the historians of the society agree that he composed the book of his Spiritual Exercises; but there are doubts respecting the place where he composed it, and also respecting its origin. It is pretended that he retired from Manresa to a cave in a rock, not far from that city. The cave was dark, and not unlike a sepulchre, but, for this incommodiousness, as well as for its solitude and the beauty of the narrow vale, where thorns and brushwood concealed it, the more

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more agreeable to him; and through a fissure in the rock he could see Monserrat, and direct his prayers to the Virgin thither, as to the Kebla of his devotions. But there are two caves, each of which is said to have been his retreat, and each, of course, consecrated by the revelations and other supernatural regalements which were there vouchsafed him. The Jesuits had possession of one, the religioners of some other order of the other; each administered earth from its own cave as a miraculous medicine for the sick, and as from either it was equally efficacious, the contending parties appear to have acquiesced, not very willingly, in the *probable* opinion, that Ignatius took up his abode sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; whereas it does not appear in the earliest account of his life that he ever thus withdrew himself from society, and if he had, it is not a circumstance which he would have been likely to conceal. The question concerning the originality of the Exercises was not of a nature to be so easily compromised; for the Benedictines have asserted, that in the first instance Loyola did nothing more than transcribe, with some little alterations in the arrangement, a work composed by F. Garcia de Cisneros, a near kinsman of Cardinal Ximenes, who was abbot of Monserrat, and died in 1510. This work, they say, the French Benedictine, to whom he confessed at the monastery, put into his hands; and from the scholastic character of the work itself, and the theological learning which its author evidently must have possessed, they argued that it could not possibly have been composed by a person who was at that time ignorant of the very rudiments of Latin. To this argument the Jesuits intrepidly replied, that it proves nothing; for when God thinks fit to inspire one of his servants, he stands in no need of any human learning. This is the plea of our own old fanatics which South answers so admirably in admitting it: 'I confess,' said he, 'God has no need of any man's parts or learning; but certainly, then, he has much less need of his ignorance.' But the Jesuits went beyond this; their founder, they say, did not compose this book because he had studied the subject in human writings, but because God himself imparted the knowledge which it contains. Ignatius knew not at that time what the work was which he was destined to perform, but God knew it, and provided him, therefore, thus betimes, with a set of rules which were to contribute so greatly to its progress!

Such arguments, especially when backed by Lord Peter's authority, are not to be disputed. But the truth appears to be, that the book which bears the name of the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Ignatius Loyola stands in much the same relation to his original

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original draught, that the Koran bears to the unconnected fragments which were produced for the nonce, from time to time, by Mohammed. The hint he may have taken from the book of the Benedictine Abbot, which is said to have been printed at Monserrat, both in barbarous Latin and in Castillian, in the year 1500; and it is not unlikely that at first he may have used a transcript of the vernacular version, with such alterations as he thought good. But, without the slightest intention or consciousness of appropriating to himself the credit of another's labour, he modified and altered this whenever he saw occasion; for it was the peculiar characteristic of his mind to adapt itself to time and circumstances with wonderful felicity, keeping always his one end in view. In this, too, as in other things, he would call in the aid of those on whose judgment he relied, and thus at length the 'Exercises' became a Jesuitical composition, whatever they may have been in their origin. An account of the scheme itself may more conveniently be introduced hereafter, in its place.

It was not in his personal cleanliness and apparel alone that Ignatius relaxed from the extreme asceticism with which he began his spiritual career: he now accepted invitations to the tables of those who sought his company, thinking that there also he might find suitable opportunity for administering salutary monitions and exhortations. But his health now sunk under the double exhaustion produced by bodily fatigue, and continual mental excitement; he was seized with a fever which brought him to the point of death, and the state of his own mind was not favourable to his recovery: for when he thought his case hopeless, he discovered that he was inflated with an opinion of his own merits, and he struggled to repel the temptation, as he deemed it, of this deceitful hope, and force upon himself a conviction of his own sinfulness. He had, however, all that could be done for him by any medical skill which was then to be procured, or by human charity. For the opinion entertained of his virtues, and perhaps of his quality, was such, that the magistrates provided for him a lodging, and everything that could administer to his cure; and certain respectable women who had fled from Barcelona to avoid the plague, then raging in that city, took upon themselves the charge of nursing him, as if the public weal had depended upon his individual life. Recovering from the disease, he took warning from it to correct an error both in the management of his body and of his mind; in his body, because he had now found that it was not without injury to be deprived of due rest, or needful food, or sufficient clothing; he took care, therefore, to caution others

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against falling into an excess to which enthusiasts of his class were especially prone, and he ceased from that time to go barefoot or bareheaded, and chose also the thickest and warmest cloth for his clothing. As concerned his mind, having experienced the opposite temptations of despair arising from an extreme sense of his own unworthiness, and of the vainglory which made him feel assured of salvation, through the merit of his own holiness; he learnt, it is said, so well to regulate his feelings upon that subject from that time forth, and to keep the golden mean, that he could regard his own actions, and speak of them, whether commendable or to be condemned, without the slightest emotion either of vanity or despondence.

Having remained some ten months at Manresa, a city which his biographers say he undoubtedly regards with peculiar favour in heaven, as the cradle of his Christian infancy, and the school of his first evangelical discipline, he determined upon going to Jerusalem, less for the desire of seeing those places which had been hallowed by the presence of our Lord, ardent as that desire was, than in the hope of converting some of the Infidels, who were unhappily masters of the holy land, or of gaining the palm of martyrdom in the attempt; for of this he was most ambitious. When his intention was made known, his friends and admirers earnestly sought first to dissuade him from so dangerous an adventure, and then to prevail upon him to go in company with certain persons, competently versed in the languages of the countries through which he must pass, who offered themselves for the journey. But he refused any such assistance, for this recondite reason,—that hope being for a Christian as essential a virtue as faith and charity, that virtue would be weakened and drawn off from its proper object, if in such a journey he placed it upon anything else than the immediate protection of Providence; and this, if he took with him any companions, he could not fail to do in some of those emergencies which must be expected to occur. Neither would he accept of money for his journey, but set forward in the strength of faith, casting himself upon Providence for support. In this spirit he departed for Barcelona, and there begged a passage in a vessel bound to Gaieta. The captain readily granted his request, but on condition that he should provide himself with food for the passage; and upon this a scruple arose, for this, he feared, would be taking thought for the morrow, and distrusting that All-merciful Father who provides food for the ravens. It was well for him that, in all such cases, there was advice at hand; the confessor to whom he applied set his mind at rest; alms for such a purpose were easily collected, and having

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having received more money than sufficed for purchasing a sufficient quantity of the cheapest sea-fare, he laid down the overplus on the shore before he embarked.

A dangerous passage of five days brought him to Gaieta, from whence he proceeded to Rome on foot. This was a painful and a perilous journey. It was seldom that he was admitted into a town or under a roof for fear of the plague, his appearance being that of a man, who, if not stricken with the disease, had recently recovered from it; and, for the most part, he was fain to lie down at night in a porch, or in the open air. He reached Rome, however, where there was either not the same alarm, or not the same vigilance. Arriving there almost worn out with fatigue and hunger, he visited the stations, and kissed the feet of Pope Adrian VI. Some Spanish friends whom he found there endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from attempting to perform a pilgrimage, which, being at all times dangerous, was thought the more so now, when the Turks, to the great loss and reproach of Christendom, had recently made themselves masters of Rhodes: they succeeded, however, in making him accept, though reluctantly, some money for his journey and his voyage. With this, *oneratus verius quam instructus*, says Maffeius, he departed from Rome for Venice; and calling a second council with his thoughts, was on the point of throwing it away: but recollecting that this would be ungratefully to waste it, he distributed it in alms as he went along, and then, in the words of Orlandini, *lætior inde perrexit, ærumnis et mendicitate ditissimus.* On the way he had much to endure, because of the vigilance with which every place that he approached was guarded, lest the plague should be introduced; his appearance, indeed, being such, that, in a season of general health, it might well have excited alarm. For having, from the time that he left Spain, ceased to converse with others, and search into their spiritual state; being, moreover, in a country with the language of which he had little or no acquaintance, his mind was left to its own workings, and he had become as disregardful of decency in his apparel and of prudence in self-management, as during the first part of his abode at Manresa. Squalid in his dress and figure, pale and emaciated, his eyes sunk, and his cheeks lean and hollow, he was refused admittance even in all those inns at which such travellers were entertained; and those who met or passed him on the road kept aloof, as from one who carried pestilence in his looks. When he came to embark in the passage-boat for Venice, he was neither asked for his fare, nor was any inquiry made whether he came provided with a passport to certify that he was free

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from the disease. At Venice he begged his bread, and slept on the ground in the square of St. Mark, till a wealthy Spaniard, recognizing him for a countryman, took him to his house, and afterwards introduced him to the Doge, from whom he obtained the favour of a free passage in a ship to Cyprus. Common charity he might always have relied on, so far as to be in no danger of perishing for want; but the kindness which he met with beyond this was probably owing to his family, or, if that were not known, to the respect and compassion which his manners and demeanour inspired.

Before the ship was ready he was seized with fever; and it so happened, that on the day when signal was made for sailing, he had taken a medicine, which was in those times considered a more serious affair than it is now. His host would have detained him, and with that hope consulted the physician, who declared that Ignatius might go on board, if he wished to die there, not otherwise. In this case he formed a better judgment than his physician; for on board he went, and sea sickness soon did the needful work of medicine so effectually, that when the sickness ceased, he found himself cured of his disease. On the voyage he made himself so obnoxious to some of the sailors, by the severity with which he reproved them for their practices, that they resolved to put him ashore upon a desert island, and leave him there. The wind prevented them from carrying this intention into effect; and having soon arrived at Cyprus, he then found a passage to Jaffa, though he had nothing wherewith either to pay for his passage or to purchase provisions. Both on the land journey and in both voyages he was regaled with miraculous sights: our Lord, as he believed, appeared to him more than once, and he derived great consolation from an ocular *spectrum*, in the form and colour of a large golden globe. The manner in which he noted appearances of this kind is proof of his sincerity. From Jaffa he proceeded with other pilgrims to Jerusalem, in the usual manner; and when they alighted from their asses, on the spot where the friars were waiting with the cross to receive them, and when they had the first sight of the Holy City, not Ignatius alone, but all who were in his company, were sensible of what they deemed an emotion of supernatural delight, which yet at such a moment it might more justly be accounted unnatural not to feel. Here in the holy land he determined to pass the remainder of his life; the continued pleasure which he felt in visiting all the stations, believing implicitly the while every tradition and every legend relating to them, made him the more desirous of fulfilling his resolution; and he had brought with him letters from Italy

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Italy to the guardian of the Franciscans, recommending him to his good offices. He required only that the friars would admit him under their roof, and then administer to him the sacrament of confession and of the eucharist; subsistence and clothing he engaged to provide for himself, though for both he had nothing but charity to rely on. The guardian, with whom the letters had weight, and who was also taken with the appearance and manner of Ignatius, could not assure him that his petition would be granted, because it depended upon the Provincial, who was then at Bethlehem; but he held out such hopes to him, that the pilgrim prepared letters for his friends in the west, which were to be carried by the returning pilgrims, and convey tidings that he had obtained his heart's desire. But on the eve of their return, he was sent for by the Provincial, who received him courteously, and applauded his pious intentions, yet told him he must return with his companions; for it had happened that others who had come thither with a like purpose, had been seized by the Turks while roaming incautiously about, and had either miserably perished, or been detained in cruel bondage till the convent, which could ill support such exactions, redeemed them. To this inconvenience the brothers must not be rendered liable, and therefore he must depart. Ignatius replied that, though disappointed in his hope of being sheltered in the convent, his purpose of remaining in the holy land was not to be shaken, unless it were made his religious duty to leave it. This the Provincial did presently, by informing him that he had authority from the Pope to interdict any person from the sacrament who should presume to remain in the holy land against his will; but when he would have produced the brief by which this power was conferred, Ignatius said it was not necessary,—his word was sufficient; and, as in duty bound, he would obey. As he was sorrowfully on the way back to his lodgings to prepare for his return, a vehement desire came upon him to revisit the summit of Mount Olivet, where the supposed footsteps of our Saviour are shown to the credulous, as having been there impressed by him at his ascension. For haste and for want of money, he set off without taking a Turk as usual to protect him; and when he came to the entrance of the sacred ground, purchased admittance from the guards there, by giving them a penknife from his travelling writing case. Having performed his devotions there with great delight, he proceeded on to Bethphage, and there was disturbed by recollecting that he had neglected to observe towards what quarter our Saviour's face was turned when he ascended, a point which might be ascertained by the position of the feet: so he hastened back, and obtained permission,

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mission, at the cost of a pair of scissars, to make a second visit. By this time he had been missed; and the friars fearing that he might be laid hold of by the Turks, perhaps suspecting also that he might mean to deceive them and remain in the holy land, sent an Armenian in search of him, and he was brought back to Jerusalem as rudely and violently as if he had been a malefactor. But this was to his greater contentment, for such usage he regarded as a sure earnest of divine favour.

He now began his return to Spain, more unprovided even than he had left it, for he had then stores for his first voyage. No difficulty occurred in recrossing to Cyprus; he had obtained a good character from his fellow pilgrims, and they having taken their passage from that island in a large Venetian ship, besought the captain to give him a passage, as one for whose worth and holy conversation they could vouch. The Venetian captain was no believer in such holiness, and he replied, that a saint could not possibly want a ship to convey him across the sea, when he might walk upon the water, as so many others had done; nor was a more favourable answer to be obtained from him by any intercession. The master of a smaller vessel was more compassionate; and this, though so much less sea worthy than the other, that none of the other pilgrims embarked in her, reached Italy safely, after a perilous voyage, while the other was wrecked. He landed in Apulia, and arrived at Venice, after a dreadful journey through frost and snow, bare legged, in rags, and well nigh exhausted with fatigue and exposure to the cold. There his friend, the Spaniard, received, refreshed, and refitted him, and dismissed him with money for his journey, which, however, he carried no farther than Ferrara, disposing of it there among the beggars at the church. His first donation was given with such evident satisfaction on his part, that the mendicant, to whose lot it fell, sent others to pursue so cheerful a giver; and in a short time Ignatius had so completely disburthened himself of cash, that he had the same day to beg his own bread from door to door, whereby he obtained the further gratification of hearing himself applauded for a saint by the beggars who recognized him. He had been warned of the danger to which he would be exposed in travelling from Ferrara to Genoa, where the French and Spanish armies were in the field, by both which he must pass, with the likelihood of being apprehended as a spy by both. Some Spanish soldiers, into whose company he fell, used him kindly, and pointed out another route, which for his own safety they intreated him to take. But Ignatius liked to put himself in the way of tribulation; the more suffering, the greater merit;—and consequently the

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the more contentment; and he was contented accordingly, when, upon attempting to enter a walled town which was in possession of the Spaniards, he was seized and searched as a spy. The search was rigorously made and brutally; and when no papers could be found upon him, they led him before their commander, in hope and expectation that orders might be given for extracting from him the truth by tortures; for they returned him only half the apparel of which they had stripped him, and led him through the streets in his doublet and drawers, deriding and abusing him on the way; the people joining in this ill usage, just as the rabble will always assist in tormenting a poor worried animal, as if to show, that, of all beasts, man is the most odious when divested of that compassion which ought to be the peculiar characteristic of humanity. He the while comforted himself with calling to mind who it was that with more inhuman mockery had been carried by soldiers through the city of Jerusalem to Herod's tribunal. But as he drew near the commander's quarters, it occurred to him, that on this occasion, it would be expedient to address the officer by the customary title of *Senhoria*, instead of *thou*ing him; for having, before his conversion, cultivated with some care the courtesies and elegancies of language, he had, as a sort of expiation for such vanity, accustomed himself to a Quakerish plainness of speech, which, when not evidently proceeding from simplicity, can only be interpreted as intentional incivility. A second thought made him reject this suggestion of prudence, as proceeding from a sinful fear of man, and he determined, therefore, not to show the slightest mark of respect to the commander, either in word or deed: this insane resolution proved to be the safest course he could have taken; for when the only words that could be drawn from him were the simple denial that he was not a spy, in answer to a direct question, the officer regarded him, both from his manners and appearance, as a madman, and reproved the soldiers for bringing such a poor wretch before him, and told them to let him go. They maltreated him something the more for this rebuke; but one, who was not so wholly brutalized by his vocation, rescued him from their hands, ministered to his necessities, took care of him for the night, and dismissed him safely on the morrow. Presently he was, in like manner, carried before a French commander; and with that same desire of inviting affliction which had made him conceal himself as to who he was from an officer of his own country, he declared himself a Guipuzcoan then among the enemies of Spain. Again the fortune which he provoked proved favourable in a way which could never have been foreseen; for the officer

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officer happened to be a Gascon, and considering him, therefore, of the same race as himself, though the subject of a different crown, treated him humanely, and dismissed him.

At Genoa he found an old acquaintance in the Spanish admiral, and from him, being, as it appears, again in his saner mood, accepted a passage to Barcelona. After his disappointment in the Holy Land, he had doubted and deliberated what course of life to chuse; for a while no project pleased him so well as that of entering some religious order, and into one of its most dissolute convents, that he might be the means of reforming it, and suffer, as he needs must do, opposition and persecution for Christ's sake while so employed. But after further consideration, aided also by prayer and fasting, he concluded, that it would not be conducive to the glory of God for him to confine his exertions within the bounds of a single order; that to render the good at which he aimed co-extensive with his desire, he must seek for associates; and that, in order to obtain that respect in the world, without which such a design could not be successful, he must set himself to acquire that learning in which he was totally deficient. To effect this required a greater exertion of resolution than that with which he left the castle of Loyola, or performed his vigils before the altar at Monserrat. How slowly and laboriously this learning was to be acquired he was not aware before he commenced his studies. He could pursue them diligently, he thought, and yet find leisure for cultivating the seeds which he had sown at Manresa, and which had sprung up there; for a perceptible change had been produced in that city by his labours. But a certain Cistercian, under whose tuition he meant to have placed himself, was found upon inquiry to have died while he was on his pilgrimage; he therefore remained at Barcelona, where he placed himself under a schoolmaster; and where D. Iñes Pasqual, the lady whom he had first met when departing from Monserrat, gave him an apartment in her house, and provided him with whatever was necessary. There, in the thirty-third year of his age, Ignatius took his place with children at a grammar-school; but at the commencement of his labours he was far from being in a childish state of recipiency for his lessons. The ways of learning, wearisome as they still are to the beginner, were far more difficult and rugged then; and when he should have been employed upon declensions and conjugations, such things could lay no hold upon a mind which was full of dreams, and mysteries, and revelations. Thus, we are told, that when he came to *amo amas*, off his imagination fled at the word, and was presently lost in the depths of divine love. Indeed, divine thoughts and meditations

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tations never came upon him so overflowingly; visions of glory never overpowered him so much as when he was at his books and his lessons, and ought to have been wholly intent upon the task before him. The religious light which streamed in upon his mind so dazzled him, that what little he had before committed to memory was, as it were, blotted out; and a stronger illumination presented itself than he had ever been able to attain as the reward of fasting, and prayer, and watching, and self-flagellation. This he discovered to be the Devil's doing; and reasoning, as he generally did, sanely upon an insane assumption, he took his master into an adjoining church, explained to him the state of his mind, the difficulty he found in learning, and the cause to which he imputed it; threw himself at his feet, and intreated him not to give him up as one who was incorrigibly unteachable, but to persevere with him, and not to spare him; but exact from him the same task as from other boys of the same standing, and chastise him as he did them, with words and stripes, whenever it should be needful. From this time this temptation is said to have left him, and he began to make a progress in the Latin language.

Some persons put into his hands, as a book commendable alike for its subject and its latinity, Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani;* but in perusing it, he is said to have felt such an abatement of religious fervor, as if cold water had been poured upon the fire of his devotion; and having applied for direction in prayer how to proceed, he laid the book aside, and long afterwads prohibited the use of any of Erasmus's works in his society; not, according to Maffeius, because he thought that many of them were tainted with heretical poison, but because their wit and playfulness had, in his judgment, a tendency to induce lighter propensities than were consistent with the simplicity of true godliness. The further motive may be suspected, that he so far felt the just satire of Erasmus, and the force of his good sense, as to be afraid of their effect upon his disciples. Instead of this manual, he took for his favourite book the well-known treatise, commonly ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, on which he fed till he was so imbued with its spirit and doctrine, says one of his biographers, that his life became a living examplar of the precepts contained in that golden volume.

The journey to Jerusalem, notwithstanding all the hardships which he endured in it, had so greatly improved his health, that he thought the relaxation of austerity in his course of life, which had been enjoined him as a duty, had ceased to be allowable, having now ceased to be necessary. He did not indeed resume

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resume his former mode of apparel in its full wretchedness; but he clad himself as meanly as he could, and he cut the soles of his shoes in such a manner as to let the gravel in, and also to prepare for himself a further refinement of discomfort, for the fragments of sole which he had left were soon worn away, while the upper leather remained, and thus he contrived to walk in winter with his bare feet on the bare earth, and yet no one suspected that he was thus meritoriously afflicting himself—a secret self-infliction in which he rejoiced as a miser over his hidden treasure. He had still prudence to abstain from that excess in devotional exercises, and that continued privation of sleep which had been inhibited by his spiritual physicians; but such intervals as he allowed himself from his school-studies, were spent in instructing or exhorting people of the lowest order, and in trying upon others that course of devotion the scheme of which he had sketched at Manresa. He engaged also in the perilous undertaking of advising the nuns of a certain convent without the walls of Barcelona, no longer to receive the visits of their male friends, which were sufficiently frequent to be scandalous. The persons who frequented the nunnery were not long before they were informed of his interference with their intrigues; they endeavoured, at first, by hints and menaces to deter him from any further such meddling as they deemed it; and when this failed, proceeded to execute their threats by stationing two Moorish slaves to waylay him and a certain priest whom he had associated with him in the work of reform. The Moors fell upon them with bludgeons, and left them both for dead upon the place. In this condition they were found and carried into the city. The old priest died in consequence of the injuries he had received, and Ignatius was in such danger that, at the end of thirty days, the physicians, despairing of his life, advised him to prepare for the worst. This was a consummation to which he would gladly have attained. But when the chamber was made ready before he received extreme unction, the doors and windows being shut, it was filled with a portentous light, which the astonished attendant perceived to be radiated from the bed, and looking nearer he saw that the face of the saint shone like the noon-day sun—a miracle which the saint strictly enjoined him to conceal at the time, and which, like other such tales, was duly sworn to afterwards when miracles were in demand. Nothing deterred by the danger from which he had so narrowly escaped, he resumed his endeavours to reform the licentious nuns, and it is said with good effect. The credit which he gained by having suffered this semi-martyrdom, the popular feeling which had been excited in his behalf,

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behalf, and heightened by the meekness which he had shown, the readiness with which he forgave his enemies, and the christian charity with which he prayed for their forgiveness, made some impression, not on the nuns alone, but on the authors of the assault; a nobleman of Barcelona, who publicly confessed his guilt at the feet of the saint, entreated his pardon, and promised to amend his life. The promise he is said to have kept, and the public confession might be safely made, for in those times no cognizance was taken of such an offence.

He attempted also to convert the prostitutes at Barcelona, an undertaking in which he met with worse language but less danger than in his dealings with the nuns. D. Iñes Pasqual accompanied him in his visits to these wretched women, a measure of prudence as it regarded him, whatever it may be deemed with respect to herself. This lady obtained so wide a reputation by her practices of piety, that the Catholic king is said sometimes to have consulted with her, and to have sent for her from Barcelona for that purpose. If this be true, the motives for it cannot be mistaken; the advice of such a person could not be needed by the most crafty and least scrupulous prince of his age; but in no other way could he so cheaply obtain credit for religious feeling among a certain part of his subjects. For awhile Ignatius refused the maintenance which was offered him in that lady's house, choosing to beg his bread from door to door and receive it for the love of Christ. There was some inconvenience in the loss of time which was thus occasioned, and his confessor persuaded him to abandon the practice and take his meals at the table of D. Iñes's son, by an argument not unworthy of the school which Loyola was to found; it was this: that considering the terms upon which he was entertained in that family, nothing of his intentional poverty and humility would be abated by this arrangement; his food being still given him for the love of God, and he still receiving it in alms as a poor beadsman. He obtained in this city four disciples, who were then so entirely devoted to him, that they proposed implicitly to follow his course of life. At the end of two years his schoolmaster, Geronimo de Ardevalo, thought him sufficiently grounded in Latin to commence the study of philosophy, and with this intent he proceeded to Alcala, whither his disciples accompanied him; three of these were Spaniards, the fourth a Frenchman. The women who had followed him at Manresa were called *Iñigas* in derision by the people of that place; at Alcala, he and these four, who adopted the same form of dress, were for that reason nicknamed *ensayalados*.

Here his studies were not more fortunate at the commencement

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ment than they had been at Barcelona. Some of his biographers have devised for him a refined motive for entering upon any course of study, saying, that he did it not because it was needful, but because possessing all divine knowledge by infusion, he wished by this cover to conceal the miraculous gift. But the only tricks which Ignatius played were with his own imagination. Sound in the faith he confidently thought himself, like the countryman who said that he believed as the Church believed, and that the Church believed as he did. His belief was of the same extent, and rested upon the same grounds: something he had now gathered from books, and he began upon the thorny studies of the university as earnestly as he had done upon the accidence two years before; these were the logic of Sotus, the physics of Albertus Magnus, and in theology, the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Upon each of these he had to attend a daily lecture, one confusing another in a head but ill prepared for either, and occupied moreover with its own fancies and projects. He had no longer a D. Iñes to provide for his wants; the public hospital afforded him only lodging, and he and his companions passed much of their time in begging a miserable subsistence for others as well as themselves. Still further deduction was made from the time which his studies required, by his eager desire of affording spiritual advice to those who needed it. Numbers followed him, and no man could attract attention of this kind in that age, and in that country, without exciting jealousy in the Inquisition; for Luther had then commenced the most important revolution that ever affected Christendom; and a sect of the illuminants (*Alumbrados*), as they were called, had recently been crushed in Spain by the strong hand of ecclesiastical power. Loyola and his companions were denounced to the Inquisition at Toledo, and persons from that office were sent to Alcala for the purpose of secretly inquiring into their conduct. They could now discover no fault; and the poverty of the persons denounced was perhaps even a surer protection than their innocence, for that innumerable victims have been destroyed by the Inquisition for the sake of their property, is beyond all doubt. The matter therefore was referred to Figueroa the Archbishop's Vicar, who went to Ignatius's lodgings privately, not to excite attention, and after some previous discourse, which proved to his satisfaction, told him that strict inquisition had been made into his proceedings, in which happily nothing amiss had been detected. He might continue to labour for the salvation of souls in the way which he had begun; but these were suspicious times, and he and his companions could not be allowed to wear a habit which might seem to denote that they had the intention

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tion of forming a sect. The dress which they wore was of the natural colour of the wool; two of them were ordered to exchange theirs for black, two for brown, and the Frenchman to retain it as it was. They were forbidden also to go barefoot.

This easy injunction was promptly obeyed, obedience being a duty which Loyola was as ready to perform as to exact. Still, however, there remained some suspicion in the vicar's mind, and a second inquiry took place with the same secrecy, and the like event. A third denunciation was made, and on such apparent grounds, that more serious measures were taken in consequence. At Alcala, as at Barcelona and Manresa, many of Loyola's followers, and generally the most ardent of them, were women; among these were a lady of some distinction, and her daughter, who was a girl of surpassing beauty; and their minds were so inflamed with the fever of devotion which his exhortations had kindled, that they determined to pass their lives in going through all the hospitals in Spain, and there attending upon the poor. They consulted him upon this project, and he was sane enough to perceive its unfitness, and to remonstrate against it. The daughter, he said, would, because of her beauty, be exposed to great danger herself, and be a cause of danger to those who should behold her; there were poor enough in Alcala to whose necessities they might prudently administer; and they might indulge in public demonstrations of piety by following the Host when it was carried abroad, and joining in other processions as they might becomingly do. To these representations they yielded. But being too much disturbed by the fervour which he had raised in their feelings, they resolved upon another exploit, which was that of begging their way on foot to Jaen, twelve days' journey, there to visit the Veronica, or Sudarium, the most precious relic of that city, and to obtain the indulgencies which various popes had granted to those who should recite certain prayers before this invention of Roman Catholic fraud. Not venturing to communicate this intention to Ignatius, lest he should dissuade them from it, they set out without his knowledge, unattended, and totally unprovided for what was, in truth, a most perilous journey. When it was discovered whither, and in what manner they were gone, it was at once concluded that they were acting in obedience to their new spiritual director; and their guardian, with an indignation which the case would have justified, had his suspicion been just, complained to the vicar how intolerable it was that a fanatical stranger should thus be allowed to destroy the peace of families by turning the heads of the weak, and requested that he might forthwith

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forthwith be put in prison. In countries so misgoverned as it has ever been the fate of Spain to be, men stand in no fear of law for the most heinous crimes, yet are never safe from it, however innocent. Upon this vague accusation, and without any proof that he had had any concern in the case which gave occasion to it, he was sent to prison.

It was, when at this time, passing along the *Calle Mayor* of Alcala, in the hands of the officers, as a culprit, that he first saw a personage who afterwards held a most distinguished place among the Jesuits. This was the young Duque de Gandia D. Francisco de Borja, then in the seventeenth year of his age, on his way to court, with a retinue suitable to his rank. The horse on which he was riding stopt, and Loyola, whose attention was thus attracted, looked up at him with an expression in his face which Borja loved in his after life to remember and to speak of, giving to it then a prophetic interpretation. It was in the heat of summer, and he was left seventeen days in prison without examination; otherwise he had nothing more than the usual filth and indecency of a Spanish gaol to complain of, for he had all the indulgences that it could afford. There were persons who would have stirred in his behalf, but this he would not allow; for, being conscious of no offence, he would submit to no exculpation of his own seeking, and he rejoiced in the double merit of suffering persecution, and of obeying the ecclesiastical authority in such endurance. When Figueroa thought proper at last to interrogate him in person, according to form, he began by questions wide of the mark, and affecting to suspect him of Judaism, asked whether he observed Saturday as a religious day. 'Yes,' replied Ignatius, 'in honour of the Virgin Mary; but as for Jewish observances, I know nothing of them: I am, moreover, of a country which tolerates no Jew.' The vicar came at last to the point, inquired whether he knew the two ladies, and then whether he had advised them to undertake their pilgrimage. Upon hearing his frank and satisfactory reply, Figueroa laid his hand in a friendly manner upon his shoulder, and said, 'It is for this very matter that you are here in prison.' In prison, however, notwithstanding this friendliness, and a full persuasion of his innocence, the vicar left him, till, after an absence of six weeks, the pilgrims returned, happy in having kissed the Veronica, and obtained a comfortable set off against their purgatory score. He was then released, but the sentence which pronounced him innocent of the alleged offence for which he had been committed, enjoined him and his comrades to wear thenceforth the same habits as the other students; and it inhibited them from holding any discourse with the

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the people upon the mysteries of religion, till they should have qualified themselves by completing a four years' course of theology. When the sentence was read to him, Loyola replied, 'that with regard to the article of dress, it was not possible for them to obey it. They had readily conformed to his former orders upon that subject, because it required them to change the colour only of their garments, not the quality. But the academical was a costly dress, unsuitable for indigent persons like them who subsisted upon charity, and it was not in their power to purchase it.' This difficulty the vicar removed by presenting them with caps, gowns, and every thing belonging to the dress. There remained another; Loyola could not bear the suspension of what he believed to be his evangelical duties. He had been only seven months at Alcala, and to be silent for nearly three years and a half upon the subjects most delightful to himself, and most momentous to others, was a sacrifice which he could not bring himself to make, unless convinced of its necessity. Taking, therefore, the shortest, the boldest, and under the circumstances, the safest course, he set out for Valladolid, waited there upon the archbishop of Toledo, D. Alonso Fonseca, laid his case before him, told him it was his intention to remove to Salamanca, and there pursue the course of study which he had commenced; and with regard to his labouring for the salvation of souls, referred himself wholly to the primate's determination. The archbishop approved of his intentions: the readiness to obey any lawful ecclesiastical authority which he always manifested, was in his favour; possibly also, personal considerations for one who had moved in the highest circle of society may have had their weight; he approved of the removal to Salamanca, into which diocese the inhibition of his vicar did not extend, and gave him money to assist him on the way thither.

His disciples had preceded him; they wore the academical habits which the vicar had given them, and soon became objects of suspicion as well as curiosity. Ignatius pitched upon a Dominican of St. Esteban's convent to be his confessor; and this person, before he had been a fortnight in that city, told him that the friars of his convent wished to converse with him. 'In God's name!' replied Ignatius. 'It will be best then,' rejoined the friar, 'that you should dine with us on Sunday, but I assure you that they will ask of you many questions.' On the day appointed, Ignatius went to the invitation with his disciple, Calisto, and after dinner they were taken into a chapel by the friar who governed the convent during the prior's absence, the confessor, and another of the brethren. The pro-prior began with the affected courtesy and kindness of a Dominican well skilled

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skilled in the villainous service of that tribunal which is the peculiar boast of that order, as well as the peculiar infamy of the Roman Catholic church. He had heard an excellent account, he said, of his life and conversation, and that he went about after the manner of the apostles; and he had a great desire to be more fully informed of these things. First he wished to know to what studies he and his companions had particularly applied themselves. Ignatius replied, that though he had made more progress than either of his fellows, his own was little indeed; and he then fairly stated how little scholastic learning he had acquired, and how ill-grounded even in that little he knew him to be. 'How then is it,' said the pro-prior, 'that *being* thus ignorant, and hardly acquainted with the first rudiments of knowledge, you yet are able to preach?' 'Father,' replied Ignatius, 'we do not preach; we only converse familiarly upon divine subjects with those persons who invite us to their houses.' 'And upon what divine subjects,' replied the Dominican, 'for this it is which we desire to know?' Ignatius answered, 'We sometimes extol one virtue, sometimes another; and in like manner we condemn such or such vices; thus, by exhibiting the dignity of virtue, and the shamefulness of vice, reclaiming our hearers from sin, and encouraging them to lead a godly life.' The crafty son of St. Dominic had now reached the point at which he aimed. 'You are unlearned men,' said he, 'according to your own confession. You discourse upon vices and virtues. But no man can discourse upon such topics unless he has obtained his knowledge by the study of human learning, or from the Holy Spirit. By study you have not obtained it; it follows, therefore, that you have received it from the Holy Spirit. This it is which we are desirous of understanding more plainly.' Ignatius perceived the dilemma to which he was drawn, and knew not how to extricate himself; it was perhaps the most embarrassing moment of his life; he was silent awhile, and then hopelessly endeavoured to put an end to the conversation, by saying there was no occasion to talk further upon the subject. 'What!' cried the triumphant Dominican, with the pleasure of an inquisitor who feels the victim in his clutches, 'what! when so many errors of Erasmus, and of others are abroad, and are deceiving mankind, you refuse to explain the doctrine which you teach!' 'Father,' answered Ignatius, 'I will say nothing more, unless it be before my superiors who are invested with authority to interrogate me, and compel me to reply.' The pro-prior then put an end to the scene by saying, 'Here then you shall remain; and if you will not explain yourself, we will make you.' Upon this he and his two companions

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panions went out, leaving Ignatius and Calisto in the chapel, under detention there.

The doors of the convent were then closed; and, during three days, while the case was under consideration, the prisoners took their meals in the refectory, and at other times were never without some of the friars in the chapel where they were detained; Ignatius conversing freely with them, as he would have done with the Sub-Prior, had he not perceived that a logical snare was laid for him. The matter meantime was laid before the Episcopal Vicar; and on the fourth day a notary conducted them to prison, where they were placed, not among the common prisoners, but in an upper apartment, which had long been uninhabited, and was unclean accordingly. They were chained together by the foot, with one chain about ten or twelve palms in length, fastened to the floor in the middle of the apartment. That night they passed on the floor sleeplessly; but, on the following day, bedding and such other conveniences as the place could admit were sent them by the friends and admirers whom they had already made in Salamanca. Visiters were admitted to them, and they continued to exhort in prison as they had done when at large. A certain Batchelor, Frias by name, interrogated them officially, and to him Ignatius delivered his papers, containing the 'Spiritual Exercises,' that they might be examined. Frias inquired what other companions he had, and where they might be found; and, upon learning their place of abode, he sent for the two Spaniards, and put them among the criminals in prison: the Frenchman was left unmolested. During all this, Ignatius would neither allow his friends to employ any influence in his behalf, nor even to procure for him legal assistance; and this, indeed, was the wisest course he could have taken. At length, three Doctors and the Batchelor Frias, having examined his papers, came to interrogate him in person. They questioned him concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Eucharist, and other doctrinal points; to all which, though beginning always with a protestation that he spoke as an ignorant man, he answered satisfactorily. They dwelt upon the distinction which he had made in his Exercises between such thoughts as are to be deemed mortal sins, and such as may be deemed venial: this being almost the most difficult point in pontifical and theological learning, how could he, confessedly an unlearned man, make the distinction? To this he discreetly answered, 'that it was for them to see whether what he had said was true—if it be so, sanction it; if it be not, condemn it.' He was then desired to expound the first commandment, as he was accustomed to do when instructing the people; and

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it is fairly stated,* in the relation which he himself dictated of his life, that he did this at such length as to take away any inclination they might have had for examining him further. In all other respects, his demeanour during the examination had manifested so meek, and patient, and submissive a disposition, that they were satisfied with the orthodoxy of his intentions; and, finding nothing which tended toward heresy in his opinions, they were inclined to pronounce a favourable sentence, when a lucky accident hastened his deliverance. The criminals in the lower prison broke out and effected their escape; but Loyola's two disciples, who were confined with them, were found in the morning alone in the dungeon, with the doors open; being conscious of innocence, they had wisely chosen to abide the result, rather than let it appear by their flight that they stood in fear of inquiry. In consequence of this, all four were immediately removed to a convenient dwelling, and the sentence, which might otherwise have been long deferred, was expedited. Ignatius and his disciples were then acquitted from all suspicion of heresy; they were pronounced innocent in life and sound in doctrine; and they were allowed to exhort the people as they had been accustomed, but they were forbidden to touch upon the nice distinction between mortal and venial sins till they should have completed their four years' course of theology. Ignatius promised to obey this so long as he should remain within the jurisdiction of Salamanca. Within that jurisdiction, or indeed anywhere in Spain, he saw it would be impossible for him to pursue the course on which he was bent, till his studies were complete; he held council, therefore, with his associates, and the result was a determination on his part to remove to Paris, and leave them at Salamanca till he should have felt the ground there, and ascertained whether it would be advisable for them to follow him.

The character of the man appeared in this resolution. Because of the estimation in which the University of Paris at that time was held, he thought that, among the students there, he should certainly find some who would associate themselves with him in the apostolical way of life he had determined to follow; and his little knowledge of the French language would render it impossible for him to employ that time in exhorting others which he was sensible might more wisely be devoted to his studies, even with a view to the success of his own exertions for what

* *Jussus deinde est, ut primum mandatum Decalogi explanaret, sicut solitus erat; quod ubi aggressus est, tam multa dixit, tamque diu eos detinuit, de primo præcepto agens, ut voluntatem ademerit, quidquam præterea rogandi.*—Acti SS. Jul. t. 7. p. 648.

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he believed to be the good of others. Efforts were made by his friends in Salamanca for inducing him to remain among them, but without effect; and he set out on his journey alone, on foot, driving before him an ass laden with his books. Among other lessons which he had derived from experience, he had learnt that the loss of time occasioned by begging for his subsistence was a great evil for one whose studies required uninterrupted attention. When he arrived at Barcelona, on his way to France, his friends there took this into consideration, and arranged means for remitting to him such small supplies as they could afford, and as might suffice for the support of one who required so little. This done, he pursued his journey; and though there was war at that time between France and Spain, and soldiers exercised their accustomed license, in those days, of plundering travellers with impunity, he escaped all dangers, and reached Paris in February, 1528. He lodged with some of his own countrymen while attending the lectures at Montaigu College. To one of these men he entrusted a remittance of twenty-five crowns which had reached him from Barcelona; it was a temptation which this man's honesty could not resist,—he spent the money, and then absconded: and Ignatius, whom the robbery left destitute, was obliged, in consequence, to take up his quarters in the Hospital of St. Jacques, and procure his food by begging. This hospital was far from the schools; the lessons began before daylight during the winter, they were continued till a late hour, and he was not permitted by the laws of his asylum to leave it before sunrise, nor to return thither after sunset. Under these circumstances he could make little progress; and he made inquiry for some teacher who would accept his domestic services in payment for instruction to be afforded him in the intervals of his servile employment. This scheme he had shaped into an imaginary resemblance of what might have been in the first age of Christianity, resolving that he would endeavour to look upon his master and his fellow-pupils as types of our Lord and his Apostles. But the dream was not fulfilled; he could find no master to engage him: and having besought heaven to direct him, he asked and followed the advice of a religious friend, which was, that he should go into the Netherlands, and there beg alms from the Spanish merchants; if he would thus employ a short vacation, he was assured that his charitable countrymen in those parts would supply him with money enough for a year's support. Perhaps the rich were more bountiful in those days than in these, not merely because the religious duty of almsgiving was uniformly inculcated and practically enforced as at once the surest and most useful means

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of expiation, but also because a certain expenditure of this kind was expected from persons in their station, and impostors were not so numerous as to make the benevolent suspicious, and afford to others a pretext for withholding what, if no such pretext had been found, they might feel themselves compelled grudgingly to give. A poor scholar who should rely upon such means of supply would find himself woefully disappointed now: with Ignatius the experiment succeeded so well, that, by two such journeys into the Low Countries, and one into England, he was enabled to support himself and to assist the first disciples who found him in Paris; and the Spanish merchants with whom he had thus become acquainted, saved him at *length* the trouble of seeking their assistance, by regularly remitting to Paris their contributions for him. A native of his own country one day remonstrated severely with him against his conduct in this respect, for the disgrace which it brought upon the house of Loyola, whereby, he said, he was committing a great sin. Ignatius, when his own arguments produced no effect upon this reprover, deemed it a point of charity to undeceive him from such an opinion, and a point of duty to vindicate the honour of that voluntary poverty which is called holy in his church. He proposed, therefore, this question in writing to the most approved doctors in conscience in the University,—Whether a cavalier, who had renounced the world for the love of God, might beg alms, through various countries, without scruple on the score of any disgrace which he might be thought to bring upon his family by so doing? They answered unanimously in the affirmative; and Ignatius being fortified with their formal opinion, succeeded in convincing his friend that there could be no dishonour in doing anything which tended to the *glory* of God.

Ignatius had that rare wisdom which enabled him always to profit by experience. He had attempted too much in Spain, and found, in consequence, that to attend many courses of lectures tends to confuse an intellect which was slow, but patient, in its progress. At Paris, therefore, he devoted two years exclusively to the Latin language, taking his place once more among children, and going through his lessons with more than the submission of a child. When assured of his proficiency in this first and indispensable branch, he entered upon a course of philosophy at the College of St. Barbe; having learnt, to his cost, that some conversance with the forms and technicalities of learning was essential to his personal security as well as to the success of his projects. During his grammatical and philosophical studies he abstained from any exercise of his spiritual ministry,

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ministry, farther than that of attracting to himself a few hopeful associates; and he even came to an agreement with the first of these, the Savoyard Pierre le Fèvre (Petrus Faber in the Jesuit historians), that they should never converse upon spiritual subjects, because such themes, when once admitted into his mind, possessed it with an over-ruling influence, which incapacitated it for the train of study in which he was necessarily engaged. Meantime his diligence, and apparently harmless demeanour, obtained for him some reputation and no slight portion of general good will. 'How is it (said one of his friends) that the very persons who were formerly your enemies, join now in your praise?' He replied, 'Wait till I am free from the fetters of these philosophical studies, and you will then understand. I am silent at present, and, therefore, opposition has ceased; when I begin to move, the storm will recommence.' As he expected, so it came to pass. Having completed his preliminary studies, he began again to seek for proselytes, and succeeded in inducing three young Spaniards of distinction to change their course of life, and conform to the whole severity of his precepts. Two of these were pupils of Pedro Ortez, a Doctor in that University, of high repute; the third of Diego de Gouvea, a Portugueze, who was then Rector of the College of St. Barbe; and the extravagance of their zeal provoked their tutors against the man who had led them astray: for they gave away all that they had to give; parted even with their books that they might distribute their value to the poor; exchanged the apparel which was suited to their station for a coarse and squalid dress; took up their lodging in the hospital; and begged their bread: and in this they persisted till, after all milder means had failed, they were compelled, by authority, to promise that they would finish their academical education in the usual manner, after which they might follow their hearts' desire. Meantime, Ignatius was informed that he had been denounced to the Prior of the Dominican Convent in the Rue St. Jaques, Mathieu Ori, who was an inquisitor: immediately he presented himself before him, said what he had heard, and professed his readiness to answer any charge. Ori replied that indeed his name had been mentioned to the Holy Office, but there was no reason why he should be alarmed at it, and he might make himself easy on that score. The word of an inquisitor is worth little in such cases; and the report that he was a suspected person still prevailed, when he received a letter from the Spaniard who had defrauded him of his money, and who, having been taken ill at Rouen, on his way to embark for his own country, wrote to intreat some help from him,

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him, lest he should perish for want. Ignatius, whose mind, in such cases, was thoroughly subdued to a Christian temper, set out instantly on foot, that he might minister to this wretched and repentant sinner: he attended him in his sickness, begged alms for him, obtained means for his passage, and did not leave him till he had seen him embarked for Spain. Just at this time letters came to him from Paris, saying the report there was that he had left that city either for fear of the Inquisition, or because he was weary of acting the hypocrite. These he carried to a notary-public, and required from him a certificate, duly attested, and the bearer of the letters being one of the witnesses, that, as soon as these letters had arrived, he had taken this precaution, and set out, incontinently, on his return to face whatever accusation might be brought against him. To Paris, accordingly, he hastened back, and again appeared before Ori, requesting that the matter might be examined, and the cause adjudged. He was about, he said, to return to Spain, and it was of importance that no false reports, injurious to his reputation, should be left in Paris. Nor was it a business in which he was the only person concerned; it had become his duty, for the sake of his friends and associates, to look to the vindication of his character. Ori again replied that nothing but vague and malicious rumours had been alleged against him: he desired, however, to peruse the Spiritual Exercises of which he had heard, and the perusal pleased him so well, that he asked permission to have a transcript made. Had the book been a suspicious one, this would have been a dangerous request; and, satisfied as Ignatius was with the result, he nevertheless deemed it prudent to take a notary with him to the inquisitor, and obtain what may be called a bill of orthodoxy.

But while Ignatius extricated himself from one danger, by the confidence which he manifested in his own most Romish opinions and intentions, he was exposed to another. It was found, that the students over whom he had obtained the influence which he sought, were induced to withdraw themselves from the schools on all the holidays, which were not observed there, and taken to hear mass and receive the sacrament, or employed in the Spiritual Exercises, instead of attending their respective lecturers. This was a breach of discipline; as such it was represented to Gouvea by Juan Penna, whose philosophical course Ignatius had attended; and it was determined to inflict upon him a punishment more characteristic of the age than proportioned to the offence. He was to be summoned into the hall without any notice of what was intended; there the whole body

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of students were to be assembled, and in the presence of all he was to be flogged by the Rector and all the Masters, each inflicting a certain number of stripes: the number is not specified, but the punishment is called exceedingly severe, and it was held to be as ignominious as it was cruel. Though this was meant to be kept secret till the moment of execution, Ignatius was apprised of it by some friend. His first impulse was to hasten to the college, and triumph in the opportunity for suffering which was now afforded him, and he had no sooner entered than the doors were closed. The masters made ready their scourges, and the scholars were convened. On the way, he had been sensible of a fear which he had overcome, by apostrophizing his flesh, as if it had been a restive beast, which would kick against the pricks, and must therefore more rigorously be broken in. But another consideration arose now. Though contented himself to suffer, and desirous of suffering for Christ's sake, what to him was a gain, would be very differently regarded by his young disciples, and affect them accordingly. He would feel it as a triumph, but to the world it would appear a disgrace, and that disgrace would reflect upon them; and unconfirmed as they yet were in the right way, was he justifiable in endangering them by this new temptation, if he could by any lawful means avert it? It may, perhaps, be suspected that the matter had been pre-concerted with Gouvea: for Ignatius went to his apartments, and remonstrated with him upon the inconsistency of scourging a man in a Christian college for no other imputed offence than that of having imitated his Saviour; and upon the ill consequence which such an example must produce upon the students. The Rector took him by the hand, led him into the hall, and there, before those who were assembled to inflict or to witness the punishment, pronounced an eulogium upon him, fell at his feet, and implored his pardon.

The part which Gouvea afterwards took in favour of the Jesuits renders this a suspicious incident. Yet, to suppose it a mere scene, prepared for the sake of effect, would detract from the sincerity of Loyola's character; and sincere he undoubtedly appears to have been, though the society which he founded has become deservedly proverbial for insincerity, having reduced the art of lying to a system. Their consummate craft may indeed be traced to his instructions, for he charged them not only to be wise as serpents, but to imitate the cunning of the old Serpent himself, and make war upon Satan with his own weapons, by using the same arts for decoying men into the ways of salvation, which he employs for deluding them to their destruction. This advice St. Basil had given before him, and both

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both Basil and Loyola may well be believed to have intended it in the good sense wherein it may be taken: but when the Jesuits plotted to bring about the most atrocious designs by means the most infernal, they carried the precept no further than their founder's strong misbelief would have warranted and approved. Happily for him, the principle of blind unreasoning obedience to the Pope, which proved his safeguard against the Inquisition, was never in his own case put to the proof when that obedience would have led him to a crime. His great objects were the conversion of sinners and of pagans, and the support of the papal system; and in both he laboured with sincerity as well as zeal, and, after the first heat of his enthusiasm, with prudence. One instance only of fanaticism occurred during his residence in Paris. He had bestowed much exhortation without effect to withdraw a certain youth from his connexion with a woman of loose life: this youth in his visits to her was to cross a brook in the neighbourhood of Paris; and as he was passing the bridge on a winter's night, he heard himself addressed by name from the stream; there Ignatius had stationed himself, naked, and up to the neck in water, and there he solemnly declared in that same condition the young man should find him when he returned; and this he would continue to do night after night, till he should lose his own life, or the young man amend his. This is an act which even the most panegyrical of his historians have not recorded for imitation; for though they said that the sinner turned back and was reclaimed, they could not help perceiving how likely it was that he might have taken another road, or returned by the same when he had duped his insane monitor: and that if the experiment had proved fatal, Ignatius would have perished by his own act and deed, as evidently as the Bramin who famishes himself at the door where he cannot obtain his demand.

By this time he had lost the disciples whom he left at Salamanca; his letters had deterred them from following him to Paris. So great were the difficulties which he represented they would find in supporting themselves there, that their zeal abated in his absence, and they returned into the highway of the world. He found abler and steadier associates. Faber was the first: from him he received assistance in his study of the Aristotelian philosophy, and in return communicated spiritual instruction. The next was a more difficult and more valuable convert: a Cantabrian, like himself, of noble birth, rich both in fortune and in natural and acquired endowments; entering, however, into Loyola's views with all his heart and soul and strength, his ambition took the course of religious enterprise, and he became as St.

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St. Francis Xavier, the very Amadis of Jesuit romance. Two students, who had heard of him at Alcala, joined themselves to him in Paris, Diego Laines and Alonso Salmeron, both men of distinguished ability, and conspicuous afterwards not only in the history of the Jesuits, but in more public scenes. With them and with Simon Rodrigues, a Portugueze, and Nicolas Bobadilla, a Spaniard, he laid the foundation of the Jesuit order on Assumption Day, 1534. He and his six associates met in the church of a monastery at Montmartre, and bound themselves by a vow, as soon as their academic studies should be completed, to renounce all worldly possessions, to labour for the salvation of sinners, to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there devote themselves to the conversion of the Infidels, in the hope of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but if, by an appointed time, they could not effect their pilgrimage, or, having reached the Holy Land, should be prevented, as Ignatius had been, from abiding there, then they were to repair to Rome, lay themselves at the Pope's feet, and place themselves at his disposal, to serve the Church in whatever manner he might deem best. This vow they repeated on the same anniversary in the two succeeding years, three associates having in the meantime been gained, who were all Frenchmen.

Having completed his course of study, and agreed with his disciples to meet them at Venice on a certain day, Loyola set off for Spain, in the hope that his native air might re-establish his health; those stomach complaints which had been induced by abstinence, in the first stage of his progress, having at this time returned. His fame had gone before him. The honours with which he was received, and the artifices by which he avoided or endeavoured to avoid them; the pride with which his own family regarded him when they saw him now on the high road to canonization, and the effect which his preaching produced in his own country, are so many circumstances, which show that the times were not less favourable for Loyola than for Luther. Part of his business in Spain was to make for his Spanish associates a formal renunciation of their inheritance; and, on his own part, to acknowledge publicly a sin which he had committed in his boyhood, and make atonement for it, by giving his little patrimonial inheritance to the offended person. Leaving his native land then, which he was never to revisit, he embarked at Valencia for Venice; but escaping narrowly from Barbarossa's cruisers and from tempests, found it necessary to land at Genoa, from whence he begged his way. The fatigue and difficulty which he met with, the mishaps, the mockery, the insults, and even the want of charity, were so many trials of patience, so many triumphs

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triumphs of humility. His disciples joined him at Venice; there they framed the rules of probation for their society, and from thence Ignatius sent them to Rome to obtain the Pope's approbation of their intentions. Ortez, who was the Emperor's agent there in the cause of our Queen Catherine, introduced them to the Pope, having prepared him to receive them favourably. They discussed a theological question before him, in proof of their qualifications, and received his permission to visit Jerusalem according to their desire, his blessing, and money to assist them on their journey thither. When they rejoined Loyola, both he and they were ordained, preparatory to their intended voyage. That voyage, however, was never undertaken, and the war between the Turks and Venetians served as cause or pretext for changing their original purpose; more probably it was the pretext, for it is likely that they and their protectors at the papal court saw in what manner they might be more profitably employed. So, after a spiritual campaign in the Venetian territory, they dispersed themselves among the Italian Universities, there to preach for recruits, wisely perceiving that young men of education and talent were the disciples whom they ought at this time preferably to seek—men who, while their feelings were heated, would take the stamp of their new institution, and retain the impression when the metal had cooled and hardened.

Some of the earliest associates had already reached this second state, and it may be doubted whether Ignatius himself continued after this time to be the dupe of his own imaginations. The account which was derived from his own relation extends little further, and contains, toward its close, indications of intentional deceit, and of falsehood prepense. His old raptures and ecstasies were said to have returned upon him when his studies were completed; and in such fuller measure, as if he were now receiving interest for the long interval during which they had been suspended. He had determined, upon his ordination, that he would not celebrate mass till a whole year should have elapsed, hoping that, in the course of that time, he might prevail upon the Holy Virgin to obtain acceptance for him with her blessed Son. As he was now going to Rome, accompanied by Faber and Laines, he entered a chapel some few miles from that city; and there perceived his whole mind to be so moved and changed as to make it impossible for him not to believe assuredly that the Father had then obtained for him that acceptance with the Son which was his soul's desire. This was his own statement, when he dictated what he wished to be recorded of his own history. But a paragraph follows to this effect: 'I, who write this, said to the Pilgrim (the appellation by which Loyola designated

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designated himself in this narrative), when he had related this circumstance, that other particulars of it were related by Laines; upon which he replied, whatever Laines may have said concerning the matter will be true. I do not remember it so particularly: but when I related it, I know that I related nothing but what was true.' This he said concerning this vision, and the like he also said concerning several other things, referring to the accuracy of what he had related to Laines. The vision, however, was not one which could, even in its minutest circumstances, have been forgotten by one to whom it had been actually vouchsafed. Neither can the Jesuit's excuse be admitted as valid, that because of the frequency of such visions his recollection of them was confused; because, if he remembered anything, he must have retained full recollection of this particular miracle from which his Society took its appellation. The story, as related by Laines, adopted by the Society, and recorded by them upon a marble tablet over the door of the chapel is, that Ignatius losing his bodily senses there, saw himself surrounded with the full splendour of heaven, saw the Father beholding him with an aspect full of love, the Son bearing his cross, and pointing to the marks of his passion; heard the Father earnestly recommend him to the Son, saw himself benignantly accepted by the Son, and heard these words from the lips of the Son, *Ego vobis Romæ propitius ero.* Therefore, it was, according to Laines, that he gave his order the name of the Society of Jesus; and the Jesuits contend for the truth of this miracle with an assurance altogether worthy of themselves.

Laines, indeed, was as much the architect of the Society as Loyola was the founder: and this is so far allowed by the Jesuits, that they ascribe to Loyola those parts of the institute which are peculiar to the Order, and which they say were revealed to him; but, upon everything which was not so revealed, they say he consulted with Laines, who had made the rise, progress, and rules of the monastic orders his especial study. No two men could have been better qualified for the service which the papal system needed at that time. The existing orders could not have withstood the Reformation; their abuses were too great, too flagrant: they furnished zealots and persecutors enough for the work which was to be done; but the finer, as well as the more sincere and ardent spirits went out from them, and became leaders in that great religious revolution which emancipated the north of Europe; so that the monasteries, in fact, served rather as seminaries for the reformers than as fortresses of the Pope. The papal court, where the wisdom of the serpent was never wanting, was glad to institute a new order, which

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which might do for it what had been done by the Dominicans and Franciscans against the Waldenses and Albigenses; sure of enlisting thus many of those enthusiastic minds which might with equal facility have been enlisted against it, and having ample employment for such minds in every stage of their progress. A fitter saint for its purpose than Loyola could not have been desired, nor a more politic instrument than Laines. When, therefore, they had matured their scheme, the Pope referred it to three cardinals, one of whom opposed it at first, saying, there were already too many orders in the church; but afterwards changed his opinion, and declared, that an irresistible impulse had produced the change. On their approbation, the Pope in 1540 established the Society of Jesus, and confirmed the rule. It differed in some essential points from all other Institutes. The Jesuits neither devoted themselves to a contemplative nor an active life, but to either or both, as circumstances might determine: they were therefore neither monks nor friars. They had no peculiar dress, but were to adopt the habit of the regular clergy in whatever country they might be stationed, that they might not, by any unusual appearance, offend the prejudices of the people, or awaken the fears of the heretics. No severity either of abstinence or self-inflicted pains was imposed, no night-service in their chapels, no choir at the regular canonical hours; for this would have called the brethren from more needful employments: observances, therefore, which would have been impossible for some, inconvenient for all, and useful, as the politic head by whom this rule had been framed well knew, for nobody,—were dispensed with altogether. Their enemies, whether in their own church, or in the reformed ones, did not fail to dwell upon this as indicating a want of holiness in the Society; but the Jesuits defended themselves by pleading that a like dispensation had been originally designed for the Dominicans, though abandoned in course of time; and they lost less by it in public opinion than they gained by being forbidden to receive money for the performance of any of their sacerdotal functions; for, though the labourer is worthy of his hire, and he who ministers at the altar should rightfully live by the altar, yet these functions had been made a trade, and that trade was a reproach to the church.

They admitted into the Society none who had been stigmatized by any sentence either civil or canonical; none whose disposition was known to be fickle; none who were likely to be useless, nor who, having professed in any other order, would have removed to this. Other orders were contented with submitting their novices to one year of probation: the Jesuits required

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required two; and if, at the expiration of that time, it were thought expedient, its term might be indefinitely prolonged. But if it were thus difficult to obtain admittance, they who were once received into the company, if they became weary of the obligation which they had taken upon themselves, were in no danger of being immured, or buried alive: the Jesuits were too wise to trouble themselves with the custody of refractory members; they made immediate expulsion the punishment of any disobedience. When Loyola was informed of any such act, even if it were at midnight, he sent for the offender instantly, made him put on a secular habit, and turned him into the street: the General having the power of cancelling at any time the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, taken by each member upon his admission, if such a discharge were thought expedient for the individual or for the Company. There was a fourth vow, taken only by the first of the four classes into which the Order was divided: this was a vow of obedience to the Pope, to go on any mission whereon he might think proper to order them: these were called the Professed, and these alone constituted what was properly denominated the 'Company,' consisting exclusively of learned men, who, having been so moved by the Spirit, had dedicated their knowledge to the service of God, by labouring in the Order for the general good. The second class consisted of Spiritual Coadjutors, men of blameless conversation and sufficient erudition, whose business it was to assist the professed in spiritual things. The third class were young men of hopeful dispositions, in training for one or other of the higher grades as they might be found fit. The fourth were Temporal Coadjutors, persons contented with Martha's lot, who performed the domestic offices of the Society, and thus left the higher minds to their higher duties, undistracted by such cares. Both classes of coadjutors were incapable of succeeding to any property, a perfect abnegation of all self-interests being displayed in the whole Rule. The professed made a vow never to suffer a relaxation of their rule to the admission of wealth; never openly or secretly to aspire to any rank in the Company, or to accept any external rank, unless they were required to accept it by one whom it was their duty to obey, whereby their superior in the Order was meant, or the Pope. These renunciations of wealth and power were, however, comfortably reconciled with the possession of both; for though the Society might have no property, and it was even provided that the alms which the professed asked must be only from day to day,—not permanent and calculable like a revenue,—Ignatius had experienced that mendicity was no convenient occupation for

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for a student, and therefore the Colleges and Houses of Probation were allowed to possess a common property, anything which government might bestow upon them for the general good, or individuals for their own salvation,—that is, whatever they could get. But the professed, who indeed filled all the offices of the Society, administered this property, though they lived in convents, to the use of which none of it might be applied. By this arrangement, they who enjoyed the property were prevented from abusing it, and the whole power was kept in the hands of the professed.

Obedience was the main spring of this great machine; it was exercised at first in the most unreasonable and preposterous trials, and put to use at last, when time and opportunity served, in the most desperate ones. The avowed object of the Society was to defend and to extend the authority of the papal church; if that church were to tell them, that what appeared white to their eyes was black, black they were bound to pronounce it; this is no exaggerated representation, they are literally* enjoined to do so in the *Exercitia Spiritualia* of their founder. This object was to be effected by getting, as much as possible, into their own hands the business of education, and by undertaking the conversion of heathens and heretics. They were a corps of spiritual Janissaries, raised, recruited, and disciplined for the Pope's special service; and no corps was ever more completely organized. The most minute and constant inspection was carried on in every one of their establishments, so that the superiors were well acquainted with the character and capabilities of every individual member, every one, indeed, being bound by his Rule to give immediate information of anything amiss which he had seen or heard in the demeanour of another. The subordination was equally complete. The Provincial Principals, with certain of the professed, selected for the purpose, elected the General of the Order, whose residence was to be at Rome, that he might be in immediate communication with the Pope. The appointment to all offices was vested in him, and his power was said to be absolute; but it was only so while he conformed to the principles of the Society, and the opinion of his four assistants, who were chosen from among the Professed. Their business it was to regulate his diet and his apparel, to define his functions, and to admonish him in humility, if he erred, for which also there was a monitor appointed. If aught worse than an error of judgment should occur, if any depravity

* *Ut ipsi Ecclesiæ Catholicæ omnino unanimes conformesque simus, si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet album, nigrum illa esse definierit, debemus itidem quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare.*—p. 141. Ed. 1635.

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should be discovered, either in doctrine or morals, (*homines enim sumus*, says Ribadaneyra,) in such case the assistants might convoke a general congregation, who had power to depose him, because they represented the whole society, and were therefore superior to its absolute head. They might even inflict severer punishment, if the crime required it. Thus, it may be seen, that the Jesuits were acting equally in the spirit of their own constitution when they exerted themselves in establishing or upholding a despotic government, and when they were employed in exciting and abetting a rebellion. Their doctrines were not more convertible to the political views of Philip II. and Louis XIV., than to those of the Parisian League and the Scotch Covenant.

Novices were prepared for their first vows by a course of the Spiritual Exercises, a course which the Jesuits recommended also to all who put themselves under their spiritual direction, modifying it with their wonted skill to the circumstances and disposition of the patient. There are decisive proofs of madness in the early part of Loyola's career, and strong indications of cunning, if not of intentional imposture in the latter stages; but if there be any appearance of weakness in him at any time, it was in the fondness with which he regarded this system of religious drilling. There would have been little merit in the invention, had it been originally his own; it was, however, the means by which he converted to his own views, or rather completed, the conversion of Faber, Xavier, Laines, and Salmeron; and it was found so efficacious with weaker minds, in which fear or conscience had been awakened, that the Jesuits at length, in order to enhance the reputation of the work, divided the praise of its authorship between their founder and the Virgin Mary! affirming, that the Virgin herself had commissioned the angel Gabriel to make known the part which she had had in composing it. The revelation rests on the authority of Laines; and on the same trusty testimony, it is asserted, that a common guardian angel not being sufficient for such a person as Loyola, an archangel was, for special honour, appointed to that charge. Laines asked Loyola if it were not so, and he received no answer; but this silence was full confirmation, for Loyola blushed at the question, like a virgin surprised alone by men, *ut verbis Lainis utar*, says one of his biographers: so skilfully did Laines prepare the proper adornment of machinery for the history of the Order; and so craftily did Ignatius, without committing himself by any direct falsehood, assent to any fable which his wily coadjutor deemed it profitable to devise.

The Jesuits, like all the other orders of the Romish church, invented

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invented monstrous miracles in such profusion, as if their intention was to mock the credulous, and insult the understanding of those who could not express their incredulity, without being accounted heretics, and persecuted accordingly. But in the case of Loyola's Exercises, it was necessary to provide a miracle, it being evident, from the scholastic character of the work, that he could not possibly have written it himself, unless by inspiration; and the story which they devised is neither the earliest nor the latest proof that the Magna Mater of their mythology is versed in school divinity. When it had been determined to accept the services of Loyola and his followers, these Exercises received the Pope's sanction,—he, *ex certâ scientia sud*, approving all and everything therein contained; and not least, we may be sure, that notable sentence which acknowledged his power of making white black. He strenuously recommended them to all Christian people, and the Jesuits were required by their Rule to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with them, that they might know how to conduct a patient through the course.

Some resolution was required for entering upon this regular course of spiritual medicine. The Jesuits wished the patient to undergo it in one of their own establishments, or in a convent; a place of retirement in the country might do; and where secrecy was desirable, as, for example, in the case of persons high in rank, the devotees might be attended privately at their own houses. The whole course, if gone through as it ought to be by those who could bear it, and were deemed fit for it, was, for the sake of method, divided into four weeks, and usually extended to about thirty days, during which, the religious penitent was conducted through the purgative, illuminative, and unitive stages of devotion. If he put himself entirely in the hands of his ghostly physician, he was secluded all this time from any other society, and any other business than the great work in which he had engaged: and that nothing might distract him, the doors and windows were to be closed, and no light admitted except when he was at his meals, or in the intervals allowed for reading. Five hours in the four and twenty were to be devoted to meditation: one was at midnight, the deep silence of that time being most suitable for such an employment; the second was at dawn, the third a little before dinner, the fourth in the afternoon, and the fifth at evening. He was to commence with a preparatory prayer, and then call upon his imagination for what is termed a Prelude; a plan for the first of these Preludes is given in one of the most approved glosses upon these Exercises, (that of P. Francisco de Salazar)—in this the

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the Patient was to imagine that he saw the Almighty seated in infinite majesty upon a throne surrounded by angels, and like a sea of all perfection, from which all creatures issued like rivers as from their source, and to which they returned as to their proper end. Having such a scene present to his mind's eye, he was to think upon the fall of the angels first; then upon the fall of man; thirdly, upon his own sins, mortal and venial, not specially but in general; and to conclude with an address to the Saviour, whom he was to suppose there present, on the cross, face to face! Every day's exercise was in the same order, the Preludes varying as progress was made in the purgative, or other stage of the penitent's progress. Thus, in one of these mental pageants the Patient was to imagine that the house of the Blessed Virgin was not at Loretto, but in its original site at Nazareth; the Virgin there receiving the Archangel's salutation; the human race of all nations, languages and colours, in all stages of life, from birth to death, and engaged in all its concerns; and the Three Persons of the Trinity looking from the throne upon the world and all its ways. In another contemplation, he was to be present in the stable with the Holy Family, *eorum utcumque necessitatibus, cum reverentiâ maximâ famulantem.* At another time, to represent, as strongly as his fancy could embody such anticipation, his own death and interment, the terrors of judgment, and the punishment of the souls in hell. The prayers which he was to pour forth, as if addressing the Saviour, then to be imagined visible as well as present, were not like that of the Publican in the parable, but in the most exaggerated style of passionate self-condemnation, expressing astonishment that the angels who bear the sword of divine justice should have spared him so long; that the sun, moon, and stars, all elements, all creatures, and all productions of the earth, should not combine for the destruction of such an offender; that earth itself should not open to absorb, and hell to receive him into everlasting torments! This was the sketch which Loyola himself supplied, and the drastic prescription was administered in full force by those who assisted the Patient with written meditations; for the directory enjoined such to be prepared, in order that the memory might be spared; the whole strength of the faculties, it was said, being at this time required for the understanding and the will.

The Director was to be careful that his Patient's head was not turned by too long continuance in prayer; for of this, it was said, there was great danger, either when in a state of desolation, or of consolation. And for the same reason, the imagination was to be checked if it found either too much difficulty or

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too much delight in the Preludes which it was required to compose. Most care was required during the purgative part of the course. The better times for visiting him were early and late; early, when the mind was most clear to receive and imbibe instruction; late, when it stood most in need of counsel against temptation, and comfort in its desolation. During the consolatory stages he might be left much to himself. With his attendant he was to have no speech, except what was necessary; but in certain cases, a patient might be attended by one of his own choice, because it was found that some persons opened themselves more freely to one with whom they were familiar, than to their director. The only books allowed were the Breviary and the Office of the Virgin, for one who was a priest: and when it seemed expedient, the book *de Imitatione Christi*, (which the Jesuits ascribe, not to Thomas à Kempis, but to Gerson,) and after the first week, selections from the Gospels, and select lives of the Saints. There was work enough without books for the intervals between the five hours; and that work was not the least characteristic part of the course. The patient was to determine every day upon correcting some one particular sin to which he was addicted, beginning with that which he believed to be his ruling vice. To assist him in this, he was furnished with a ruled paper containing a line for every hour of the day, and he was to pray for grace to observe how often he inclined toward that sin in the course of the day, and to avoid it in future; every inclination to it was to be noted and pricked down as it occurred, and thus at the close of the day the paper would show the progress which he had made in amending it. If that progress were not rapid, there was this comfort held out to him, that when sin suggests itself, the stronger the suggestion and the more arduous the struggle, the greater was the merit in overcoming it at last. Patients were to be indulged at the Director's discretion in the use of cilices, chains, and whips: the Director was always to be vigilant in detecting the sophistry and paralogisms of the devil, who, from false premises, would draw false conclusions; and in the unitive stage he was to encourage or excite comfortable feelings.

The great object of this course was to lead the Patient to choose a religious life; or, in other words, to induce him (should he be a fit subject) to become a Jesuit: but this object was not to appear; and the directions given for exciting the desire, and fomenting while seeming to discourage it, are truly Jesuitical. Not less Jesuitical, in the right Protestant sense of that expressive word, are the directions given in the Rule itself, for regulating the countenance. A Jesuit was never lightly to move

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move his head, but with gravity when it was necessary to move it; at other times it was to be kept inclining a little forward, and with no declination to either side; the eyes looking downward, especially when conversing with persons of authority: the brow was not to be wrinkled; still more was any wrinkling of the nose to be avoided, to the intent that inward serenity might be denoted by a serene countenance: the lips were neither to be compressed nor opened widely; and the whole face was rather to denote cheerfulness than sadness, or than any less regulated emotion. In these instructions the real character of the Society appears; not such as it was designed by Loyola in the fervour of his first sincerity, but as it was moulded, and perfected, and stamped by Laines and his successors. What the founder's Exercises were to the devout and simple, their casuistry was to the children of this world. The Jesuits were, therefore, all things to all men. They could, as occasion required, inculcate the most uncompromising bigotry or the laxest morals: the right divine of kings, or the duty of deposing and putting them to death. Their Rule expressly forbade them to take any part in political affairs, yet they aimed at the direction of state affairs in every country where they were tolerated. Their Rule excused them from all those unnecessary observances in which other Regulars misspent so large a portion of their time; yet no others encouraged so greatly that puppetry and those puerile practices of devotion which amuse the vulgar. The use of any hurtful austerities was forbidden by their Institute; but there was a dispensing power for everything: and, if a Jesuit discovered a strong predilection for tormenting himself, he was allowed the gratification; and their histories accordingly vie with the Benedictine, and Franciscan, and Dominican Chronicles in disgusting feats of filthy mortification and self-inflicted cruelties, as well as in extravagant and audacious fictions. Being perfectly acquainted with the talents, acquirements, and character of every member, the Superiors could at all times find agents perfectly qualified for any service, however delicate or however desperate; whether it was to direct the conscience of a debauched king and his mistresses; to harden wicked hearts, or to pervert weak heads; to plot against the life of a sovereign, or the liberties of a state; to bring forward in controversy all the stores of learning with all the resources of art, aided by the most accomplished sophistry and the most intrepid falsehood; to go to the uttermost parts of the earth with the zeal and in the spirit of an apostle; to organize the bloodiest conspiracy against the Protestants, or engage with true benevolence in the conversion of the heathen; to suffer

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death as a traitor at Tyburn, or as a martyr in Japan,—the Jesuit Colleges could at any time supply men thoroughly qualified for all these services.

Such was the great machine which Ignatius, with the help of his first disciples, constructed and put in action. When the Pope approved of the Institution he limited the number of its members to threescore, but the limitation was removed three years afterwards. As soon as they were formally incorporated, they proceeded to elect a General; the nomination, of course, unanimously fell upon Loyola, and was accepted by him, after much histrionic reluctance, in obedience to the decision of a Confessor. The associated Jesuits then took the fourth vow, inserting these words immediately after those whereby they swore special obedience to the Pope, *Et tibi, reverende Pater, locum Dei tenenti.* As soon as the ceremony of his installation was concluded, this *locum tenens* went to work in the kitchen, as an example.

One of his benefactresses came to him from Spain, with two companions of her own sex, and intreated him to receive them into his order, and establish, by their agency, a community of female Jesuits. Loyola unwillingly undertook, at her desire, the spiritual direction of these three women; but, in the course of a few days, he found the task so difficult and so hopeless, that he besought the Pope to grant the Society an exemption from ever taking the charge of females. This broad exemption they accordingly obtained; it saved them from much embarrassment: and a Jesuit could always obtain a special license when any politic end was in view.

To follow the remainder of Loyola's life would be to relate the history of his order during those years: he lived to see the spiritual dominion which he had erected extended into the twelve provinces of Portugal, Castile, Andalusia, Aragon, Italy, Naples, Sicily, High Germany, Low Germany, France, Brazil, and India. Nearly an hundred Colleges or Houses were founded for, or transferred to it, in these countries; and, when he died, at the age of sixty-five, thirty-five years after his own conversion, and sixteen after the establishment of his Order, the extent which that Order had obtained, the influence which it exercised, the ambitious projects which it had formed, and the power which it was exerting for evil and for good, might have made him look to the canonization he expected as his due. No scheme of policy ever more effectually answered the purpose for which it was designed; that purpose was to support the papal church, and, therefore, from that church, Loyola well deserved all the honours it could bestow. But, even with regard to the papacy, the

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the conduct of the Jesuits was *Jesuitical.* If a pope was unfriendly to the Order, his life was deemed to be in danger from their practices; and whatever truth there may be in the accusations which, by persons of their own church, have been brought against them on that score, it is certain that, when their Order was abolished, their vow of special obedience appeared to have been taken with a mental reservation, saving always the interests of the Society; for as a Society, in defiance of the Pope's authority, the Jesuits continued to exist; and as a Society they were found existing when the papal church, upon a better view of its own policy, thought proper to revive them. Hence we may estimate the efficacy of the enactment concerning them in the late Relief Bill; an enactment which, like the other notable securities in that Bill, is worth—about as much as it was meant to be.

What consequences may be likely to arise from the restoration of the Jesuits might afford a wide theme for speculation. It has, indeed, been asserted by one of the diurnal directors of public opinion, that 'as a monastic institution, they have no more influence than the gypsies.' Yet gypsies do not exercise more influence over serving men and maids, than Jesuits have exercised over kings and queens, princes and princesses, statesmen, and their wives and daughters, and their mistresses, who have sometimes more ascendancy over them than either: the young, whom they manage by their vices; the old, whom they govern by their fears; and the machiavelists of middle life, for whom they have a code of morals which provides a loophole for every expedient crime. This influence they have exercised, not only in the courts and cabinets of the Bourbon, and Austrian, and Braganzan families, but in the court and cabinet of Great Britain. Men may delude themselves and others by haranguing upon the change of times and the march of intellect; but human nature is now what it was at the Revolution, and those persons must be easily deceived who can believe, that there is at this time more stability of principle in our statesmen, more fidelity in our dignitaries of the church and of the law, more integrity in what are called public men, than at that great crisis of our civil and religious liberties. The Jesuits of this day are the faithful successors of those who then by their intrigues endangered both: they are governed by the same institutions; they teach and practise the same casuistry; they take the same vow of special obedience to the head of the Romish church, and to their own general, *locum Dei tenenti!* They have the same clear, definite, intelligible object in view; zeal and ability have never been wanting among them; and funds will always be forthcoming to any extent

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extent that they may require, for they draw upon a 'Bank of Faith' which never stops payment.

'I will produce evidence,' says Mr. O'Connell, 'to show that literature, that science, that everything that is graceful in classic learning, has been increased more by the Jesuits, than by any other class of men. I will show that more heathens and pagans have been converted to Christianity by the Jesuits, than by any others; and that more of their blood, as martyrs, has been shed, than of any other class of Christians.' In the latter part of this estimate, abating something from its amount, a Romanist is bound to agree, if he believe those relations which have obtained, in some instances, the highest sanction of his infallible church, and in others, its unqualified approbation. They rendered the most important services to that church in the time of its greatest danger; and had it not been for the Jesuits, the Romanists would not have been more considerable at this day in Great Britain and miserable Ireland, than they are in Denmark and Sweden. The sincere Papist cannot regard them with too much gratitude, the Protestant with too much distrust. The Protestant, however, who is well versed in their history, will render them justice; and it is giving them no equivocal commendation to say, that when the story of their American missions is divested of all false colouring, and all fable, what remains might entitle the memory of their missionaries in those parts to any honours short of idolatry. There they did nothing but good; but in Europe their efforts have been so perversely directed, that the best men among them have laid down their lives with true devotion, in furtherance of what, in itself and its consequences, was evil.

The reader who desires thoroughly to understand the principles of this famous Society, should peruse the *Lettres Provinciales;* but let him bear in mind, that in that work, the most finished and most successful of its kind, Pascal has dealt as unfairly with the Jesuits, as if he had been trained in their own school. For the doctrines and practices which he exposes are charged upon them, as if they alone were guilty of so teaching and so acting; whereas the other Regulars held the same opinions, and went on in the same course of action; and it is not upon the Jesuits that the condemnation should fall, nor upon any other order, black, white, or grey; but upon that Romish church, in the service of which they were all equally engaged, which adopted their legends, applauded their crimes, and encouraged them to support its cause, by any means, *per fas et nefas.*

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ART. II. *Théâtre de L. B. Picard, Membre de l'Institut (Académie Françoise.)* 12 tom. Paris.

M. PICARD, Member of the Institute, and manager of the Odeon Theatre at Paris, died about a year since, leaving behind him a numerous progeny of dramas and romances. The twelve volumes, published in his lifetime, and under his immediate direction, contain near half a hundred comedies, comic operas, and farces, yet not the whole of his dramatic pieces. The sin of omission, however, is one of the last that will be charged against him. He might have retrenched still more, with advantage to the reader,—at least to the purchaser, —and to his own fame.

Had M. Picard's genius kept pace with his ambition, his plays, or as our neighbours express it, his 'théâtre,' would be a precious bequest, not to the drama alone, but to general literature. He began his career as a writer for the stage in 1791, and laboured continuously, if not incessantly, from that period to his death. His leading and avowed object, both in his dramatic pieces and romances, from '*Médiocre et Rampant, ou le Moyen de parvenir,*' to '*Gabriel Desodry, ou le Gil Blas de la Révolution,*' was to exhibit the shifting aspects of French character, manners, and society, in his time. Thus professing, and really studying, to draw his characters, not from his imagination, abstract nature, or books, but from the community around him,—faithful in his delineations, even to personality, and bending to his purpose traits and incidents within his own knowledge or observation, his pen had the most ample and favorable scope. The reign of the Convention and of Terror was a distempered access of maniac inhumanity. But the fluctuations of fortune, character, and manners, which grew out of the revolution,—the whimsical changes, or rather interchanges, of social position,—the vices and impertinences of base *parvenus*,—the comic solecisms and insolent airs of the valet suddenly exalted to the master,—the fallen pride or grovelling servility of the master reduced to serve and cringe in his turn,—the general prevalence of corruption, intrigue, cupidity, and vanity,—political, social, and domestic,—afforded the widest and most fruitful field that could be opened to the comic dramatist. Had it been traversed with competent ability, the result would be invaluable to the future student of that remarkable period. Strip Aristophanes of the exaggerations of his wit and malice, and his comedies present the most authentic and instructive pictures that have come down to us, of the social economy, follies, and vices

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vices of the Athenians. What historian has given, or could give, pictures so faithful, so striking, so admirable, as are Molière's, of the age of Louis XIV.;—of its vices, follies, fopperies, affectation,—in every rank, condition, and profession,—civil, literary, and religious,—exhibiting, at once, the false taste of the 'Trissotins', and the false zeal of the 'Tartuffes'? Lesage has painted to the life, in his comedy of *Turcaret*, those ancient farmers of the revenue who plundered the nation, and robbed the government, and were, in turn, duped, robbed, and ruined by their valets and mistresses. Beaumarchais alone immediately preceded M. Picard as a dramatic satirist of the manners of the day—with the single exception of the lampoon by *Pallisot*, called 'The Philosophers.'

M. Picard, with materials newer and more curious than any possessed by his predecessors, is inferior to them all. He has not a touch of the philosophy or comic force of his great idol and model, Molière. He has neither the talent nor bitterness of Lesage, who is known to have written 'Turcaret' in revenge for the refusal of some petty place which he solicited; and he has neither the gaiety of dialogue, nor the felicity of character and situation, nor the happy strokes of malice and observation, which have made the intriguing family of the Count Almaviva familiar to every stage in Europe. His personages, though faithfully drawn, are not brought out. They lie flat upon the canvass. He has few comic inspirations strictly his own. With some humour, he has few movements of wit or eloquence; (for the one as well as the other is within the range of comedy,) and his style, especially in verse, is, we believe, condemned by the best, if not the only proper judges—his countrymen. The comedies of M. Picard seem to us chiefly indebted for their success to the diligence with which he observed and appropriated all that he had read and seen,—to his knowledge of the stage from his long experience as a manager, and originally, we believe, as a comedian. His contrivances are sometimes ingenious, and his scenes farcical; but he wants originality and animal spirits. His principal merit with the reader and posterity will be the design, better conceived than executed, of transmitting the curious, but fugitive traits of the age in which he lived.

Of M. Picard's pieces several either succeeded equivocally, or wholly failed; others had a success, brilliant, but ephemeral; only a few, and those the more light and farcical, still maintain possession of the stage. He seems to have been subject to two opposite errors,—expanding the material of two acts into four or five, and setting out with a superabundance of materials and magnificence

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magnificence of design which he is unable to master. Hence some of his less pretending comedies are thin and feeble, whilst his more ambitious pieces,—those in which he would be at once comic and philosophical,—the Satyrist and Annalist of the manners of his time—are incompact and ill digested.

The earliest and one of the best of the pieces which represented the new manners of the French, is '*Médiocre et Rampant ou le Moyen de parvenir*.' The title and text are taken from one of the many clever and cutting aphorisms which Beaumarchais has put into the mouth of Figaro,—'Médiocre et rampant, et on arrive à tout.' It was M. Picard's first comedy in five acts, and, if not his ablest, is certainly his most carefully finished. The characters are few, the design simple, and the march of the piece direct. The time may be supposed 1794 or 1795, when sansculottism was no longer the fashion, and ministers of state wore stockings, clean linen, and cravats; but before they were yet clothed in ermine robes and the title of excellency. M. Picard introduces, at this period, a minister who has been just called to the helm, like another Cincinnatus, from the plough. His name of 'Ariste' announces, of course, the best of ministers and of men. He does not appear with all the republican simplicity of Roland, who came to take possession of the hotel of the interior on foot, with all his baggage tied up in a pocket handkerchief in his hand; but he is still a plain gentleman, surrounded familiarly by his mother, an old country lady who loves verses and thinks she has taste; his daughter, a young person who has, of course, a lover; and three subalterns in his bureaus. One of these, called *Dorival*, is the hero of the piece. Destitute alike of capacity and moral worth, he has yet made his way so well by crawling and canting, that his mediocrity passes for talent, his hypocrisy for virtue, his subserviency for zeal,—and he is destined by the new minister for a vacant embassy, and the hand of his daughter. The second, called *Laroche*, is a well-meaning, wrong-headed, impetuous person, who, with the best intentions to hurt his enemy and serve his friend, acts so as to produce respectively opposite results. The third, named *Firmin*, is a man who unites in himself the perfection of modesty and merit. Were the scene in England, we should say this character wanted verisimilitude; but M. Picard paints from the life, and no doubt such a phenomenon did or might exist under the Directory and its edifying *regime*. This last personage has in his train his son, a young officer, and a pretty poet, yet modest in the extreme, like his father, and deeply enamoured of the minister's daughter, whom he had known 'whilst on a visit with her aunt at Strasburg.'

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The play is chiefly occupied with the Médiocre sycophant who has risen by crawling. His character is utterly despicable, but so well developed as to be instructive and dramatic.

The business of the piece chiefly turns on the awkward eagerness with which Laroche tries to expose Dorival to the minister, and the means by which Dorival not only defeats *him*, but rises still higher in estimation. He seals the good opinion of the old lady by passing upon her, as his own, a song written by the young officer, and he draws from the minister the offer of his daughter's hand; and a vacant embassy, by appropriating, and presenting as his own, a memorial on the state of public affairs, written by his colleague, Firmin. But he unluckily overshoots the mark. The minister, he learns, is in want of retired lodgings for a mysterious *protégée*. Our complaisant secretary, though scrupulously moral, is yet indulgent to the weakness of human nature, especially in a friend, offers to provide him the most private and pretty boudoir in all Paris, and makes his exit still ignorant of the impression which his complaisance has produced. We take this scene to be the most happily imagined in the piece, and, as it is short, extract it entire.

ARISTE, DORIVAL.

DOR. (*Aside*) He is alone, time presses, with but a little address I must obtain the mastery over him.

AR. I expect something which concerns you, my friend; I lost not a moment in sending your memorial, and hope it will obtain the good opinion of the government.

DOR. Yours is enough for me—I am too happy in having obtained it. (*Aside*) How shall I lead him to the subject? I risk nothing—the thing is certain—I may venture.—

AR. You appear thoughtful?

DOR. I am thinking of the frightful turn which a malicious impostor might give to the simplest circumstance.

AR. What is it you say?

DOR. In short, I must break silence. Malicious people have spread reports—I pray you answer me a few questions. If I am indiscreet, pardon my zeal.

AR. Speak, I will answer you.

DOR. If I am not misinformed,—you are in want of a lodging,—in a certain Faubourg—

AR. Since you know it, I admit—

DOR. It is a secret?

AR. Hitherto.

DOR. The lodging is for a lady?

AR. Yes.

DOR. For whom you feel—a particular kindness—

AR. The most tender interest.

DOR.

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Dor. (*Aside*) He speaks out—I may go on—(*Aloud*) and you do not wish that this should get wind?

Ar. Why, no.

Dor. I understand—the world is so illnatured—but I can be of use to you.

Ar. You?

Dor. I, myself.

Ar. How?

Dor. I have what will exactly suit you.

Ar. What?

Dor. A house—simple, private without; but decorated, charming, within; delightful garden, furniture in exquisite taste, and a boudoir, the prettiest in all Paris.

Ar. (*Aside*) Has Laroche, then, spoken the truth?—(*Aloud*) What do you take to be my secret motive in seeking this retreat?

Dor. (*smiling*) I make it a rule never to pry into what is not confided to me, but I am truly your friend, capable of serving you, of obeying you,—in anything,—implicitly, without inquiry,—you understand me?

Ar. Perfectly.

Dor. One should be indulgent. I am indeed scrupulous;—but upon this point, provided one escapes scandal,—I perhaps am going too far; but ascribe it to my heart;—your happiness is my first object. If I thus address you, it is that I would be the same to you were you in disgrace; that my attachment, in short, is not to your place, but to yourself,' &c. &c. &c.

The minister, whose *protégée* was the object only of his charity, is shocked by the base offer, and especially by this practical refutation of his favourite maxim, that talent was incompatible with baseness. Laroche returns to the charge once more, and maintains that Dorival has still less capacity than moral feeling. 'But the memorial,' replies the minister, 'pronounced excellent in the letters which I have received from government.' 'Then it is not his,' says Laroche; 'and if you will lend yourself to an experiment, I pledge myself to detect him.' The mother, daughter, Dorival, Firmin, and his son now enter. 'What a misfortune,' exclaims Laroche; 'the minister is turned out, those letters in his hand announce to him his disgrace.' All are shocked; Dorival, in no little alarm, asks the cause. 'An unlucky memorial on the state of public affairs,' says Laroche, 'the author of which, between ourselves, has everything to fear.' 'Eh! it is not I,' says Dorival. 'It is mine,—I avow it,' says the courageous and modest Firmin. He is next shorn of his borrowed plumes as a poet, and the verses placed to the account of their real author, the lover. 'I knew it,—my heart told me,' says the young lady, who kept this secret, no doubt, to oblige the author, until he arrived at the close of the

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the fifth act. The knave is dismissed, the honest man rewarded with the embassy, and the lovers united. This result contradicts Figaro's aphorism, which is the text and motto of the piece; but *Ariste* tells us in the concluding lines, that the motto is the rule, and the catastrophe the exception.

> 'Sur l'intrigant ainsi l'honnête homme l'emporte,
> Qu'il en arrive rarement, hélas! de la sorte—
> Qui mérite une place est loin de l'obtenir,
> Et le sot en rampant est sûr de parvenir.'

One trait only seems to us wanting to make the character of *Dorival* complete. He should have been represented as a brawling and savage sansculotte, when the ruling power was in the rabble—and now changed, with the time, to the crawling and supple sycophant of the minister of the day. We suspect this to have been the latent intention of M. Picard; but such a conversion was so common, and the class so numerous, that he probably sacrificed truth to prudence, and to the success of his comedy on the stage.

We pass on to M. Picard's next comedy, of French or rather Parisian character and manners as they existed in 1799. This piece, also in five acts and in verse, is entitled '*L'Entrée dans le Monde*,' that is, the 'entrée' into Paris of a young man with all the ardour of his youth—the freshness of his virtues and his feelings—and the command of a million. M. Picard had here two leading objects—the one, to convey the first impression produced upon such a mind by the novel and varied spectacle of the French capital—the other, to pourtray and group round his hero personages exhibiting the prevailing tone of character and manners at Paris. This is a play of great pretension, and one of those in which M. Picard's conceptions are beyond his powers of execution. He knew not how to dispose so vast and diversified a panorama. His personages overpower him by their number. They are ill grouped and feebly pourtrayed. In the scenes intended to convey the prevailing tone, the dialogue, though characteristic, wants comic force, point, and vivacity. We will sketch, very briefly, the leading personages who gather round the wealthy novice. He is taken in hand, immediately on his arrival, by a lady living in splendour, entertaining sumptuously, receiving 'the world' in a style of opulence and fashion, having a timid, tender, beautiful, and well-drilled daughter to dispose of—and with no other ostensible means of supporting her establishments on this grand scale than the proceeds of her card-tables. She introduces him to 'the world' in her drawing-room. The company is to be taken as representing the tone of Parisian society, and the sort of persons of which it was composed.

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posed. Here, then, are her daughter, all sentiment and simplicity in appearance, but artful, selfish, and satirical in reality,—an upstart enriched by assignats and confiscations, vulgar, ignorant, insolent, and pretending,—his wife affecting maternal tenderness and conjugal affection to very romance, suckling her child, and loading her husband with endearments, yet sitting up till five in the morning at a ball whilst the 'sweet babe' is bawling at home; —and whilst her dear spouse attends her on one side, having her gallant on the other, in the person of a stock-jobbing dinner-hunting deputy to the *corps legislatif*. Her empire over the novice is shared by a despised, but dangerous rival, whom she soon thinks it prudent to make her confederate. This personage is a downright and degraded *chevalier d'industrie*, who becomes the young man's 'guide, philosopher, and friend' after a single interview, and introduces him to the libertine orgies of a gamester without honour, a duellist of doubtful courage, and a pedant journalist who permits himself to criticise *new Comedies* (aye—here's the rub) without conscience or taste. The two leading exhibitions of character and manners in this play are a tavern scene of the latter personages, and a drawing-room scene of the former. We select the last mentioned as a specimen of the depravity, vulgarity, and vapidness of Parisian society at this time—on the shewing of M. Picard.

TERIGNI (*the young novice*), DUMONT (*the upstart*), *Madame* DUMONT (*his wife*), BEAUPRE (*her gallant—the deputy.*)

MAD. D. (*Speaking from without.*) No, pray—let no one be disturbed—we will wait in this room—(*enters leaning on Beaupré's arm, followed by Dumont—perceives Terigni*)—Sir, I salute you—

TER. (*Embarrassed.*) Madame, it is I who—

MAD. D. (*To Dumont and Beaupré.*) Do you know him?

BEAU. (*Surveying him with impertinence.*) No.

DUM. (*Looking at him through his eye-glass.*) Nor I—never saw his face before.

MAD. D. Not ill looking—

BEAU. No—not ill looking—but no brains.—(*Terigni seems embarrassed.*)

DUM. (*Contemptuously.*) No manners—afraid to open his mouth.

MAD. D. (*After a short silence.*) Fine day we have had—

DUM. Yes, the promenades full—God knows—

BEAU. My horses are taken ill.

MAD. D. Poor things—

BEAU. I really know not what to do—shut up all day in Paris—

MAD. D. Our friend is decking out her dear daughter all this time.

BEAU. Why, it is the duty of a mother to set off, to the best advantage, the charms of her child—

MAD. D. Yes; but she carries it to an excess quite ridiculous.

BEAU. Here she is.

[*Enter*

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[*Enter Madame* ST. ALARD (*the mother*), AGLAE (*the daughter*), FABRICE, SOPHIE (*brother and sister*), *of whom Madame St. Alard is the aunt, and who have accompanied Terigni to Paris—the one his friend—the other his intended bride.*]

MAD. D. (*To Madame St. Alard.*) Ah! let me embrace you, my charming friend—your daughter to-day is quite brilliant, upon my honour.

MAD. ST. A. Excuse my having kept you waiting—(*presenting Fabrice and Sophie*)—my nephew and niece.

AGL. Yes; our dear relatives—

MAD. ST. A. (*Pointing to Terigni.*) Young Terigni, our guest—

DUM. (*With a lively interest.*) What! the son of the wealthy Terigni—Sir, I am delighted to see you.

BEAU. (*With the same eagerness.*) Sir, I shall be enchanted to cultivate your acquaintance.

TER. (*Embarrassed.*) This is really—

MAD. ST. A. (*Whispering Terigni.*) Don't leave Aglae, I beg you—she will be obliged by this courtesy; these originals fatigue her to death - - - - - -

FAB. (*To Aglae.*) Who is that man?

AGL. A Deputy.

MAD. D. (*Joyously to Mad. St. Alard.*) You have heard the news?

AGL. (*Eagerly.*) What?

MAD. D. The beautiful Dorothée—

MAD. ST. A. (*With curiosity.*) Eh! what?

MAD. D. Has applied for a divorce.

MAD. ST. A. What effrontery!

AGL. How shocking to expose one's self so—

MAD. ST. A. She gets rid then at last of her fool of a husband—

MAD. D. (*Looking fondly at her husband.*) My dear, I have no merit in being a good wife—we married from inclination; never the least difference—as one soul—are we not? Oh! a divorce is in my eyes so scandalous—

FAB. (*To Mad. St. Alard.*) That woman seems to love her husband very much.

MAD. ST. A. (*Speaking from behind her fan.*) Between ourselves she loves her gallant still better.

[*Here comes a long stage direction for the manœuvring of fans and management of physiognomies in the remainder of the scene.*]

BEAU. Vice, at the present day, is really too barefaced, upon my honour.

MAD. ST. A. (*Aside to Fabrice and Terigni.*) Do you hear him, who is himself the lover—but not a word of it—

FAB. Then why tell us the secret?

AGL. Secret! All the world knows it, except the husband.

MAD. D. (*To Beaupré, with the freedom of a woman to a favoured lover.*) Will you reach me a chair—I am quite overcome—my nerves are too shattered—

AGL.

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AGL. (*To Madame Dumont.*) Ah! good God, you are ill!

MAD. D. My charming girl, I danced all night at the ball; and my baby awoke me at his accustomed hour;—to suckle one's child is a sacred duty—

FAB. How—you nurse your child, and go to a ball?

MAD. D. Sometimes.

FAB. And your infant?—

MAD. D. Remains with the children's maid; but I'll wean him soon—it makes me pale, kills me—I am changed to a fright—really—

DUM. (*Fondly to his wife.*) Remember, my dear love, to take care of a life so precious to your son and to me. (*To Terigni pompously.*) I formerly knew your family; their estates were near mine. Ah! how few such people now. Who are they that possess riches at the present day? Mere upstarts—no regard to morality, or the arts—all is debauchery, pride, insolence.—

AGL. (*Aside to Fabrice and Terigni.*) Strange—how some people can forget themselves. The story goes that he was himself but a footman the other day.

DUM. Our servants, too, greater knaves than ever.

AGL. (*archly*) They wish to grow rich, like their masters.

DUM. If Madame Dumont had not interfered, I should have thrown one of my fellows, who robbed me, out of the window.

AGL. (*Aside.*) How strict—with his own fortune made at the expense of the public.

BEAU. Yes, my friend, the corruption of morals is general; but shall we not go into the card-room?—

MAD. ST. A. (*To Terigni.*) You will play?

FER. I know few games.

MAD. ST. A. Oh! you shall be my daughter's partner, and she will instruct you. [*Exeunt.*

This scene has little dramatic merit; but it proves, so far as it is good evidence, that the new race was as prodigal, profligate, and insolent as the old, which had been exiled or degraded.

In conclusion, the hero of the piece narrowly escapes ruin, and his marriage with the artless Aglae—who, it turns out, had previously had an awkward and mysterious affair with another lover.

'*Duhautcours,*' a comedy in five acts and in prose, written in partnership with a friend, is one of the best in the collection. It brings us to the consulate in 1801. At this period, the merchants of France launched into a new career. Instead of the prudent industry and modest lives of their predecessors, they lived amidst luxury and magnificence, entertaining generals, ministers, and ambassadors: and to supply their extravagance, as well as from an impatient eagerness to be rapidly enriched, they entered into the most hazardous speculations, and ended with their robbing their creditors, by fraudulent dispositions

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dispositions of their property, and preconcerted bankruptcies. The supposition of such a character as *Duhautcours*, the hero of the piece, sufficiently shews the extent of this ruinous and profligate mania. This personage gains a livelihood by the notorious and profitable calling of a getter-up of bankruptcies. The characters in this play are well drawn, and the situations well imagined. The piece opens with splendid preparations for a fête in the house of Durville—a merchant, living in the credit of boundless wealth—and this fête is the precursor to a stoppage of payments next morning. A meeting of creditors in the fourth act is true to the life. Some idea may be formed of it from the short scene in which Duhautcours drills his subordinate accomplices in the parts they were to play.

DUHAUTCOURS, LEDOUX, PRUDENT, GRAFF.

DUH. Well, you know your respective parts—the moment is near—let us put ourselves in tune. You, Ledoux, are the person charged with drawing the deed of composition—one of those hangers-on of the courts, who call themselves lawyers. You are to read your parchment, and whatever questions are put—whatever the abuse heaped upon you—your answer is that you are merely called in to prepare the deed, and know nothing of the parties. Cool, impudent, laconic—that is the part you are to play.

LED. I understand perfectly.

DUH. (*To Prudent and Graff*) For you—you are both creditors—I have made out your credentials. You, Graff, are a rich tradesman, pompous and self-sufficient. You are to be in a bad humour at first, sharing the anger of the others. Then you reflect—become more calm—give the example of signing; but, whether angry or calm, take care that you never say more than a monosyllable.

GRA. Very well! a monosyllable.

DUH. (*To Prudent*) As for you, Prudent, you will be sure to commit some blunder; so you are deaf.

PRUD. Ah! I am deaf. The last time I was dumb.

DUH. You are deaf to-day. (*Gives him an ear-trumpet.*) With the assistance of this you shall hear nothing, even when they bawl. You take up the deed—you read it attentively—you hesitate, and then you sign after Graff. Take care! no mistakes—no false steps—no babbling. I hear footsteps—our men are coming—come, gentlemen! Attend to your parts, and prove worthy the honour of being employed in enterprises of peril.

The subject of '*Le Mari Ambitieux, ou l'Homme qui veut faire son Chemin*,' is one of the most piquant. Cleon, the 'ambitious husband,' is a place-hunter, who seeks to make his way, according to the immemorial and immutable usage of Paris, by means of the merits of his wife.

'C'est aux femmes à faire un sort à leurs maris,
Et c'est la seule mode immuable àParis.'

M. Cleon,

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M. Cleon, however, would conform with the 'mode immuable' in part only. He is so unreasonable as to expect preferment, without paying for it the customary honorarium. He has no objection to his wife's indulging, whilst she confines herself to the coquetry of innocent freedoms with the patron, and even rebukes her squeamishness on this point. Some slight qualms occasionally disturb him, but these are removed by the sound logic of an ingenious and obliging friend, who procures him the distinguished honour of having the great man his guest. We will give an example of the reasoning by which he overcomes the husband's prejudices.

CLEON, MONTBRUN.

MONT. Come, my friend, I must scold you.

CLE. Scold me! Why?

MONT. For a man of sense, your conduct has been very foolish. Here have I, after six months waiting and infinite pains, brought Dulis [the patron] to your house. Well, you are disconcerted in his company, and your wife plays the prude with him; whilst Madame St. Alban [a rival intriguante] adopts the true style of doing business for the interests of her *protégé* Dercour. You see I can be just, even to the enemy.

CLE. Madame St. Alban, Dercour, Dulis, my wife—all seem conspiring to torment me.

MONT. Do not despair, the evil is not past cure; by receiving him better henceforth—

CLE. Can I be so infamous? Dulis loves my wife.

MONT. You astonish me! but are you quite sure?

CLE. Sure! I know it from herself.

MONT. Dulis is gallant—your wife pretty—the thing is not impossible—

CLE. Then you think—

MONT. Oh! no, I think nothing.

CLE. Could I behave to him otherwise than I have done?

MONT. No, not otherwise for the world. You must break with him instantly,—notwithstanding all his patronage and his power, his means of serving his friends, his disposition towards you.—I might, it is true, remind you that there are, in Paris, husbands who, in your situation, would be delighted.

CLE. How!

MONT. Yes—the love of Dulis is inopportune to you; others would hail it as the making of their fortunes.

CLE. You think there are men so base?

MONT. My dear friend, I could name you a thousand. One man loves his wife, but has no objection that another should adore her. A second knows all, but affects entire ignorance. A third treats it as a laughable accident, and is himself the first to laugh. A fourth takes pride in it. A fifth '*en fait son métier.*' And who so

 respected,

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respected, so well received in the world, so loaded with civilities and favours, as these exemplary husbands?

CLE. Let them be covered with contempt and gold—I shall never make one of them.

MONT. Oh! no, never. Let us never cease to be delicate—immaculate. Let us get on in the world without degrading ourselves.

CLE. And yet—Dulis was ready to grant me—You saw the kindness of his manner. If I could, without being despicable in my own eyes—What shall I resolve? what shall I do? Ah, how painful my situation!

MONT. I really feel for you—It is so difficult to advise—This Dulis—Yet, now that I reflect, is his love so very *dangerous* to you?

CLE. How?

MONT. Your wife is prudent—virtuous.

CLE. Yes, certainly; but then I should be privy to his passion for her.

MONT. True; and what you are doubtful of is your own heart. Yet consider—Are you not sacrificing a good place to scruples,—perhaps chimerical? Do not suppose me without principles; at all events, in this affair I consult only the interests of my friend. There can be no harm in at least having your name on the list of candidates.

CLE. You would have me—?

MONT. Yes—the case is simply this. A place is vacant—you are a candidate. Where is the harm? But Dulis has the disposal, and Dulis loves your wife. Well, suppose it so. Must you necessarily know that he loves her? Is his love the ground upon which you solicit? No—but your own talents and fitness for the office. Suppose Dulis gives you the place for his own ends—are you answerable for his intentions? Can one man be guilty of the sins of another?—and are you not well qualified to perform the duties, &c. &c.

This friendly counsellor pursues his arguments in the same strain, and defies Cleon to refute them.

'A de tels argumens cherchez une réplique.
C'est en vain—tant ils sont clairs et forts en logique.'

Cleon, who seeks only to be persuaded, admits the full force and clearness of his friend's logic—echoes back his arguments in a long tirade—and slapping his breast, says, 'Come, let me be a man! What signifies a foolish love-affair, when a good place is at stake?'

'Allons, Cleon, reprends en peu de caractère;
Qu' importe un fol amour dans une grande affaire?'

This despicable husband has in his wife's virtue a guarantee which he did not deserve. She is not, it is true, revolted by his baseness and the addresses of the patron; but finding her husband

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husband deaf to her voice and that of honour, she makes a confidant of her father. The old gentleman, a man of unsophisticated principles and good sense, with, moreover, a certain turn for grave pleasantry, reflects for a moment, and, as the fruit of his meditation, counsels his daughter to receive the gallant with seeming favour, and let her husband know that she will henceforth be more tractable. There is no contenting some people. The lady smiles—Cleon is appointed—and Dulis, his patron, eager to avail himself of his talents, sends him a large bundle of papers, so urgently relating to the public service, that they must be looked over that very night by Cleon, alone in his cabinet, whilst the wife is at a ball, dancing with Dulis. But the 'ambitious husband,' at the summit of his wishes, is so uneasy during his wife's absence, that he cannot give a thought to the public service and the papers. An *éclaircissement*, too obvious to be interesting, soon releases him. His wife had disappointed the gallant, and never left her own chamber; and Cleon abandons his preferment, to return with her to honour and to Bourdeaux—where, however, Dulis, now heroically penitent, has another place vacant, to console him for that which he resigned.

M. Picard has not in any of his comedies during the Empire attempted to characterize that period. Even those in five acts are chiefly made up of whim and farce in character and incident, with little of manners or observation. That entitled '*Les Marionettes*' (the Puppets) should perhaps be excepted. It is whimsical and farcical indeed, but professes nothing short of being philosophical. The moral is, that men—and women too,—are the mere puppets of circumstances and their own passions. Two schoolboy friends, long separated, the one called Marcellin, a poor village schoolmaster, the other Gaspard, a travelling puppet showman, open the play. 'I tell you,' says Gaspard, 'all men are puppets, like those I put in motion with wires.' 'What?' replies Marcellin, 'take me for a punchinello? No, no, my friend, I despise money, and pity the rich; even my wealthy neighbour, d'Orvilé, with his grand mansion and wide domain—No, no, prosperity could not elate me, adversity could not depress me,—*impavidum ferient ruinæ*, as the wise Horace says.' M. d'Orvilé and his sister appear next in all the pomp and arrogance of wealth. They consider the poor schoolmaster unworthy of being the husband of their gardener's daughter, to whom, like another Abelard, he had taught letters and the tender passion at the same time. By a sudden caprice of fortune, and the death of a relative, the 'man of letters' becomes of a sudden rich, abandons not only his be-

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loved philosophy, but his beloved mistress, the gardener's daughter; and, in short, is half crazed with his good fortune. The man of wealth becomes, by a similar caprice, suddenly poor; and, from being proud and insolent, becomes the humble servant of the poor schoolmaster, sells him his castle, his servants, and his dinner even; and conspires with his haughty sister to make 'Monsieur' Marcellin his brother-in-law. They apply to a devoted friend of the family, and a constant visiter at the chateau, to assist them in their design. The friend would be delighted to aid them, is more attached than ever to his friends in their adverse fortune, but unhappily, and for the first time, he has not a moment at his disposal. The fact is, that he suddenly recollects that he, too, has a sister to marry, and he starts off privately to bring her into the field. The obsequiousness of the men, and the coquetry of the ladies to the new lord of the domain are really comic. There is some felicity and finesse in the tone of good faith with which they give the rich Marcellin credit for good qualities of the head and heart, which they never thought of in the poor philosopher who taught the alphabet in a hut on the highway. Our puppet showman is the practical philosopher and moralist of the piece, and he, too, becomes, for a moment, a puppet like the rest,—but only for a moment. He sees and frankly owns his weakness, resumes his philosophy, and sets the puppets, that is, the personages, dancing to a new tune. He contrives to make it appear that Marcellin's wealth was all smoke, and that the rich inheritance really belongs to the deserted gardener's daughter. All eyes are now turned to the rich heiress, with ridiculous versatility. The end being gained, an *éclaircissement* takes place. The puppets are dismissed ignominiously, and Marcellin, an honest fellow in the main, is restored, by the false alarm, to his senses, his better feelings, and his mistress. The whole moral of this piece is briefly and happily recapitulated at the close. One of the personages comes in, whilst the inheritance is yet supposed pending, and asks impatiently, 'Well, who is rich? who is poor?' to which the puppet showman replies, 'To whom shall I pay my court, you mean?' The great defect of this piece is the want of probability, and the absence of resemblance to real life. The farce called 'Fortune's Frolic' is an extract from it, but retaining only the common-place farce and whim of the original, and tinged over, by the usual process of Messrs. Colman, Kenny, and Poole, *e tutti quanti*, so as to pass current, in this realm, for sterling English.

M. Picard gave to the public and the world, in 1817, a comedy, entitled '*Vanglas, ou les anciens amis.*' Here he is once

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once more on the delicate ground of place and politics,—and fails. Vanglas, the hero of the piece, once an humble clerk in the war department, has risen to one of the highest offices of the state. This man has two opposite characters. He is kind, generous, and faithful, according to his friends; insolent, ungrateful, and corrupt, according to his enemies; and he merits both reputations, according to M. Picard. But M. Picard should have remembered, that in nature, as in logic, two contradictories cannot both be true; and he should have perceived this in the failure of his own illustration. His Vanglas is merely a creature essentially weak, with some good, some bad qualities, and both equally diluted. He is not without a certain fund of good feeling, which shews itself by transient accesses; but his vanity makes him impertinent; his timidity base. The leading incident, by which his double essence is illustrated, is his sheltering in his house, an early friend, whose life is compromised politically, and at the same moment preparing the articles of impeachment against him,—lest, by refusing the odious duty, he should offend his master and lose his place. The obvious and even expressed intention of the author was to give a retrospective glimpse of the imperial regime. But he defeated his purpose by laying the scene under the regency, and the administration of Dubois. No two periods in history were more entirely dissimilar. The consequence is, that his piece characterizes neither. This unhappy choice of time and place may have been imposed on him by the strict control exercised by the restored government over the drama and the press. The censorship expressly, or his own fears of it, may have interdicted the representation of the late government by name and unmasked. But in choosing a remote and inappropriate period, he was not the more free. Cardinal Dubois is frequently alluded to, but with the utmost reserve; and no allusion was permitted to the Regent, however innoxious or insignificant. The impertinence of office is the only well-pronounced trait in the character of Vanglas. This is happily contrasted with the sycophancy of two 'old friends,' who come to solicit places from him. During the audience the great man sips his coffee, talks to his valets in waiting, amuses himself with giving crumbs of bread to his canary birds, and only asks them the news of the day; whilst his two friends are astonished at his genius, delighted with his affability, and in raptures with the beauty of the little caged favourites. 'Ah!' says one of the valets, 'this is going beyond me; they flatter even his canary birds.' Vanglas tells them they frighten the birds, and very cavalierly orders the valet to draw the curtain before the cage.

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cage. The valet's observation is tart and piquant, and there is finesse in the last trait of the foppish petulance of Vanglas.

This collection ends with '*Les Charlatans et les Compères*,' (the Quacks and Confederates,) a comedy, in five acts, long enough to make seven or eight, and never performed. It seems to have been writen *con amore*. The professed object is to shew that a quack is nothing without confederates, and that with these, merit must give way to him. The scene is laid in Germany, and the chief charlatan, a quack doctor; but it is easy to perceive that the author thought only of Paris, the Parterre, the Journalists, and the less fortunate of his own plays. He seems to have had the poetical temperament in at least one respect—his impatience of censure. A drop of ink from the pen of a diurnal critic sinks and festers in his memory for years. He was, it appears, tormented with the desire of knowing what would be his reputation with posterity, and once intended to have it given out that he was dead, for the purpose of gratifying his thirst of fore-knowledge.

M. Picard, at starting, conformed with the established usage of writing comedies in verse, of course rhymed. The French consider this essential to high or legitimate comedy. One of Molière's chefs d'œuvre, the '*Avare*,' did not, at first, atone by its merit for the sin of being in prose, and was withdrawn after the first representation, and not reproduced until after the lapse of a year. The *Festin de Pierre* keeps possession of the stage, not in Molière's prose, but in the rhymed version of the lesser Corneille. There are, it is true, several striking exceptions in the acted drama of France; but still they are only exceptions, and prove the rule.

This predilection of the French for comedy in verse is not altogether the effect of prejudice or usage. A happy or pointed trait of pleasantry, character, or observation,—epigram, antithesis, and the sententious, are all launched with more precision, and impress themselves more forcibly on the imagination and the memory in French verse, than prose. If the poet have the art to make his versification flexible and varied, and avoid measured monotony by the skilful change of movement, and disposition of the cesura, he at once soothes the ear and fascinates the attention, and even relieves the actor in the delivery. It is known that the first comic artists of the French theatre prefer rhyme to prose. No English, or other foreign auditor of the long tirades in the '*Misanthrope*,' having a competent familiarity with the French language, will deny that their length is felt less, and their merit more, from their being written in Molière's admirable verse. Nor is it to be supposed

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supposed that French rhyme imposes an extraordinary hardship on the writer. Rhymes abound in the French language. Scarron wrote a whole comedy, if burlesque and buffoonery may be so called, in eight-syllabled verses, all terminating in the same rhyme.*

The verse of M. Picard not having satisfied his countrymen, who are fastidious in the matter, he, after some time, betook himself to prose. It is probable, the necessity of producing two pieces a year for the Odeon may also have influenced him. But his prose seems to us not less faulty than his verse. It is sometimes negligently, sometimes elaborately diffuse. He spins out and expands, not only his ideas, but his vocabulary. There is something amusing in the mock frankness and vain self-complacency with which he criticises himself. Corneille, in his prefaces, judged himself with a proud simplicity becoming his genius, and instructive to the reader. Those of M. Picard are of little value to the dramatic art: they contain, however, a great variety of particulars which have the curious interest of personality and egotism. It is strange that M. Picard has not availed himself of so truly comic a subject as the following mis-adventure which happened to himself. We will give, exactly, his own account of it.

'Ten days before the representation of my play, I was persuaded, I know not how, to read it at a house which, at the time, gave the tone to all Paris. I expected an audience of only some twenty or thirty people. But what was my dismay, when I saw walking in, after dinner, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty persons; among them women of fashion, generals, senators, judges, poets, and a cardinal. I was tempted to run away. But it occurred to me that flight would expose me still more to jokes and ridicule. I made up my mind to stay, tried to look bold, and read my play rapidly. But what a scene! The lady of the house thought little of the author

* The following is a specimen.

MATAMORE, ANGELIQUE.

MATAMORE (*à Angelique.*)
Beau soleil qui divinement
Me subjuguez occultement,
Beauté de qui l'agrement
M'a, comme imperceptiblement,
Assassiné l'entendement,
Dorlotez favorablement
Celui qui veut incessamment,
Vous rendre hommage constamment,
Recevez agreablement
Mon cœur, mon ame et mon serment,
Et jurez reciproquement
De m'aimer furieusement,
Jusque a votre trepassement.

ANGELIQUE.
J'estime votre compliment,
Mais, monsieur, veritablement,
Vous me voulez, trop promptement,
Jetter dans un engagement,
Duquel on ne peut aisement
Se defaire qu'au monument,
Ce front, ces yeux, ce mouvement,
Ce ventre et cet accoutrement
Me captivent superbement,
Mais, de crainte d'achoppement,
Je veux tout faire murement,
Attendez un peu seulement,—&c. &c.
&c.

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and his comedy, and wished only for something to break the monotony of cards and dancing; among the rest of the assemblage, indifference, ill-nature, hollow civilities, applauses of mere politeness, not a word of advice to the author, but exaggerated compliments to his face, sneers and censures behind his back. And the cardinal, who was placed next me, designedly, because he was deaf, after sleeping through the three first acts, roused himself suddenly to say to me, "A very pretty comedy, sir: has it yet been played?" '

ART. III.—1. *Tableau Elémentaire de l'Hist. Nat. des Animaux, par* G. Cuvier. Paris, 1798. 8vo. avec pl.

2. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. et à l'Anat. des Mollusques,* par M. le Chevalier Cuvier. Paris, 1817. 4to. avec pl.

3. *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée de G. Cuvier.* Paris, 1800—1805. 5 tomes, 8vo. avec pl.

4. *Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles,* 7 tomes 4to. Paris. (three editions) 1812, 1817, 1821. Par M. le Baron Cuvier, avec pl.

5. *Recueil des Eloges Historiques, &c.,* par M. le B. Cuvier. 3 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1819—1827.

6. *Rapport Historique sur les Progrès des Sciences Naturelles,* par M. Cuvier. Paris, 1827. 1 tome 8vo.

7. *Histoire des Progrès des Sciences Naturelles.* Par M. le Baron Cuvier. 4 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1829.

8. *Le Règne Animal distribué d'après son Organisation,* par M. le Chev. Cuvier. 4 tomes 8vo. Paris, 1817. avec pl.

9. *Le même Ouvrage, Nouvelle Edition,* 5 tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1829.

10. *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons,* par M. le Baron Cuvier et M. Valenciennes, tomes 1, 2, 3, 4. Paris, 1828—9. avec pl.

ALTHOUGH the study of Zoology is far from having yet acquired in Britain that scientific character which it has long held on the continent, there is obviously an increasing taste for the study of that interesting science, and a more general perception of its utility, since the exertions of the late Sir T. Stamford Raffles in its behalf. The zoological treasures imported from the East by that zealous patron of the science have enriched our previously existing collections and formed the nuclei of new museums, and his influence has extended to the establishment of new societies, menageries, and journals devoted to the advancement of Zoology. The Zoological Society of London, though instituted only four years ago, is already one of the most numerous and respectable scientific societies of Great

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Great Britain, and the study of Zoology has recently begun to be placed on an equal footing with Mineralogy and Botany in the universities of England. We anticipate that the taste thus recently excited for the study in this country, will not be allowed to evaporate in mere admiration; but that, in imitation of our continental neighbours, it will be improved, and directed to the proper means of advancing the interests of the science. In the mean time if we wish to view the study of animated nature in a form truly worthy of occupying a philosophic mind, we must direct our attention to the French school, where it has long formed a regular branch of academic education, and the exclusive subject of study of men of distinguished abilities and learning, and by no one has the science been more successfully cultivated than by the eminent author of the voluminous works announced at the head of this article.

In attempting to lay before our readers a brief and impartial sketch of the scientific labours of M. Cuvier, we shall follow the chronological order of his numerous writings, that we may be enabled to trace the progress of zoological discovery during the last forty years, at the same time that we examine the merits of the successive changes this distinguished naturalist has introduced into the science. Within the period of M. Cuvier's career all the branches of Natural History have been cultivated with increased ardour in the schools of Europe, and our acquaintance with the natural productions of the globe has been greatly extended by the rapid progress of geographical discovery, by the advancement of all the collateral sciences, and by the zeal and intelligence of European colonists and travellers in distant countries. The liberal aid afforded to science by the French government, and the consequent subdivision of mental labour among its cultivators in that country, have enabled the scientific of France to maintain an ascendency over other countries of Europe in those departments which necessarily required such aid for their successful cultivation, and particularly in Zoology, one of the most expensive of all the physical sciences.

The Menagerie of the Jardin du Roi and the Museums of Natural History and Comparative Anatomy at Paris, which have grown for more than a century, have long surpassed those of every other country of Europe in their extent, elegance, and richness; and, in the extensive means of comparison which they thus present, they afford an instrument of investigation in the study of Natural History, superior to that enjoyed by any other country. These magnificent collections, which owe much

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much to the early exertions of Buffon and Daubenton, have been a means of spreading a taste for the study of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy, and have greatly contributed to the eminent success of the cultivators of these sciences in France. The labours of M. Cuvier in these departments have extended over a period of nearly forty years, they have greatly added to the reputation of the French school of naturalists, and they have been a principal means of the rapid advancement of the study of Animated Nature in our times. His comprehensive genius has shed its lustre over every department of this vast field of inquiry; the existing races of the animal kingdom he has reviewed, classified, and defined; their diversified structures he has examined and described; numerous tribes of the extinct species have almost been recalled to life by his skill and perseverance; and at the age of sixty his active and vigorous mind still continues with unabated ardour to explore new paths in that immense field of investigation, which he has so long cultivated with unrivalled success.

George Cuvier was born in the year 1769, at Montbeliard, a town now in the department of France, called the Upper Rhine, but which, at the period of his birth, belonged to Wurtemberg, one of the states of Germany. This town, on the confines of Germany, has at least the glory of having given birth to the two illustrious Cuviers, to M. Duvernoy, the present Professor of Natural History at Strasburg, and to M. Laurillard, the able assistant of M. Cuvier in the department of Comparative Anatomy. M. Cuvier was born in the same year, in the same month, and nearly on the same day with Napoleon, whose intimacy he enjoyed during a great part of his perilous career; and thus, in very distant parts, the same period gave birth to the two illustrious foreigners whose lives must be so much identified with the history of France, and whose thoughts and actions have had so great an influence on the scientific and political world in later times. His father was an officer in a Swiss regiment in the service of France, and Chevalier of the Order of Military Merit; he retired after forty years' service, with a moderate pension from France, and some time after he was made Commandant of Artillery at Montbeliard. Cuvier received the early part of his education at the University of Stuttgard, the capital of Wurtemberg, where he resided for several years, directing his attention to the study of Mathematics, Philosophy, Law, and Jurisprudence, with the view of qualifying himself for taking a share in the administration of his native country, to which he was induced to

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to look forward by the kind patronage shewn him by the late Duke Charles, grand uncle of the present King of Wurtemberg. These early prospects of Cuvier, however, were soon blasted by the events which agitated France towards the close of the last century, and by which his native country became a part of a French province. The grand displays of natural scenery in the mountainous country around Stuttgard, form an allurement to the study of Natural History; and there have long existed both museums and societies in that capital devoted to its advancement. On leaving the University of Stuttgard, Cuvier betook himself to France, where he resided for some time on the coast of Normandy, and afterwards resorted to Paris. Here he commenced his career as a private lecturer, and was soon appointed to assist Professor Mertrud, in the Course of Comparative Anatomy delivered in the Museum of Natural History. Cuvier had already made himself favourably known to several of the most eminent naturalists of Paris, by his new and interesting observations on the structure of molluscous animals, made while residing on the coast of France, as tutor in the family of a nobleman. His zeal and abilities were soon recognized; he was admitted a member of most of the learned societies of Paris, and before the age of twenty-nine he was appointed Professor of Natural History in the Central School of the Pantheon. His election as a member of the Institute of France, on the first organization of that assembly in 1796, gave a new impulse to his exertions; and the numerous memoirs and discoveries which he laid before that learned body in the early part of his career, greatly extended his reputation, while they formed the bases of his more enlarged succeeding publications. The structure of the animal frame, in all the modifications it presents throughout the lower classes, was always the favourite subject of his pursuits; and he continued to discharge the duties of Professor of Comparative Anatomy in the Garden of Plants to a late period, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his other avocations. The drawings which accompanied his numerous anatomical memoirs were all executed by himself, and the beauty and elegance of his delineations are not less remarkable than the minuteness and accuracy of his descriptions. Most of these memoirs are published in the Annales du Museum.

The labours of Daubenton, Mertrud, and Rousseau had already greatly extended the Museum of Comparative Anatomy before the task of completing it fell to M. Cuvier, by his appointment to that chair in the Garden of Plants. While he was Professor of Natural History in the Pantheon, and delivered

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livered lectures on Comparative Anatomy, for Mertrud, in the Garden of Plants, he published his first separate work, the 'Tableau Elementaire,' in 1798. This work forms an octavo volume of 710 pages, it presented a new distribution of the whole animal kingdom, and it formed the basis of the two succeeding editions of the Règne Animal. The principles of classification, adopted in this early publication, had already been partly developed by him in a separate memoir on a new division of white-blooded animals, which he published at the age of twenty-six, three years before the appearance of the Tableau Elementaire. In that early memoir, which was read to the Natural History Society of Paris on the 10th of *May*, 1795, and printed in the Décade Philosophique, Cuvier first attacked Linnæus's division of the invertebrata into insects and worms, and assigned the characters and limits of the new classes mollusca, crustacea, insecta, vermes, echinodermata and zoophyta. The distribution of these invertebrate classes into three great divisions equal to the vertebrata, was afterwards established by Cuvier in a memoir read to the Institute in July, 1812. The classification of animals is one of the principal objects to which the researches both of the zoologist and comparative anatomist are directed: without the assistance derived from methodical arrangement, the multitude and variety of objects belonging to the animal kingdom would continually impede our investigations, and overpower the strongest mind. The efforts of M. Cuvier were, therefore, early directed to this important point; and the publication just mentioned is an outline of the course of lectures delivered by him at the Pantheon, on this subject, in 1797. The animal kingdom is there divided into eight great classes: four of vertebrate animals, *Mammalia, Aves, Reptilia, Pisces;* and four of invertebrate animals, *Mollusca, Insecta, Vermes, Zoophyta;* the orders, genera, and many of the species of which are illustrated by ample details, and the characters of all the different groups are illustrated by fourteen plates, from his own pencil, representing more than a hundred objects. This work has not been translated into English, but a Portuguese translation of it, by Almeida, was published in London in 1815, in 2 vols. 8vo.

After some interesting observations on the utility of the study of Zoology, and its applications to other sciences, he details the properties which distinguish organized and sentient beings, and gives an outline of the organization of the human body and the distinctions among the different races of mankind. In treating of the mammalia he has somewhat improved the classification

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classification of Professor Storr of Tubingen; he has adopted the nomenclature of Linnæus, but he has greatly improved the characters of the genera and species, by introducing more precise and detailed descriptions of the teeth, taken from the skeletons preserved in the National Museum. The arrangement of the class of birds has been taken from Linnæus and Buffon, and the descriptions are short and perspicuous. From the limited means of observation which Cuvier then possessed with regard to birds, he considers this the most imperfect part of the volume. The class of reptiles is divided into two orders, oviparous quadrupeds, and serpents; the former comprehending the *chelonia, sauria,* and *batrachia* of Brogniart and the later editions of the Règne Animal, and the latter order comprehending the *ophidia.* The divisions of the class of fishes are adopted from Linnæus; they consist of six orders, founded on the position of the fins, and Blumenbach had previously copied the same arrangement into his 'Manual of Natural History.' The cartilaginous fishes, which are placed first in the work of Blumenbach, and in the Tableau Elementaire, the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, and likewise in the Règne Animal of 1817, have been properly thrown to the bottom of the class in the great work on the Natural History of Fishes (1828), and in the new edition of the Règne Animal (1829), as in their skeleton and other parts of their organization they approach to the molluscous animals. The whole of the invertebrate animals are distributed into three great groups, which correspond with the mollusca, articulata, and zoophyta of the Règne Animal. The animals of the first division, mollusca, are characterized as having a muscular heart, and no longitudinal, knotted, nervous cord; those of the second division, insects and worms, have a longitudinal dorsal vessel, and a knotted spinal cord, or at least one of these two characters; those of the third division, zoophyta, have neither heart, nor brain, nor nerves. The mollusca are divided into the cephalopoda, gasteropoda nuda, gasteropoda testacea, and acephala; the last of these divisions comprehending Lamarck's classes, conchifera, tunicata, and cirrhipeda. His next great division he terms insects and worms, and comprehends under it all the crustacea, arachnida, insecta, annelida, and entozoa of later authors. The arrangement of these is taken chiefly from Linnæus and Fabricius, and he was as fortunate in having the personal assistance of Fabricius in regard to this class, as he had been in obtaining that of Lacepede for the classes of reptiles and fishes, and that of Lamarck for the testaceous mollusca and the corals. Cuvier, however, has paid a minuter attention to

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to the organs of manducation of insects in this work than had been done by his predecessors, and has pointed out many important characters founded on these parts. The division of his great group zoophyta is nearly the same as that of the Règne Animal, with the exception of the entozoa, being placed among the vermes in the Tableau Elementaire, and the infusoria being placed between the acalepha and the true ramified zoophytes which terminate the volume.

Throughout the whole of this Elementary Treatise he displays a practical acquaintance with the objects about which he treats, and with the best authors who had preceded him. The general observations prefixed to each division are judicious and appropriate, and, considering the state of the science at that time, they contain much interesting and original information; but, in his desire to adapt the work to the capacity of his pupils, he has overlooked the advantages of the strict methodical disposition of materials, so conspicuous in the great masters whom he has followed. The great zoological distinctions of classes, orders, genera, &c., are supplied by Cuvier by the more convenient division of chapters, and the reader is sometimes left to guess the value of a subdivision by the size of the type employed in printing its description. The investigations and the extent of reading necessary for the composition of a work like this, designed to exhibit a summary of the whole animal kingdom, must have greatly aided M. Cuvier in his demonstrations of comparative anatomy; and the combination of his duties at the Pantheon and at the College of France, with those at the Garden of Plants, may be considered as a principal cause of his eminent success in both the departments of zoology and comparative anatomy. Where the latter branch is studied only in connexion with human anatomy, the knowledge acquired is generally limited to a superficial acquaintance with a few of the classes most nearly resembling man; and when studied only in connexion with geology, the acquaintance with it is generally limited to those hard parts of animals capable of being preserved in the strata of the earth. And where Zoology is cultivated without the aid of Comparative Anatomy, the true principles of classification must be overlooked, and the most discordant arrangements will result from the attention being directed exclusively to external form.

From the wide range of M. Cuvier's investigations and public duties, he was often obliged to pass from the beaten path of his predecessors in treating of the anatomy of animals, and to travel over ground which had been but little explored. The tracks pointed out by Pallas, Camper, Vicq-d'Azir, and Daubenton,

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benton, were too common to engage his attention; and he found, in the obscure paths followed by Swammerdam, Lister, Basterus, and Réaumur, materials more calculated to extend the principles of physiology, to enlarge the views of the anatomist, and to advance the science of zoology, than by confining his inquiries to the vertebrate classes. By his interesting researches regarding the mollusca, while residing in the south of France, he became known to Lametherie, Tessier, Olivier, Lacepede, Geoffroy, and Millin, who invited him to come to Paris, and obtained for him the chair of Zoology in the Pantheon. His earliest anatomical memoirs read before the Institute of France, were on animals the most remote from man. His memoir on the Medusæ pointed out, in animals two feet in diameter, a structure nearly as simple as that of the Infusoria. The numerous memoirs which he published in the Annales du Museum on the Anatomy of Molluscous Animals, fill alone a quarto volume of nearly 500 pages: they contain descriptions of the structure of nearly fifty genera, and are illustrated by thirty-five elaborate plates from his own pencil. These memoirs have rectified many of the errors or supplied the deficiencies of preceding observers, and have thrown a new light on the most remarkable and unknown forms of organization: they have pointed out the true relations of these diversified beings to each other; and, by affording the means of dividing them into natural and closely allied groups, they have greatly facilitated the labours of the conchologist. He has minutely detailed the anatomy of most of the known Cephalopodous and Pteropodous mollusca, and of numerous genera of naked and testaceous Gasteropoda. His memoirs on the Ascidia and other Acephalous Mollusca have been the means of illustrating the whole class of tunicated animals: his memoir on the Cirrhipeda has established the true relations of these singular animals, in pointing out their numerous affinities with other articulated animals in their nervous system, their respiratory organs, and their articulated extremities; and his concluding dissertation on the species of Crustacea known to the ancients, displays a happy union of extensive zoological knowledge with profound classical erudition.

A career of original investigation, like that of M. Cuvier, ill accords with the patience and labour required in extensive compilations; and although an elementary work on his favourite subject of Comparative Anatomy, was still a desideratum in France, he was too much impressed with the difficulty of the undertaking, and too eagerly engaged in a new train of investigation, to undertake the composition of such a work. Fortunately for the

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the science, M. Cuvier found two able anatomists eager and qualified to reduce, to the form of a system, the vast materials employed by him in his courses of lectures on Comparative Anatomy. M. Mertrud had been appointed to the newly created chair of Comparative Anatomy in the Garden of Plants, but from his advanced age at that time, he was induced by the advice of his colleagues to appoint Cuvier as his substitute, and in that capacity Cuvier devoted himself to the extension of the Zootomical Museum, and to the means of illustrating his lectures, which were then attended by numerous assemblies. On the death of Mertrud, who had been long assistant to Daubenton, Cuvier succeeded him as Professor of Comparative Anatomy on the 1st of November, 1802. M. Dumeril, who accomplished the two first volumes of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, comprehending the Organs of Motion and those of Sensation, was then at the head of the anatomical department of the School of Medicine at Paris; and the composer of the three last volumes, treating chiefly of the Organs of Digestion, Circulation, Respiration, Secretion, and Generation, was Dr. Duvernoy, a relation of M. Cuvier, a young and zealous anatomist, and now the distinguished Professor of Natural History at Strasburg. M. Cuvier's attention was at this time directed to the excavations in the gypsum strata of Montmartre; and his frequent excursions to that interesting theatre of geological events, together with the labour of comparing the accumulations of bones daily extracted from the quarries with those of the skeletons preserved in the cabinet, must have considerably distracted his attention from the compilation of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée, and left a large share of the merit of these volumes to the skilful anatomists who conducted them. The first volume of the work is prefaced by a letter of twenty-two pages from Cuvier to his zealous preceptor, Professor Mertrud; in which he explains, with his usual eloquence and perspicuity, the nature of the subject, the particular scope of the work, and the manner in which it was got up, from his oral demonstrations. The work is in five octavo volumes, of about 500 pages each: it is illustrated by fifty-two engraved plates; and, although it is now thirty years since it was published, it still forms the most perspicuous, correct, and complete systematic view of the science which exists in any language. In collecting materials for the work, Cuvier was aided by many donations of specimens from his friends and correspondents in distant parts: he had liberty to dissect all the animals which died in the Menagerie, and even to open those rare species which had long been preserved in the

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the Museum in spirits. Cuvier and his pupils dissected, in 1802, the large male elephant which had been pillaged, along with many other zoological treasures, from the Stathouder in Holland, during the Revolution; he dissected another male elephant in 1804, and a female elephant a few years afterwards. His younger brother, M. Frederick Cuvier, was appointed keeper of the Menagerie in 1805, and rendered Cuvier great assistance in completing the series of skeletons of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy, which was first opened to public inspection in 1806. Manuscript copies of M. Cuvier's lectures on Comparative Anatomy, taken by pupils from his oral demonstrations, had been circulated in Paris, and even cited in works, before he undertook to publish them in a complete and connected form; and M. Dumeril had taken regular and ample notes from these demonstrations during four successive years. The introductory lecture is full of original and highly interesting views of the animal economy, and of the laws of organization; the succeeding lectures of the first volume, on the Organs of Motion, treat of the osseous and muscular system of each division of the body, commencing with the bones and muscles of the trunk, those of the shoulder and anterior extremity; then those of the pelvis and posterior extremity are described, in all the classes of vertebrate animals. The organs of motion in invertebrate animals are then examined; and the first volume concludes with a lecture on the organs of motion considered in a state of action. Although it is convenient sometimes, in teaching osteology, to exhibit the organs by which the various motions of the bones are effected, the introduction of the interesting details of myology is apt to fix the attention too exclusively on individual forms, and to carry away the mind from those extensive comparisons which are required to illustrate the osteology of the lower animals; and M. Cuvier has not been followed by succeeding writers, in thus combining the osteology with the myology. The second volume commences with the description of the head, considered as the receptacle of the principal organs of sense; the brain and nerves are then considered; and the organs of sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste, are examined at great length.

A period of five years elapsed between the publication of the first two volumes of the Leçons and the succeeding three; during which time M. Cuvier was elected Perpetual Secretary of the French Institute, an office which his genius, learning, and indefatigable research still continue to adorn. Cuvier was Secretary of the Institute so early as 1800, when that office was only temporary and of two years duration; he had been the third elected since the beginning of the Institute. At this time

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time Napoleon, returned from Egypt and declared First Consul, was made President of the Institute, which brought Cuvier into frequent personal intercourse with his future Sovereign. In 1802 Napoleon, desiring to reorganize the schools of France, appointed six General Inspectors to establish Lyceums in thirty cities of the empire. Cuvier was made one, and in that capacity he established the first Lyceums (now Royal Colleges) of Marseilles and Bourdeaux. It was while absent from Paris, on this embassy, that the Secretaries of the Institute were made perpetual, and Cuvier was appointed to that of the Physical Sciences. When at Marseilles he availed himself of the favourable opportunity to extend his inquiries into the structure of the mollusca. During this interval the two first volumes of the Leçons were translated into the English language; but the same respect has not been shown to the other three, which are not inferior in merit. The translation of these two volumes was executed by Mr. Ross, with the careful revisal of Professor Macartney of Dublin. A translation of the first lecture, which contains a luminous view of the laws of animal economy, had been published in a separate form by Mr. Allan, surgeon, of Edinburgh. The numerous avocations both of M. Dumeril and M. Cuvier prevented them from devoting the time and attention to the concluding volumes which they had devoted to the preceding; and Dr. Duvernoy, though aided by the manuscript notes of the former, and the plates, preparations, descriptions, and regular revisal of the latter, had many dissections to perform and repeat, and many deficiencies to supply in his difficult and meritorious task of completing the work. Cuvier had opportunities of dissecting many rare and unknown animals while the later volumes of the Comparative Anatomy were preparing, partly from the Menageries of the Garden of Plants and of Malmaison, and partly brought from a distance in spirits, by Geoffroy and Savigny from Egypt, by Peron from Australasia, by Humboldt from America, by Homberg and Fleuriau from the coasts of France, and by Cuvier himself from the Mediterranean. In his interesting letter to Lacepede, Professor of Zoology in the Museum of Natural History, inserted at the beginning of the third volume, he details briefly the progress of Comparative Anatomy during the five preceding years, and the important influence which his own researches for fifteen years had exerted in reforming the methodical arrangements of zoologists; the absurd classifications of the Linnæan school, founded solely on external form or on a single character, and the necessary dependance of correct zoological arrangements on the progress and application of zootomical knowledge, are also pointed out with great distinctness and ability.

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The Organs of Digestion form the subject of the third volume; and, in treating of this function, many important parts of the system are described with great minuteness and detail. The form, structure, and motions of the jaws; the teeth of mammalia, reptiles, and fishes; the salivary glands, the organs of mastication and deglutition; the structure and peculiarities of the œsophagus, stomach, and intestinal canal, throughout the various classes of animals, are successively described, and in every part illustrated with original observations. The peculiarities of the liver, pancreas, and spleen, and the digestive apparatus of invertebrate animals, form the first subjects of the fourth volume; the heart and circulating organs, the organs of respiration in land and aquatic animals, and the organs of voice, so intimately connected with atmospheric respiration, are described at great length in the same volume. The organs of generation and those of excretion occupy the fifth volume. Throughout these volumes, the parts which relate to the organization of insects and molluscous animals are the exclusive productions of M. Cuvier; and, probably, no anatomist then living, besides himself, was qualified to undertake these obscure parts of zootomy. In what relates to the digestive system of the mammalia, nearly all the interesting facts collected by Daubenton, in his Description of the Cabinet, have been incorporated. In the tables of the classification of the whole animal kingdom, added to this work, many important improvements are introduced into the arrangements of the Tableau Elementaire; partly resulting from M. Cuvier's own more extended inquiries, and partly adopted from the eminent writers who, during this period, had illustrated many separate branches of zoology. In what relates to the classification of quadrupeds and birds, he has availed himself of the improvements introduced by Lacepede, and in the arrangement of the testaceous mollusca, he has been assisted by the labours of Lamarck. The vermes and crustacea here form two classes distinct from that of insects; the former arrangement of reptiles, taken from Lacepede, is changed for the more convenient subdivisions of Brogniart, into chelonia, sauria, ophidia, and batrachia. The entozoa are placed, provisionally, in the class of vermes; and the infusoria still succeed the Medusæ in the class of zoophytes.

During the composition of the Leçons, M. Cuvier had collected many interesting observations regarding the fossil bones accumulated in the strata around Paris. In his visit to Italy he had examined the situations most famed for the fossil remains of animals they afforded, and many distinguished naturalists had sent him from distant parts of Europe remains, or drawings or descriptions, of animals found in a fossil state. The immense

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collection of skeletons preserved in the Cabinet of Comparative Anatomy at Paris, afforded him the means of instituting the necessary comparisons of the fossil with the existing species, and must have greatly assisted and encouraged him in his early attempts to decipher the remains of the higher classes of animals so frequently submitted to his inspection. The certainty of the truths thus brought to light, the novelty of the results, and their important applications to the hitherto fanciful speculations of geology, excited the liveliest interest among the naturalists of Europe to the curious and novel investigations of M. Cuvier; and the success of his labours in identifying the *fossil bones* of the mammalia, affords the most splendid illustration of the utility of zootomical knowledge, as applied to geological investigation, which has yet been recorded in the history of that science. The opportunities which M. Cuvier enjoyed for prosecuting these geological inquiries were such as no naturalist ever before possessed; but it must also be said, that no man ever before possessed in a more eminent degree, than Cuvier, all the requisite qualifications for the successful employment of these advantages. His indefatigable industry, and his enthusiasm in these pursuits, his practical acquaintance with all the collateral sciences, and his extensive general knowledge, the beauty of his language, and the elevated tone of his descriptions, the extent and grandeur of his general views, and the sublime truths they have unfolded regarding the past revolutions of the animal kingdom and of the globe we inhabit, convince us that no other naturalist in his situation could have so successfully performed what he has accomplished, in regard to the restoration of extinct species of animals. These researches now occupy seven large quarto volumes, illustrated with more than two hundred engraved plates; they have made us acquainted with at least seventy species of animals before entirely unknown to naturalists, and have pointed out the occurrence of eleven or twelve known existing species in a fossil state, besides many other species of animals which have not yet been identified.

Cuvier was appointed, in 1808, one of the councillors for life of the Imperial University, which was created that year by Napoleon. This sedentary appointment accorded well with that of Perpetual Secretary of the Institute, and led Cuvier often to discuss affairs of administration before the Council of State, and in presence of the emperor. In this capacity he was sent in 1809 and 1810, to organize the academies of the Italian states which had been recently added to the empire; and the judicious arrangements which he made at Turin, Genoa, and Pisa, were found so advantageous, that on the return of the respective

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respective sovereigns of these states, the measures adopted by Cuvier were preserved inviolate. In 1811 he had a similar mission to Holland and the Hanse Towns, and many of the changes and nominations which he made there, are still respected and preserved. When at Hamburgh, he was informed that the emperor had conferred upon him the title of Chevalier, with an hereditary endowment. Though a Protestant by country, birth, and education, he was sent, in 1813, to organize the University of Rome; and some of the improvements which he introduced into the University of La Sapienza, were retained even after the return of the pope. When in that city, he received intelligence of his appointment as Master of Requests, a place in the ministry to which he had been called by a personal resolution of Napoleon, who was acquainted with the acts of Cuvier's administration as Councillor of the University, both from his own observation and from the favourable report of Fontane. During his numerous missions through the vast territories formerly subservient to France, on affairs connected with the state, Cuvier never omitted the opportunities they afforded him of prosecuting his favourite scientific investigations.

The great accumulations of the bones of elephants which M. Cuvier saw in Italy, convinced him that they could not have belonged to the few animals of this species lost by Hannibal in traversing that country, but must have belonged to species inhabiting that part of the globe at a much more remote period. The same cause is assigned by him for their remains occurring in England, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Russia, Siberia, and in the islands and shores of the Polar Seas. Kotzebue found them common on the coasts of America within the Arctic Circle, and Parry, in Melville Island, where the temperature is now frequently fifty degrees below the freezing point. The great animal of the Ohio has been restored by Cuvier, the bones of which were considered by Daubenton to belong to the elephant and hippopotamus. Cuvier has identified different species of this animal to which he has given the name Mastodon, from the nipple-like form of the grinding teeth. The fossil hippopotami and rhinoceroses, which are so abundant in the valley of the Arno, Cuvier has been enabled to ascertain, by means of the skeletons of the recent species he has procured for the Museum. The rhinoceros of Caffreria, described by Sir E. Home, as similar to the fossil species, was shown by M. Cuvier to differ from the latter in not having the septum of the nostrils ossified as in the allied fossil species. The pretended fossil human skeleton of Scheuchzer, which Camper suspected to be that of a lizard, was carefully examined by Cuvier when at

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at Haerlem, where it is preserved in the Museum, and shewn to to be, what he had previously announced it to be, a gigantic salamander. Cuvier examined at Pavia the collection of fossil bones brought from the Island of Cerigo, and asserted by Spallanzani to be remains of the human species, and found that not a single fragment of them had ever formed a part of a human skeleton, but were all remains of ruminating animals. He has determined nearly twelve species of the extinct genus Palæotherium, some of which were nearly as large as a rhinoceros; they appear from the shells which are found along with their bones, to have frequented the banks of rivers and marshes. The immense accumulations of bones found in the caves of Gaylenreuth, on the frontiers of Bayreuth, Cuvier found to have belonged almost entirely to extinct species of bears, which must have lived and died peaceably in the situations where we now discover their remains. The remarkable fossil animal of South America, the Megatherium, which measures twelve feet in length, and six or seven in height; and the Megalonyx, nearly as large, Cuvier has ascertained to have been closely allied, in their general characters, to the sloths and ant-eaters of that country. He has found the bones of a species of opossum in the gypsum quarries of Paris, and thus confuted the opinion of those who maintained all such bones to have been flooded north from Asia, as the animals of this genus are inhabitants only of the New World. Two species of seals have been discovered by Cuvier in the coarse marine limestone of the department of the Maine and Loire, one of which is nearly three times as large as the common species still inhabiting our seas, and in the same locality he has found two unknown species of Lamantins. His labours have been scarcely less productive in the class of reptiles, of which he has pointed out many extraordinary and gigantic species found in a fossil state.

From the examination of the numerous extinct species of animals found in the gypsum quarries of Montmartre, Cuvier was naturally led to study the nature and superposition of the various strata containing them, and in conjunction with M. Brongniart, Professor of Mineralogy, he undertook a laborious and extensive examination of the geological structure of the Paris basin, and of the surrounding country. The results of their investigations form an important part of the great work on Fossil Organic Remains, and one of the most valuable contributions which geology has ever received. They have shown the country around that capital to be formed by a succession of marine and fresh-water deposits, as if by the flux and efflux of salt and fresh water over that extensive district. Above the chalk,

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chalk, which forms the bottom of the great basin they examined, rest the plastic clay and coarse marine limestone, both containing, as well as the chalk itself, remains of marine animals. On these strata rests the great gypsum fresh-water formation, containing remains of quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, and of fishes and shells belonging to fresh-water species. Marl and sandstone containing the remains of marine animals lie on the gypsum formation, and these are covered with beds of flint and silicious limestone, abounding with fresh-water shells. All these strata are covered with a dark-coloured carbonaceous alluvium composed of sand, marl and clay, and containing trunks of trees, and bones of elephants, oxen, and other large quadrupeds. These interesting geological details occupy more than six hundred pages, and are illustrated with geological maps and numerous sections of strata, not only of the Paris basin, but also of similar formations in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Numerous plates are also given of the invertebrate animals which occur in these beds, and which have been carefully identified by Lamarck, Defrance, Audouin, and other zoologists; in what relates to the fossil vegetables, many of which are figured, the work has been assisted by the late researches of M. Adolphus Brogniart.

The preliminary discourse in the first volume of this work contains so many grand and original views of the revolutions which have taken place on the surface of this globe and in the animal kingdom, and is composed in a style at once so profound, elegant, and attractive, that it has long been translated into the English language both in this country and in America, and more recently also into the German language. The translations of Dr. Mitchel of New York, and Professor Jameson of Edinburgh, are enriched with numerous original notes and illustrations; and the translation of the latter has gone through five large editions. The original discourse is now published in Paris as a separate work, and both in an octavo and quarto form. Besides the preliminary discourse and the elaborate memoirs on the osteology of the recent and extinct species of elephants and hippopotami, and on the remains of the fossil mastodons, the first volume contains a dissertation on the ibis, so much revered by the ancient Egyptians, in which he has attempted to show by an examination of several mummies of the bird from the tombs of Thebes, and from historical documents, that it still exists in that country as in the time of the Pharaohs, and that it has undergone no perceptible change in its form since that remote period. In treating of the other pachydermatous animals in the second volume, which is chiefly occupied with the geology of the Paris

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formation, M. Cuvier has entered into the same minute and extended details of the osteology of the living species, along with that of the extinct races, as in the preceding volume, and the same plan has been followed throughout the whole of this vast undertaking. The labour of collecting materials for so great a work during his travels and surveys in various parts of Europe, and the task of arranging and describing them, might be thought sufficient to have occupied the greater part of M. Cuvier's life; but they have afforded him leisure, not only for his numerous important public avocations, and for the composition of works even more elaborate, but also to draw and even to engrave with his own hands some of the most detailed osteological plates contained in this voluminous work. The third volume is principally occupied with a detailed account of the means employed to restore the species of pachydermatous animals found in the gypsum quarries around Paris, by the careful examination and comparison of their separate bones. It is illustrated with eighty quarto engraved plates, the greater part of which are from the pencil of Cuvier's able assistant, Laurillard, one of the most skilful anatomical designers in Europe. It is fortunate for the interests of ichthyology, that the same accurate and elegant draughtsman has undertaken the elaborate folio anatomical plates of the great work on Fishes, now publishing by Cuvier and Valenciennes. In determining the fossil remains of the mammalia, Cuvier considers the examination of the molar teeth as affording by far the most important characters. By these we at once perceive whether an animal is carnivorous or herbivorous, and when it belongs to the latter order we can generally determine by the forms of these teeth the particular kind of herbivorous animals to which it is most nearly allied. Cuvier was induced to commence his researches with the pachydermata, from their occurring in most abundance in the newest alluvial formations, from the great size of their bones and the facility of identifying the species, and from the imperfect state of our knowledge regarding the osteology of these gigantic inhabitants of tropical climates. Besides the extended descriptions of the Palæotheria and Anoplotheria, this volume contains an account of other pachydermatous animals, and of Carnivora, Rodentia, a species of Opossum, the remains of birds, tortoises, crocodiles, and fishes which occur along with them in the same gypsum formation, and the whole is terminated by a lengthened monograph on the fossil vegetation of the environs of Paris, by M. A. Brogniart.

The ruminating animals differ remarkably in several of their characters from the other orders of mammalia, as in the imperfection

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fection of their dental system, in the structure of their stomach, and in the forms of their horns; yet they resemble each other so much, and are so numerous, that their discrimination is attended with great difficulty both with regard to the recent animals and the extinct species. Important generic characters are often taken from the form of their horns, those most changeable of all their external parts according to their age, sex, and climate. To facilitate his researches into this numerous tribe of fossil mammalia, M. Cuvier, in his fourth volume, enters at considerable length into the characters of the existing species as taken from the teeth, the head, and the rest of the skeleton, and then describes the different fossil species of deers, oxen, and other ruminating animals, determined chiefly by their horns, and found in various situations in France, Germany, and other parts of Europe. He has attempted, in the same manner, to decipher the bones of the ruminating animals found in so great abundance in osseous brecchias, in fissures, and caves, at Gibraltar, Cette, Antibes, Nice, Uliveto, Cape Palinurus, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Dalmatia, Cerigo, Concud, and Verona. His views in regard to the antiquity of these osseous accumulations in caves and fissures, have been modified by the interesting discoveries and conclusions of our zealous and learned countryman Professor Buckland; and he agrees with this eminent geologist as to the manner in which these bones have been collected together and enveloped in the diluvium. M. Cuvier proceeds in the same manner with the numerous order of carnivorous animals as with the ruminantia, to determine the osteological characters of the various existing races, before attempting to identify the fossil species. The teeth present very important and useful discriminating characters, both in the carnivora and rodentia, from the striking diversities they exhibit in the genera of these orders. In determining the fossil species of these animals, M. Cuvier was greatly aided by the elaborate and useful work which his brother had undertaken, at his request, on the forms and arrangement of the teeth in all the existing genera of this class. This volume concludes with the description of the discovered fossil species of bears, hyænas, wolves, foxes, and other small carnivorous animals, and the whole of the details are illustrated with numerous valuable plates representing chiefly the forms of the teeth, the jaws, the entire crania, and other essential parts of the osteology. The osteology of the rodentia, edentata, and marine mammalia, and the investigation of the fossil species of these orders, occupy the first part of the fifth volume, which is illustrated with twenty-seven plates, representing the skeletons and the separate bones of many rare and interesting animals, as

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as the echidna, the ornithorhyncus, the dugong, the lamantin, and several cetaceous animals scarcely to be met with in any other museums but that of the Garden of Plants.

The number of rodentia appears to have been as great in the ancient world as at present, and most of the species appear to have been small as those now met with in a living state. After showing the gradual transition to this order of quadrupeds in the systems of dentition presented by the species belonging to the marsupial genera phalangista, macropus, and phascolomys, Cuvier details the characters of the order rodentia, and of the recent genera it comprehends, and enters particularly into the description of the molar teeth, the form of the head, and the characters which may be obtained from the other parts of the skeleton. In treating of the fossil rodentia, particularly those found in caves, he has given a full account of the interesting researches of Dr. Buckland, in regard to the species of this order met with in the caves of Kirkdale, and has endeavoured to identify some of the separate bones of these animals represented in the plates of the Reliquiæ Diluvianæ. These bones appear to have belonged chiefly to species of mice, rats, and hares. The Trogontherium Cuvieri, is a large fossil species belonging to this order, and agreeing in all its characters with the genus castor; it was found on the sandy banks of the sea of Azof, and measures a fifth larger than the recent species of Europe or America. The skeletons of those singular quadrupeds, the sloths, ant-eaters, and monotremata, are the next described in this volume. Cuvier was the first to point out to Daubenton, thirty years ago, the remarkable irregularity observed in the cervical vertebræ of the sloth, called the Ai, where their number amounts to nine, being two more than are met with in almost all the other mammalia. The great length of the anterior extremities of this animal, and of some other sloths, is regarded by Cuvier as a principal cause of their remarkable slowness of motion, and of their feebleness. They present, likewise, remarkable peculiarities in the form of the pelvis, and in the union of its parts, in the mode of articulation of the hind feet, in the rigidity of all the parts of the toes, in the manner in which the long nails are folded under the feet during a state of rest, and in the articulations of the scapula and clavicle. The details on the osteology of the monotremata, contained in this volume, though not applied to the determination of any fossil remains, form a most valuable contribution towards the anatomy of these most singular of all the animals hitherto brought from New Holland, and whose structure and nature have so much perplexed the most eminent anatomists of Europe. It is remarkable,

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able, that, notwithstanding the knowledge we possess of the anatomy of the ornithorhyncus, one of these monotremata, naturalists are not agreed as to the class to which that animal belongs, Cuvier regarding it as a viviparous quadruped, Lesson as a bird allied to the penguin, and Geoffroy St. Hilaire as belonging to an oviparous class, between quadrupeds and birds. The only fossil species hitherto discovered belonging to the order edentata, are the megalonyx of Jefferson, from North America, the great megatherium from Paraguay, and another gigantic, though still unknown species, of which Cuvier has only been able to examine the plaster model of a phalanx found in a pit of sand and gravel, supposed to have been formed by deposition from the Rhine, near Eppelsheim, in Hesse. The fossil species of marine mammalia are much more numerous, and Cuvier has described and figured the remains of extinct species of seals, lamantins, dolphins, narwals, whales, and cetaceous animals allied to the hyperoodons and cachalots, which he is particularly enabled to illustrate, by means of the rich collection of these animals preserved in his museum in the Garden of Plants. He has not, however, described all the remains of these animals in his possession, but has selected only those which afforded the means of being satisfactorily determined. By thus pointing out many species of marine mammalia, which are now extinct, he has further confirmed the conclusion to which naturalists had been led by the study of fossil conchology; that not only the productions of the land have been changed by the revolutions which have taken place on the surface of the globe, but that the sea itself, the chief agent in most of these revolutions, has changed its inhabitants. The gigantic bulk and force of the cetacea have not better protected their species in the ocean, than the size and strength of the elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, mastodons, and megatheria, have enabled them to resist on land the revolutions which have destroyed their race.

It is not a little remarkable, that among the fossil remains of vertebrate animals, there should so seldom be found the bones either of birds or of serpents. This cannot be ascribed merely to the delicacy of their skeleton, and the consequent difficulty of preserving it in the rocky strata, or of collecting its parts, from these ancient beds, as we find in many of the older strata, the skeletons of the smallest fishes preserved with the most delicate spines of their fins uninjured. The saurian reptiles are much more common, and the batrachia are also frequently found in a fossil state. The crocodile, of all the saurian reptiles, presents the nearest affinities in its osteology,

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ology, to that of the mammalia; in determining the nature of its separate bones, their relative position is examined, the muscles which are attached to them are considered, the blood vessels and nerves which pass through their foramina are ascertained, and all similar indications are carefully sought for and applied. From this determination of the bones, particularly those of the head of the crocodile, we obtain a solution of the more difficult analogies in the osteology of the other saurian reptiles, and likewise of the tortoises and serpents. The batrachian reptiles present anomalies which require a different kind of investigation from that of the other orders of their class. M. Cuvier deprecates, as visionary, the ingenious views of those who endeavour to decipher the osteology of the cranium of these animals, by comparing the bones of the head of vertebrate animals to a series of dilated vertebræ. After thus carefully determining the osteology of each of the recent genera of reptiles, and illustrating all the details with large engravings, he proceeds in the last part of the fifth volume of this stupendous monument of his profound zootomical knowledge and indefatigable spirit of research, to examine the characters of the remarkable extinct species of these animals. The remains of reptiles occupy a series of strata much more ancient than those which contain the fossil bones of mammalia, even of the aquatic species. The chalk formation, and all the strata of anterior date, present no trace of the former existence of mammiferous animals, which are all confined to newer formations; but the chalk strata, and all the older strata of the secondary series, to the great coal formation, abound with remains of tortoises, crocodiles, and lizards, which have even left distinct traces of their footsteps on the now solid sandstones of the latter formation, as in the sandstone quarries of Dumfriesshire in Scotland, although very few of these animals are now found in strata newer than the chalk. At the remote period alluded to, only cold-blooded reptiles moved upon the dry land, and the bottom of the sea was peopled with species of ammonites, belemnites, terebratulites, encrinites, and many other genera now almost entirely extinct.

After establishing the division of the great family of crocodiles into three subgenera of alligators, crocodiles properly so called, and gavials, (the first of which is distinguished by having the fourth tooth of the lower jaw on each side, received into a depression of the upper jaw-bone, and by having the feet semi-palmated; the second, by the same tooth on each side of the lower jaw, passing through a distinct fissure of the upper maxillary bones, the feet palmated, and the beak oblong; and the

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the gavials forming the third division, are distinguished from the other two subgenera, by having an elongated cylindrical beak, and palmated feet,) M. Cuvier examines, with great minuteness and detail, the separate bones of the living species of crocodiles. The bones of the head are carefully compared with the corresponding bones of the mammalia, the bones of the trunk and extremities are illustrated with equal detail, and the whole skeleton is contrasted with those of the alligators and gavials at present existing. The fossil species of these animals are next described; both those known to preceding observers, and those ascertained by M. Cuvier. The gavial of the calcareous slates of Franconia, described by Sœmmerring, that of the limestone quarries of Caen, and the bones of two unknown species found near Honfleur and Havre, are described at great length. Several crocodiles have been found in the chalk and in the strata immediately adjacent above and beneath that formation, as in the chalk of Mendon, in the ferruginous sand beneath the chalk in Sussex, in the plastic clay of Auteuil, and in Provence, and the island of Sheppy. Remains of these reptiles are likewise described by Cuvier, found along with the palæotheriums and lophiodons, in formations newer than the chalk, and which not only differ from the more ancient species, but distinctly approach in their characters to the existing races, as in the gypsum quarries, in the marl of Argenton, in the gravel beds of Castelnaudary, those found near Blaye, and those found at Brentford and at Mans.

M. Cuvier has described, in the same manner, the recent and fossil species of chelonian reptiles, the land and fresh water tortoises, and those which still inhabit the sea, and the fossil species found in various parts of Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, and England. After describing the general osteology of the recent species of lizards, he examines the facts connected with the fossil monitors found at Thuringen and other parts of Germany; the great saurian reptile found in the quarries of Maestricht; the gigantic lizard, discovered by Sœmmerring near Monheim, and termed geosaurus by Cuvier; the huge megalosaurus, found by Buckland in the oolite of Stonesfield, near Oxford; the saurian reptile, discovered by Gaillardeau, in the quarries of compact limestone near Lunéville; and the four discovered species of pterodactylus, a genus distinguished by the extraordinary length of the fourth toe of the anterior extremities. The observations and plates, illustrative of the osteology of the recent species of batrachian reptiles, form a valuable contribution to Comparative Anatomy; and the details regarding the fossil bones of the great

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great aquatic salamander, from the quarries of Æningen, which Scheuchzer regarded as those of the human species, are full and satisfactory. This great work concludes with details full of interest and originality, regarding the two remarkable genera ichthyosaurus and plesiosaurus, almost peculiar to the strata of England, and of which several species have been discovered. The ichthyosaurus is found with us in almost all the secondary strata, from the new red sandstone upwards, to the green sand lying immediately beneath the chalk. The number of fragments already obtained of these two genera, and the many facts ascertained regarding them, principally by English naturalists, have enabled M. Cuvier to represent, in his concluding plate, the entire skeletons of these extraordinary aquatic reptiles, as they existed in our ancient seas.

The views of M. Cuvier regarding the extinct races of vertebrate animals, and the facts he had collected relating to them, were first published as a series of detached memoirs in the Annales du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle; and in 1812 these memoirs were collected by the author, connected together by means of supplementary articles and a preliminary discourse, and published as a separate work, forming the first edition of his 'Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles,' in four quarto volumes. A second edition was published in 1817, in five volumes, quarto. After nearly ten years of continued research in the same interesting field of inquiry in various parts of Europe, M. Cuvier commenced, in 1821, a new edition of the work, which was completed in 1824 in seven quarto volumes, though forming only five according to the plan of the work. It has been recently reprinted, with a new edition of the preliminary discourse. This work, which is the greatest monument of the genius, learning, and industry of Cuvier, has reformed the science of geology, and greatly advanced our knowledge of Comparative Anatomy; and is justly styled, by our most eminent mineralogist, Professor Jameson, the most splendid contribution to Natural History furnished by any individual of this age.

The writings and researches of Cuvier, however, have not always been limited to the animal creation. He has, for many years, been in the habit of employing his leisure hours in collecting the most interesting historical facts, in examining the scientific labours, and in composing biographical memoirs of the most eminent members of the French Institute who have died during that period. These historical discourses are designed to commemorate the services rendered to science by the most distinguished members of that learned body, and are

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are generally composed and read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, soon after the decease of any of its most valuable associates. The biographical memoirs, composed by M. Cuvier on such occasions, during a period of nearly thirty years, and read before the Institute of France, have been recently collected and published as a separate work, which consists of three octavo volumes. All the most interesting memoirs of these volumes have been translated into the English language, and published separately in our periodical Journals. The first volume commences with an interesting sketch of the progress of the sciences and their influence on human society, which was read at the opening of the Academy in 1816, and contains historical sketches of the scientific labours of Daubenton, Lemounnier, l'Héritier, Gilbert, Darcet, Priestley, Cels, Adanson, Broussonnet, Lassus, Ventenat, Bonnet, and Saussure—thirteen distinguished scientific characters connected with the Institute, and whose lives were read by M. Cuvier, before that Assembly, between the years 1800 and 1810. The second volume contains the biographical memoirs composed by M. Cuvier, from 1810 to 1819, embracing the lives of Fourcroy, Desessarts, Cavendish, Pallas, Count Rumford, Parmentier, Olivier, Tenon, Werner, Desmarets, Riche, and Bruguières. The same volume contains the oration delivered by M. Cuvier before the French Academy in 1818, on being elected to the place vacant by the death of M. de Roquelaure, and the answer to that oration, written by the Count de Seze, then Director of the Academy. These two volumes were published in 1819. The third volume made its appearance so late as 1827, and contains historical memoirs of M. de Beauvois, Sir Joseph Banks, Duhamel, Haüy, Berthollet, Richard, Thouin, Count Lacépède, Hallé, Corvisart, Pinel, and Fabbroni, together with two funeral orations in honour of Van Spaendonck and the Chevalier Delambre. The volume concludes with two interesting and learned dissertations on the recent discoveries and present state of Natural History and Chemistry; the former read before the Academy in 1824, and the latter in 1826. These volumes display an extensive and intimate acquaintance with all the physical sciences, and with the progress of discovery in each of their various departments: their style is elegant, easy, and perspicuous, and in bestowing encomiums on departed talents, they are composed with great judgment and impartiality.

The same remarks are applicable to the elaborate historical sketch of the 'Progress of the Physical Sciences from 1789 to 1807,' which M. Cuvier drew up as Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, and presented to the French government,

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government, in the name of the Institute, in 1808, and of which a new edition was published in 1827. In this comprehensive memoir he has entered into the minutest details of the various chemical theories of that period; he has examined the importance of the different experiments and discoveries on which these were founded, and the instruments invented to facilitate these investigations; and he has traced the march of the science for twenty years, in all its separate departments. In natural history he has followed the progress of discovery with equal minuteness, in meteorology, hydrology, mineralogy, geology, physiology, anatomy, botany, zoology, and comparative anatomy. And in treating of the application of these sciences to practical purposes, he has detailed the various improvements recently introduced into medicine, surgery, the veterinary art, and agriculture, and the important advantages which have resulted from the application of natural history and chemistry to the arts and manufactures. Although M. Cuvier acknowledges the liberal assistance he received from his learned colleagues in the composition of this early and extensive survey of the physical sciences, the memoir displays, in every part, an author familiar with all the departments of inquiry which it embraces, and it presents a luminous view of the state of the physical sciences at the period when it was officially presented to the emperor.

This interesting and elaborate memoir has been again reprinted at Paris to form the first volume of the extensive work published last year (1829) by Cuvier, on the Progress of the Physical Sciences from 1789 to 1827, in four volumes 8vo. This work, embracing a field of investigation as extensive as that traced in the first volume, is composed of the Reports annually delivered by M. Cuvier to the Academy of Sciences on the progress of the physical sciences during the preceding year. These reports, however, have not been printed as they were read by Cuvier at the meetings of the Institute. The parts relating to each branch of science have been carefully arranged under the respective departments, so as to exhibit a connected view of the progress of the various branches of Physical science for a period of twenty years from that at which the first volume terminates. The separate branches of science under which the interesting details of this work are arranged, are Physics, Chemistry, and Meteorology, Mineralogy and Geology, Botany, and Vegetable Physiology, Anatomy, Physiology, and Zoology, Medicine, and Surgery. The general march of discovery in each of these departments of physical investigation is traced with equal learning and impartiality. And while the whole

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whole work exhibits a faithful and connected outline of the successive improvements introduced into these sciences during the last forty years, it presents a luminous and comprehensive view of the present state of physical science in Europe.

A period of twenty years had elapsed from the publication of the Tableau Elementaire to the appearance of the first edition of the Règne Animal in 1817, during which the study of comparative anatomy and zoology had been cultivated with increased ardour in every part of Europe, and our knowledge of the organization and species of the animal kingdom had been almost doubled. This rapid advancement was principally due to the continued and well-directed exertions of M. Cuvier, to the eloquence and genius of his writings, to the importance, originality, and attractive nature of his views, and to the greatly increased opportunities afforded him by his situation in the Garden of Plants. From the comprehensive nature of the Règne Animal, embracing equally the structure and history of all the existing and extinct races of animals, this work may be viewed as an epitome of M. Cuvier's zoological labours; and it presents the best outline, which exists in any language, of the present state of zoology and comparative anatomy. The work is in four volumes octavo, with fifteen plates, and treats of the organization and characters of all the divisions, classes, orders, and genera of the animal kingdom, from man to the lowest of the infusoria. The third volume, treating of the three principal classes of articulated animals, was entirely composed by M. Latreille, and the concurrent testimony of all the naturalists of Europe in favour of his views, have afforded M. Cuvier a convincing proof of the correctness of his choice, in selecting that profound entomologist to conduct this important part of the work. In the new edition of the Règne Animal, four volumes of which have been already published during the last year, the part intrusted to Latreille has extended to two volumes, thus augmenting the work by at least an entire volume. The concluding volume of this new edition, comprehending all the classes of molluscous and radiated animals, is looked for with equal anxiety by all naturalists. Notwithstanding the lapse of twelve years between these two editions, the general plan of the work and the distribution of the animal kingdom are so nearly the same in both, as not to require a separate examination in this place.

The four great divisions of the animal kingdom pointed out more than thirty years ago in the Tableau Elementaire, have been adopted in both editions of the Règne Animal, and established by more extended details, and by characters more precise

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cise and correct. These four divisions are termed vertebrata, mollusca, articulata, and radiata; and each of them comprehends several classes. They are founded on extensive and accurate analogies, and have been sanctioned by long and general adoption; but they convey no idea of any uniform principle of classification applied to the whole animal kingdom. The first division is founded on the presence of the vertebral column, a part of the organization of comparatively little importance in the economy; the second division is founded on the general softness of the body when deprived of its skeleton, a character which becomes more and more appropriate to the classes of animals as we recede from the mollusca towards the infusoria; the third is founded on the divisions or articulations of the skeleton, which are merely the result of its covering the surface of these animals, and have no important influence on the rest of the organization; and the fourth is established on a peculiarity in the external form of the body almost limited to the echinodermata, and not applicable to the entozoa, zoophyta, and infusoria, which constitute by much the greatest portion of this division. We cannot help thinking that the science of comparative anatomy is now so far advanced, as to afford the means of distributing the animal kingdom on some more uniform and philosophical principles,—as on the modifications of those systems or functions which are most general in the animal economy. The characters for such a philosophical distribution might be looked for in the modifications of the generative system, or the digestive, or the nervous system; and, indeed, attempts have already been made, both in Germany and in this country, to found the divisions of the animal kingdom on the simple modifications presented by the nervous system. It is greatly to be regretted that, with his vast resources for the improvement of this part of our nomenclature and arrangement, he has overlooked these minutiæ of zoological distribution and remained fettered by his earliest views of classification. Had he taken the same liberties with his own classifications in every successive publication, which he took with those of Linnæus when he attacked and reformed them thirty-five years ago, the present room for improvement in all this part of the science could not have existed.

The first great division of the animal kingdom, M. Cuvier has divided, as is usually done, into four classes: *viz.* mammalia, aves, reptilia, pisces. The term amphibia, employed by Linnæus, Blumenbach, and many other naturalists, for the four-footed reptiles, is used by Cuvier for a small group of aquatic mammalia, comprehending the seal and the walrus. In the

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the first edition of the Règne Animal (1817), the class mammalia is divided into eight orders, bimana, quadrumana, sarcophaga, rodentia, edentata, pachydermata, ruminantia, and cetacea. In the great order sarcophaga, the bat and the walrus, the lion and the mole, the kangaroo and the hedgehog, are all placed under the same division, from having claws and three kinds of teeth. The marsupial quadrupeds, in the new edition of the work, are removed from this singular group to form a separate order; but the other discordant families are still left together in the same order, although Blumenbach and others had already separated the cheiroptera to form a division equal in importance to that of the quadrumana. The class of birds is divided in both editions of the Règne Animal into six orders, nearly analogous to the six orders of Linnæus, accipitres, passeres, scansores, gallinæ, grallæ, palmipedes. The division of reptiles into four orders, chelonia, sauria, ophidia, and batrachia, proposed by M. Brogniart, is adopted in both editions of M. Cuvier's work, as it was in the Tables of Classification of the Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée in 1800. In the former edition the class of fishes was divided into eight orders, commencing with the cartilaginous, and terminating with the osseous fishes. The same eight orders are preserved in the new edition, but their arrangement is there reversed; the cartilaginous fishes which approach nearest to the mollusca, in their general characters, being placed at the bottom of the class; and this new arrangement is the same with that adopted in the great work on this class of animals publishing by M. Cuvier and M. Valenciennes. In the subdivisions of the orders, and in the distribution of the genera, many important improvements are introduced. The acanthopterygious fishes now stand at the head of the class, to which succeed the malacopterygii abdominales, malacopterygii pectorales, malacopterygii apodes, lophobranchii, plectognathi, chondropterygii branchiis apertis, and chondropterygii branchiis tectis. It is in the cartilaginous fishes belonging to the last of these orders that we find the simplest organization, and the most imperfect form of the skeleton met with in all the vertebrate animals; and hence they form a natural link of connexion between the true osseous fishes and the cephalopodous mollusca.

The volumes of the Règne Animal which treat of the articulated division of the animal kingdom being the entire production of Latreille, do not come properly within this notice of the scientific labours of M. Cuvier; and the volume of the new edition, containing the account of the great divisions, mollusca and radiata, not being yet published, we have to

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ascertain the views of M. Cuvier regarding the lowest classes of animals from the former edition of this work. The first of his divisions of invertebrate animals is divided into six classes, the most perfect of which, comprehending those mollusca most nearly allied to fishes, is termed cephalopoda. These, and the pteropoda, which compose the second class, move to and fro in the sea freely by means of membranous expansions like fins. The third class, termed gasteropoda, creep on a muscular disc or foot, placed under the belly. Those mollusca which have no distinct head, and have the mouth concealed under the mantle, as the inhabitants of bivalve shells and the tunicated animals, form the fourth class, called acephala. The animals of the fifth class resemble those of the preceding, in being enveloped in a mantle; but the mouth placed on the fore part is surrounded with long fleshy and ciliated arms, which they can extend at pleasure to seize objects: these are called brachiopoda. The last class of this great division is termed cirrhopoda, and comprehends a remarkable tribe of animals, the details of whose organization connect them much more closely with the articulated animals than with the mollusca, particularly in their possessing a double longitudinal, knotted nervous cord, and numerous articulated members. In the third great division of the animal kingdom, termed articulata, M. Cuvier has carefully drawn up, from his own observations, the account of the first class, called annelida, one of the most remarkable of the invertebrate divisions, in the animals belonging to it possessing a circulating fluid of a red colour like the blood of vertebrate animals. This small but anomalous class, was first established by M. Cuvier, in a Memoir read to the Institute of France in December, 1801, and has since been almost universally adopted. He has divided these animals into three orders, founded on characters taken from the respiratory organs. The first order, termed tubicola, have the branchiæ, in the form of small tufts, placed on the anterior part of the body, and almost all reside in tubes, like the serpula and sabella. The dorsibranchia, which form the second order, have the branchiæ in form of ramified branches, or of plates situated on the middle, or along the sides of the body, as the common sand-worm of our coasts: these animals generally reside in soft mud, or swim freely in the sea. The last order is termed abranchia, from the animals belonging to it exhibiting no apparent branchiæ, and appearing to respire by means of the whole soft surface of their body, as the common earth-worm. In placing this class of animals at the head of the articulata, M. Cuvier has probably been more guided by the convenience

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convenience of publication, than by the consideration of their structure, as none of them possess an organization so complicated as that of the succeeding classes of articulated animals, described in the third volume of this work by Latreille, particularly of the class crustacea.

The great varieties of form and organization presented by the lowest classes of the animal kingdom, render it much more difficult to devise principles for their classification, than for the higher orders, and it is in their divisions and arrangement that we find the greatest discordance among naturalists. M. Cuvier's fourth great division of the animal kingdom, termed radiata or zoophyta, comprehends the echinodermata, entozoa, acalephæ, zoophyta or polypi, and infusoria, which form the five classes of this division. In the Tableau Elementaire the absence of the nervous system is given as a principal character of this great division, and in the Règne Animal he mentions, that when the nervous system is discernible, it is disposed in a radiated form. The nerves which have been discovered in the echinodermata and acalephæ have, however, rather a circular form, and embrace the digestive sac, and in the intestinal worms the nerves form simple longitudinal filaments. Separate sexes have been ascribed by several writers to the entozoa; but when M. Cuvier states that most of the other zoophytes are hermaphrodite and oviparous, we consider his proposition as inconsistent with the best ascertained facts, which tend to show that they are entirely destitute of sex, and are either gemmiparous or fissiparous. The echinodermata, comprehending the arterias, echinus, and similar animals, are adopted from Bruguiere, who gave them that name from the spines which usually cover their surface. To this class Cuvier has added the holothuriæ which have no superficial spines, but have an internal structure similar to the other echinodermata. The intestinal worms, which form the second class of the radiated animals, Cuvier supposes to originate solely from previously existing parents by the mode of generation usual in the higher classes; while Lamarck, Meckel, and many other naturalists, believe that they may sometimes originate from the materials of the animals in which they are found. He conceives that, from the smallness of their germs, they may enter by the narrowest avenues of the body, and even be communicated to the embryos of animals before their birth. In the distribution of the entozoa, Cuvier has chiefly followed Rudolphi. The acalephæ are divided into two orders; those which have the body fixed like the actinia, and those which have it free like the medusæ. The polypi or true zoophytes are likewise divided into two orders; those which have the body

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body naked as the hydra, and those which are provided with an axis or polyparium as the gorgonia and madrepore. The pedicellariæ, placed in the first order, appear to us to be organs of the echinus present in every individual. The property ascribed to the pennatulæ in the second order, of swimming freely by means of their contractions, and by the combined action of their polypi, is contradicted by the recent observations of Dr. Grant on these animals, and by the analogy of all the other known species of this class. The fifth class of radiated animals, and the lowest in the animal kingdom, termed infusoria, M. Cuvier has not attempted to define by their structure or form, but by their smallness; and consequently this class comprehends beings of very different organization. The first order is called rotifera, and comprehends those which have an oval gelatinous body, with a mouth, a stomach, an intestine, and an anus situate near the mouth. The genera supposed to have this complicated structure are the furcularia, tubicolaria, and brachionus. The second and only other order of the infusoria is termed homogenea, and comprehends all those animalcules which have no internal viscera, nor other organs, and often present no appearance of a mouth. Some of these have visible external cilia, as the urceolaria, tricoda, kerona, and some others, and a second group present no external organs excepting sometimes a tail, as the cercaria, vibrio, enchelis, proteus, volvox and monas.

The whole of the divisions, and the general distribution of the animal kingdom established by M. Cuvier in this work, are founded on a more extensive and minute survey of the organization than had ever before been taken, and many of the most important distinctions among the orders and families are the result of his own researches. Where his divisions have not been adopted, the valuable and original anatomical observations contained in every part of the work have served as the bases of the new divisions proposed, and of almost all the improvements of zoological arrangement which have been introduced since the first appearance of the work. This truly useful and classical work is justly adopted as a standard of reference by the naturalists of every country, and the greater part of it has already been ably translated into our language in a form suited to the importance of the great original.

The class of fishes, the most numerous of all the vertebrate division, presents the greatest difficulties to the zoologist in attempting to discover principles for their classification, from the general sameness of their form and structure, and from the few external parts which they present capable of affording characters

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racters for their distribution. This interesting class of animals has long occupied the particular attention of M. Cuvier; and in the first edition of the Règne Animal, he considered his account of that class as the most important of all his contributions to the natural history of vertebrate animals. Since the publication of that work, in which Cuvier reformed almost the whole of the families and genera of fishes, immense accessions have been made to the ichthyological part of the Paris Museum, by travellers and navigators in all parts of the globe, and many valuable contributions have been added to ichthyology by the writings of naturalists in different countries. When M. Cuvier first left his native country, in 1788, and resided with a French family, in a pleasant retreat on the coast of Normandy, he dissected, described, and drew almost all the fishes met with on the coast of La Manche*. While engaged in organising the Royal College of Marseilles, in 1803, he occupied his leisure hours in examining the ichthyology of that part of the Mediterranean; and when engaged many years afterwards on a similar mission in the Italian States, he continued his ichthyological inquiries at Genoa and other parts of the coast of Italy. It is chiefly, however, from the vast ichthyological treasures of the Natural History Museum of Paris, accumulated for more than half a century, from every part of the globe, and which have been liberally submitted to his examination, that M. Cuvier has derived the materials of the present work. When M. Cuvier and M. Valenciennes first undertook to publish a complete history of that class of animals, it was calculated that the work would extend to about twenty volumes octavo, and would embrace the history of five thousand species. We have now the best information for stating, that by the almost daily increase of their materials since the commencement of their vast undertaking, these distinguished naturalists are now in possession of more than six thousand distinct species of fishes. Although the account of the class of fishes in the new edition of the Règne Animal presents an outline of the classification adopted in the great work on the natural history of these animals, it must be considered as affording a very imperfect list of the genera and families, which will necessarily be greatly increased and often changed as the work proceeds. Four volumes of this work are already published, containing ninety-nine plates, and the plates of the fifth volume are considerably advanced. Although the work is the joint production of the two authors, the parts contributed by each are regularly pointed out in the list of the species contained in each volume.

* The Department so named.

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The first volume contains the fullest account of the progress of ichthyology from the earliest period to the present times, which has yet appeared, and interesting biographical notices of all the authors mentioned are given in the form of notes. The rich and vast library of M. Cuvier, which occupies a long suite of apartments, could alone furnish the materials of this elaborate history. For several centuries before Aristotle, ichthyology, and other branches of natural history, consisted only of a series of detached observations, which scarcely merited the name of a science. The knowledge of this branch, collected by Aristotle, was still very limited, and but little applicable to the distinction of species; and succeeding naturalists continued to copy him, and comment on his writings, till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Rondeletius, Belon, and Salviani precisely at the same time recommenced the study of Nature, and laid the foundation of ichthyology, by giving accurate descriptions and figures of several well-determined species of fishes. Willoughby and Ray, however, were the first to attempt to classify the species, on scientific principles, derived from their organization; a task afterwards accomplished by Artedi and Linnæus, by giving precise limits to the genera, and placing under them species well ascertained and accurately characterized. After a concise account of the knowledge possessed by the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, regarding this class of animals, Cuvier gives a minute account of the opinions of Aristotle and other Greek writers respecting them, and of the various Roman poets, historians, and naturalists who have spoken of these animals. The writers of the middle age, and after the revival of letters, are examined with the same minuteness; and the contributions of the ichthyologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Belon to Blasius and Valentin, are faithfully recorded. The writers on the anatomy of fishes, from Fabricius to Swammerdam and our countryman Collins, are next examined; and the works of ichthyologists, from Jonston and Willoughby to Pallas and Pennant, are reviewed with the same minuteness. The accessions made to our knowledge of this class of animals, by travellers and navigators, from Commerson and Sonnerat to the latest voyages of discovery, and all the important facts regarding the structure of fishes discovered by anatomists during the last and the present century, as well as the views of naturalists in almost every country of Europe regarding their classification, are carefully collected and recorded with strict impartiality, in the elaborate historical sketch which occupies the half of the first volume.

The introductory observations on the nature, the economical uses,

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uses, and the general characters of fishes, are drawn up with M. Cuvier's usual taste and elegance, and are peculiarly calculated to engage the attention and excite the interest of the reader in commencing the study of these animals. After a short account of the general structure and chemical composition of the skeleton of fishes, the author enters at great length into the particular anatomy and physiology of every part of the body, illustrating all the details by the anatomy of the perch, which is minutely and beautifully represented in eight folio engravings. In the view of the distribution of the class of fishes, with which the first volume terminates, they are divided into osseous and cartilaginous. The osseous fishes are divided into those which have the branchiæ of a pectinated form, or in plates; and those which have them in form of tufts, as the hippocampus. The osseous fishes, with pectinated branchiæ, are divided, in the same binary mode, into those which have the upper jaw free, and those which have the same part fixed. Those with the upper jaw free are the acanthopterygious and malacopterygious divisions, and those with the jaw fixed form an order, which is thence called plectognathi. The great division of cartilaginous fishes is divided into three families,—sturionii, plagiostomi, and cyclostomi. From the extreme difficulty of establishing well-marked subdivisions throughout the class, M. Cuvier has here principally relied on the more convenient divisions of families, of which he has enumerated twenty-eight as calculated to contain all the known genera and species of fishes. Although the division of this class into orders well marked, proportionate, and convenient, is very far from being yet attained, the anatomical details of M. Cuvier regarding this class, which occupy the latter half of the first volume, may be considered as the most important step which has ever been made towards attaining that object, as they form the best contribution which has yet been made to this branch of Comparative Anatomy.

The cartilaginous fishes form a very distinct and convenient division of the class, presenting obvious characters, and comprehending only about a tenth part of the known species; but the division of the rest of the class into two parts, founded on the structure of the fins, which are soft and supported by branched and articulated rays in the malocoptergygii, and are stiff and in part supported by undivided sharp osseous spines in the acanthopterygii, is too general to serve for their distribution into orders. M. Cuvier, impressed with the great importance and value of these characters of Artedi, and disregarding all the attempts made by Ray, Linnæus, Gouan, Pennant, Lacepede, Dumeril,

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Dumeril, Risso, Goldfuss, and other naturalists, to establish inferior divisions founded on the general form of the body, on the position or absence of fins, or on the absence or nature of the operculum, has, throughout the volumes already published, entirely overlooked the usual method of zoologists, of distributing all the genera into appropriate and well-defined orders, and has only attempted to subdivide the great primary divisions of the class into numerous natural families.

The acanthopterygious fishes, which compose nearly three fourths of the known species, are divided into numerous subordinate groups, formerly regarded as genera, so intimately related to each other, and connected by transitions so imperceptible, that the whole may be regarded as an immense natural family, which cannot at present be disunited without losing sight of their most important relations. These subordinate groups are the natural families which Cuvier has preserved, assigning to each more definite characters, and preserving for it the name by which its principal genus is designated. The second and third volumes are occupied with the history of the great family of perches, which are taken first of all the acanthopterygious families, from the facility of obtaining these fishes, and their immense abundance in all parts of Europe. The common perch (perca fluviatilis, *Lin.*), one of the most beautiful and useful of all our fresh-water fishes, is taken as the type of this great family, and those species which have the closest resemblance to it are described in succession, and at considerable length. The species of fifty other genera of this family are described in these volumes in the same detailed and scientific manner, and one or more species of each of the genera are illustrated by accurate and elegantly finished octavo engravings, in praise of which it is sufficient to state that they are from the pencil of Werner, well known to Europe for his accurate delineations in every branch of zoology. The fourth volume, the last which has appeared, comprehends the description of twenty-two genera, embracing all the species belonging to the second great family of acanthopterygious fishes. This family comprehends the fishes most nearly allied to that of the perches, and is distinguished by having the side of the head armed, by the suborbitar plates covering a greater or less portion of the cheek, and articulating with the preoperculum. It is divided into two distinct groups easily recognised; the first having no free spinous rays in front of the dorsal fin, and the second having only free spines in place of a first dorsal fin. The first, and most numerous of these groups is subdivided into those which have two dorsal fins, of which there are ten genera, commencing with the Trigla

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of Linnæus and Lacepede, and terminating with the Platycephalus of Bloch, and those which have only a single dorsal fin, of which there are nine genera. The second group of this family, or those with free spines instead of the first dorsal fin, comprehends the monocentris of Bloch, the gasterosteus of Linnæus, and Cuvier's remarkable new genus, the little tuberculated oreosoma of the Atlantic, only an inch and a half in length, which forms the lowest limit of this family, from its suborbitar plates forming only a narrow arch on the side of the cheek, and uniting with the preoperculum only at the upper part. From the minute and satisfactory details which are given of all the external characters, the history, the distribution, and the synonymes of the species, and of the internal structure of those which have been dissected, from the accuracy, the number, and the elegance of the engravings, and from the vast and daily increasing resources of these naturalists, we anticipate, in the completion of this great work, a new and brilliant æra in the history of Ichthyology.

Arrived at the term of threescore years, crowned with every distinction which genius and learning could obtain, oppressed with the duties of his elevated and important rank in the state, and exhausted with half a century of continued and varied research, it might be expected that so vast an undertaking as the examination and description of six thousand species of almost unknown animals, would be more than sufficient to engage every unoccupied minute of his life: yet, besides the concluding part of the new edition of the Règne Animal, embracing more than half of the classes of the animal kingdom, which is now preparing for publication, M. Cuvier is at this instant actively engaged in arranging and preparing his vast materials for a new edition of his early and celebrated work on Comparative Anatomy. The immense improvements introduced into every part of the science within these thirty years, while they imperiously call for a new edition of the only complete treatise on the subject, will render it a herculean labour to bring that extensive work up to the present state of the science. And he even now contemplates the commencement of a vast undertaking greater than all he has yet achieved, an undertaking alluded to in all his publications, the chief study of his life, and the constant idol of his thoughts for thirty years, —a complete system of Comparative Anatomy, embracing a detailed account of all that is known of the organization of the animal kingdom, and illustrated in every part with accurate zootomical engravings taken from nature. For this undertaking M. Cuvier has prepared an immense series of drawings and engravings,

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engravings, and for this he has formed the Museum of Comparative Anatomy, which now far surpasses every thing of the kind in existence.

But these achievements, vast as they may appear to us, must be looked upon as only the pastime of his leisure hours, when we reflect on his numerous and important public duties connected with the administration of the state. Indeed his zoological career is one to which he was driven by the troubles of 1788, which separated his country from Germany, bereaved him of his patrons, blasted his political prospects for which he had prepared himself at the University of Stutgard, and caused him to seek employment in a foreign country: so that in resuming his political career, and partaking in the administration of France, instead of that of Wirtemburg, he has only followed his original destination, and has now become the Counsellor of State of a great monarch in place of being that of a petty prince. Notwithstanding the succession of rulers, the changes of ministry, and the frequent perturbations of France, Cuvier's political progress has been as sure and regular as his march in science. The catastrophe at Paris in 1814, happened at the moment when Cuvier was about to be named Counsellor of State by the emperor; but that event only caused a delay of a few months, for Louis XVIII. conferred that dignity upon him in the month of September of the same year. M. Royer Collard, and M. Becquey, with whom Cuvier had been long intimate, assisted in this preferment by making him known to the Abbé de Montesquiou. It was also by the influence of Collard and Montesquiou that he was retained in 1815 as Member of the Commission of Public Instruction, which was substituted for the Council of the University, and was charged with the functions of chancellor of that body, an honourable distinction which he still retains. Since that period he has had a great share in the administration, not in mere political schemes, with which Cuvier has always declined interfering, but in many of the projects of law, and in the whole administration of the interior in so far as it depends on the Committee of the Interior, of the Council of State, and he has almost always been Commissary of the king before the Chambers for the defence of projects of law. M. Cuvier occupies the second place in the University of France, and not being a Catholic he could not reasonably aspire to the first. Besides his functions of Chancellor of the University, he is charged with the direction of the Faculties. Only during the famous hundred days was Cuvier separated from the Council of State, but even then he retained, unmolested, his important situations connected with public instruction.

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When on a scientific visit to England in 1818, he received the gratifying intelligence of his election as one of the Forty of the French Academy, a title reserved to reward only extraordinary merit, and the highest distinction which science can obtain in France or in Europe. At the close of the same year the Ministry of the Interior was proposed to M. Cuvier, but the conditions under which he would have accepted it could not be realized. In the beginning of 1819, however, he was named President of the Committee of the Interior, of the Council of State; and notwithstanding the changes of ministry, M. Cuvier has still preserved that place, because, however important in itself, it is unconnected with political intrigues, and requires only method, a constant activity, a rigid discharge of duty, and a thorough acquaintance with the laws and the principles of administration. During the same year, Louis XVIII. spontaneously granted him the title of Baron, for an act of loyalty with which he was personally touched. Cuvier has been several times called to the cabinet Councils, and was officially present as one of the Presidents of the Council of State at the coronation of Charles X. In 1824, he received from the King of France the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and in 1826, the King of Wirtemberg, his former sovereign and his early protector, testified his kind regard for M. Cuvier, and his high estimation of his merits, by conferring upon him, of his own accord, the title of Commander of his Order of the Crown. When a Catholic Bishop was appointed chief of the University in 1822, Cuvier received, in an independent form, the functions of Grand Master, with regard to the faculties of Protestant Theology, and he still retains them, although, since 1827, the Grand Masters have been laymen. And what gives M. Cuvier a preponderant influence in the nomination of the Protestant clergy, and in all that relates to the administration of the Protestant churches and synagogues in France, is his being entrusted, since 1827, with the direction, in the ministry of the interior, of all the ecclesiastical affairs not belonging to the Catholic church.

Such has been the political and scientific career of this distinguished foreigner; and such are the writings he has bequeathed to posterity,—a career of usefulness worthy of imitation, as his writings are deserving of the attentive study of all who follow in the same track of science. Notwithstanding the scientific achievements of this great man, which we have attempted briefly to enumerate, no man by his comportment appears to have achieved less. With wealth, influence, learning and fame, M. Cuvier's easy and unaffected manners command

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mand the love and esteem of all who have the honour to enjoy his acquaintance. With a robust natural constitution, and method in all his undertakings, he achieves without exertion what would surpass the powers of ordinary men. Guided in his arduous career by no other motive than the love of knowledge and the desire to benefit his race, his labours for science merit the gratitude, and will command the admiration of all posterity.

Art. IV. *Principi di Scienza Nuova.—Antica Sapienza degl' Italiani.* Di Giambattista Vico. Milano.

IT would be difficult to point out, in the numerous list of the distinguished writers of Italy, any one individual whose works, at least until within these few years, were so little known out of his own country as those of Vico. The reason of this is to be found, in some degree, in the obscurity, not to say the confusedness, of his style, and in the irregular and unconnected manner in which he occasionally arranges his ideas. His merit in other respects is undeniable; for though his theories are sometimes fanciful, whether in mythology or philology, yet they indicate great erudition and striking originality of mind. His most important works, though he has written several others of considerable interest, are those, the titles of which are prefixed to this article.—The first has lately been translated and arranged by M. Michelet, who has had the merit of making Vico generally known in France, not only by this publication, but also by an interesting notice of him, inserted in the 'Biographie Universelle.'

Vico was born in Naples, in 1670. He was the son of a bookseller. His studies, in the first instance, were directed towards philosophy. This fatigued him, and he afterwards turned his attention to jurisprudence, in which he made great progress. Compelled, however, by pecuniary considerations, as well as by health, to seek some less precarious employment, he engaged himself as tutor in the family of the Bishop of Ischia, where he remained nine years. Under the roof of this prelate, he devoted himself intensely to study. Plato, Tacitus, Bacon, and Grotius were his favourite authors. He subsequently returned to Naples, and married. He there obtained the Rhetorical Professorship, which he held in the University for forty years. He was anxious for a legal one, but did not succeed in the attempt. This disappointment, great as it was, did not abate his zeal, and though surrounded by many and great misfortunes, his aim was always to improve both himself and

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and his pupils. He was finally named Historiographer to the King of Naples, but the nomination came too late to be useful: his mind, exhausted by the mortifications to which it had been exposed, gave way under their pressure, and he died in 1744, the victim of public injustice, domestic misfortune, and poverty.

In the first work before us, Vico considers that, until the Second Punic War, little reliance is to be placed on the assertions of profane authors. Each nation, he says, making itself out to be the most ancient in the world, we are to judge from those general principles, which we know by experience to prevail, and which, from the nature of man may almost, *a priori*, be determined, of the reasonableness of the statements which are handed down to us historically, instead of resting our belief implicitly upon the uncertain traditions of early ages. Vico is opposed to the Stoics and Epicureans, and makes common cause with the Platonists, from their accordance with his views upon the doctrine of providence and the immortality of the soul; both of which he considers as what may be termed first principles in human nature. It was the opinion of our own Marsham, Spencer, and others, that the Egyptians, in their policy and religion, preceded the other nations of the world, and that their sacred rites and civil ordinances were mediately conveyed to different people as they arose, with some improvements by the Jews. This is not admitted by Vico, who, denying the pretended antiquity of the Egyptians, Chinese, and Assyrians, places, in this respect, in his chronological table, first, the Hebrews, then the Chaldeans, afterwards the Scythians, Phenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is, he contends, because central countries are inhabited before those which are maritime, that the Chaldeans stand immediately after the Hebrews. There seems certainly to us some little contradiction between the position which he lays down as an incontrovertible one, and the fact, at least as far as the Hebrew nation is concerned, which hardly was a central people; but as Vico was extremely orthodox in his views, he might not conceive a fact, which, with respect to the Hebrew people only, was contrary to his theory, as in any way impugning its general correctness, in cases where there was not, as in the Jewish people, a special and divine interference. Heeren, in his delightful work upon the Policy and Commerce of the Old World, when speaking of Babylon, and alluding to its first inhabitants, considers them to have been the people referred to in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, and one of the Semitic tribes. It is this same race which Vico calls Chaldean, but which is not to be confounded with the people which afterwards inhabited the

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the land under that name, about six hundred years before Christ. The historical mythology of this people seems to have turned, in Heeren's view of the matter, upon the names of Semiramis, Ninus, Belus, &c., and to have been mixed up with several astronomical ideas; and he expresses what he thinks to be a probability, that before the rise of the Babylo-Chaldaic kingdom, there were several great conquerors, who were distinct founders of kingdoms, which are now known only as the great Assyrian monarchy. Universal History with Vico begins much in the same manner, the Chaldeans being the first great portion of the Assyrian monarchy. The different parts merged into one nation, under the government of Ninus, who made himself monarch through the power of the plebeians. The government, which was before aristocratical under Zoroaster, was thus destroyed; and this is said to explain the tradition of one king being killed by the other, and to account for the Chaldeans becoming a powerful and civilized people under Ninus, instead of supposing that, from an erratic and disorderly horde, a great and extensive empire could at once be formed and consolidated. Vico's views are, upon all occasions, strictly religious and conformable to the Scriptures. It is from the advantages which society derives from the fear of a superintending power, that he conceives idolatry to have been necessary, and to have been the corrective of that brutality which existed amongst mankind after the deluge. He writes the History of the World from the general tendency of human nature, and assumes that the moral and physical formation of man prove the facts which he assumes. Society, in its development, having, according to this, necessarily followed certain laws, may be analysed with great correctness, and its history rendered sure and intelligible. All nations, pursuing Vico's opinion farther, whether barbarous or civilised, and however far removed from each other, have been constant to three things: they are found to possess some religion, to contract marriages, and to bury their dead. These principles emanate from the primary Cause of all things, and are the first step in the reasoning of the 'Scienza Nuova.' Despairing of the resources which nature does or can afford, man naturally seeks something superior to it, and this he finds only in the idea of Providence. This feeling of religion leads to every other, and is consequently the foundation of society.

In investigating the Histories and Institutions of different nations as they have come down to us, Vico is naturally led to speak of Homer as the oldest Pagan writer, and as the founder of civilization in Greece; and after discussing the several points connected with what he terms his *Sapienza*, his country, and the

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the time in which he lived, he comes to the subject, not only of what had been mentioned by Seneca as a question uselessly debated upon by the Greek grammarians, whether the Iliad and Odyssey were the production of the same individual, but whether these works are not the collective productions of centuries, and, as it were, a symbol, representing the Greek nation during a space of more than four hundred years, that is, from the time of the Trojan war until the reign of Numa. The alleged blindness of Homer, Vico considers to have arisen from the blindness of the rhapsodists, hence called ὅμηροι*, who gained their living by singing in the different towns the Homeric poems. The Iliad was written in the early ages of Greece, when, as youthful nations according to Vico's principles are, it was distinguished by violent passions. The Odyssey was written at a later period, when reflection began to operate, and Ulysses was taken as the type of character in the second instance, as Achilles was in the first. Ferocity, insolence, and barbarity distinguish the Iliad; luxury, pleasure, and voluptuousness the Odyssey. So striking a contrast was only explicable to Plato upon the principle, that Homer, in the transports of poetic excitement, was enabled to foresee what was to happen at a later period. All these views were started by Vico, long before the researches made upon the same subject by Heyne and Wolf; and it is curious to remark in the Prolegomena to Homer of the latter, how much would seem to be taken from Vico, if we did not know that the same question may be treated by two individuals in the same manner, and yet both manifest originality. We do not mean to pretend, that there is an equal degree of research or learning in one as in the other. Wolf took a much more extensive view of the whole question, and brought to bear upon it his vast erudition, but the germ of his doctrine is to be seen in Vico. In a late work of M. Benjamin Constant, 'Sur la Religion,' he enters into a digression from the main object of his book to show, that the difference of religious views in the Iliad and Odyssey is such, as to prove that they could not, independently of other considerations, be the productions of the same age. The morality of the Odyssey is superior to that of the Iliad, and the state of society totally different. Legislation seems to be beginning to develop itself, and relations to be established between different people into which consent and reciprocal advantage enter, instead of mere force and spoliation. In the Odyssey also there is a much greater respect paid to women —a criterion at all times of advancing civilization. The ques-

* This is the signification in the Ionic dialect. Another etymology is ὁμοῦ together, and ἀρεῖν to connect.

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tion, whether the art of writing was known in the time of Homer, and which Wolf has decided negatively, is alluded to by Vico, and upon the same grounds rejected. Both writers conceive, that the silence maintained upon this point is a proof that the art could not be known. It is not our intention in any way to detract from Wolf's merits in asserting the priority of Vico's opinions with respect to the uncertainty which regards Homer; nor, though we are about to compare his statements upon another subject and those of Niebuhr, to say, that the latter has not proved himself a most original and philosophical historian and an excellent critic. But the leading outlines, both of Wolf's and Niebuhr's opinions, were certainly seen by Vico, and though not pursued so far by him as by these critics, yet, if there be any merit in *their* scepticism, he ought to participate, to a certain extent, in the praise attached to it. Niebuhr has endeavoured to prove,—and as he does not refer to any one from whom he pretends to have taken the idea, we are bound in fairness to suppose, that he believed it to be original,—that the government of Rome was an aristocracy, or a kind of feudal government. Vico takes a more general view; for, instead of referring, as Niebuhr does, to the history of Athens and of some countries in the middle ages, quoting also Blackstone, to show the similarity between a vassal and a client, he writes, as we have before observed, what may be termed the Universal History of Mankind; and from first principles shows, that what happened at Rome will happen any where else in the same state of society; and that the world follows invariably general laws, from which there can be no exception under similar circumstances. Niebuhr says, it is of the essence of this (the aristocratical) constitution, that the houses* are conceived to have existed before the state, and to be the elements out of which the state is composed. Vico says, 'Le attenenze, ossia case antiche, ovvero tribù, furon dinnanzi delle Città e sopra le quali sursero le Città.—Le Città tutte sursero sopra due ordini, uno de' Nobili, altro di Plebei.' In Niebuhr we read, 'None but the houses which composed the three ancient tribes were fundamental parts of the state, and thus the patricians were able to boast, that they *alone* had a house, *solos gentem habere.*'—Vico says, 'Le case prima e propriamente dei Latini si dissero *gentes.*' In a note, it is stated by Niebuhr, 'That a *gens* and a nation were regarded as

* In the chapter from which we make this extract, Niebuhr is alluding to the tribes in the states of antiquity being constituted in two ways, either according to the houses which composed them, or to the ground which they occupied. Dionysius calls the earlier Roman tribes genealogical, φυλαὶ γενικαί, and those of Servius, local, φυλαὶ τοπικαί.

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equivalent, according to the general notion, is further shown by Livy saying, *Nomen Fabium*, like *Nomen Latinum*, and by Dion Cassius calling the *Cornelian Gens* τὸ τῶν Κορνηλίων φῦλον.' —Vico, alluding to the same subject, says, 'I nomi prima e propriamente furono detti di esse genti, che appo i Romani terminarono tutti in ius, come, Nomen Cornelium.....e forza è che le prime genti sieno state le sole discendenze di case nobili. In conseguenza di ciò il nome Romano, il nome Numantino, il nome Cartaginense per esempli, in significazione della Gente dovettero essere de' soli ordini nobili di queste nazioni.' Niebuhr quotes Labeo and Dionysius to prove, that the Curies were the assembly of the patricians; and he adds, that a more conclusive proof cannot be afforded in history, than one which he takes from Cicero's work, 'De Republica,' (discovered long after Vico's death,) as to the identity between the comitia of the curies and the assembly of the patricians.—In Vico it is said, 'Dovette tal costume in Roma riceversi da un comun diritto delle genti del Lazio che i soli nobili nelle antichissime adunanze s' intitolassero Quiriti, così detti da quiris che significa Asta, che assolutamente significano, genti d' arme in adunanze—Talche Curia non fu già da' Latini detta a curanda Repub. ma da Quiris Asta che era Unione di Nobili i quali avevano diritto d' armeggiare d' Asta.' These are some of the passages in which these two great writers agree, exclusively of a great number of leading principles and maxims which are scattered throughout the writings of both. Vico says, as well as Niebuhr, that the kings of Rome were protectors of the plebeians against the nobility, and observes, that the plebs could only propose enactments, whilst it belonged to the senate to approve of them. In this Niebuhr differs from him, alleging, that what Cicero says of the curies, Livy says of the patricians, from which we suppose he means to infer, (as far as we can understand the reasoning,) that the plebs were not originally formed out of the clients, according to Vico's opinion, but were, in fact, inhabitants of the places conquered by the Romans. They were not, in Niebuhr's view, made up of the lower orders. The nobles of the conquered cities were to be found among them; as subsequently the Mamilii, the Papii, the Cilnii, the Cæcinæ, were all plebeians. He remarks, further, that it is one of the grossest errors, and which, in its application, leads us to form the most unjust judgments, to suppose, that the plebeians proceeded from the clients of the patricians, and consequently must have been insurgent hereditary bondmen. Vico, on the contrary, asserts, that 'Le republiche sursero agli ammotinamenti di queste famiglie di clienti, atte-

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diati di sempre coltivare i campi per li Signori, da' quali essendo fino all' anima malmenati, gli si rivoltarono contro, e da clienti così uniti, sursero al mondo le prime plebi.'—Niebuhr wishes to prove, that the *gentes* were not descendants from the same common root, nor were they in any way related; whilst Vico says, that the families were not composed of children only, but of servants also. We may observe, that the Roman laws and language are favourable to Vico, for *familia* evidently comes from *famul*, and *paterfamilias* is the head of a house, and quite distinguished from a *pater* only. The patriarchs are, in fact, the older fathers, and *patria* is from *pater*. In Vico we read, 'Con l' ordinamento de' Consoli annali non si cangiò in nulla il governo di Roma. Nell' interregno di Romolo, per la creazione de' Re, i padri accordarono alla plebe che esse gli elegessero, *deinde patres fierent auctores*, in maniera che l' elezione erano piutosto desideri o nominazioni di certi soggetti, le quali per venire a capo dovevano loro essere proposti da essi padri che i plebei nominassero perchè seguisse l' approvazione.' —Niebuhr pretends to prove, in order to reconcile Livy with Cicero, that the words *auctores patres* meant the patricians, and not the senate. It is remarkable enough, that in the book 'De Republica,' lately found, Vico is fully borne out in his opinion, and that *patres* were the senate. The following passage not only proves this, but also what Vico asserts in another place, that Brutus rendered the government still more aristocratical after having expelled the kings: 'Tenuit igitur hoc in statu, senatus rempublicam temporibus illis, ut in populo libero pauca per populum, pleraque senatus auctoritate et instituto ac more gererentur, atque uti consules potestatem haberent tempore dumtaxat annuam genere ipso ac jure regiam. Quodque erat obtinendam potentiam nobilium vel maximum vehementer id retinebatur, populi comitia ne essent rata nisi ea patrum adprobavisset auctoritas.' (De Rep. 32.) The proofs which Niebuhr collects to show, that the clients and the plebeians were quite different classes of persons, the former not being the stock from which the latter arose, but existing independently of each other, are not, in our opinion, so decisive as he seems to imagine. They only prove, that amongst the plebeians there were some which were not clients, and that the clients were ready to follow their patrons rather than their caste, just as, in our days, the tenant follows his lord rather than his fellow-tenant, when there is any difference between them. It may also be added, in vindication of Vico's views, that the clients and plebs, mentioned in the passages from Dionysius and Livy, belong to times very distant from those alluded to by Vico. When Niebuhr

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buhr says, that among the clients there were freemen, even in the earliest times, and when the Roman people was entirely composed of patrons and clients, he has against him the authority of Cincius, which he himself alludes to, and who agrees with Vico when he says, 'that anciently all freeborn citizens were called patricians.' Niebuhr observes, 'this is to be understood of the time anterior to the rise of the plebs; even then, however, the number of freeborn men among the clients cannot have been small.' Vico denies, that before the plebs there was any free client; and whilst he is supported by Cincius, Niebuhr has no proof whatever for his assertion.

Our observations upon these two writers have been extended farther than we at first intended, from the feeling which we have long entertained, and which has been not only confirmed but increased upon further examination, that sufficient merit has not been given to Vico in his historical researches. We are ready again to admit the unpleasantness of his style and his desultory mode of reasoning, but making allowances for these defects, we think that few writers of any age have been more philosophical in their theories or more correct in their conjectures. Italy has many writers to boast of, but she has none whose mind is more truly critical, or whose learning is more exact, than his, whom the writer of the History of Italian Literature has not unaptly termed the 'Dante of Philosophy.' It was, as we have before said, Vico's object in the work before us, to trace the history of mankind amidst the infinite variety of circumstances which the world presents; to separate what was particular or casual from what was general and permanent; and to show, that there was one great History of Mankind to be discerned in the variety of details which individual nations had handed down to us. Religion is the basis of society. Other sciences were helps, which contribute to ameliorate its condition, and facilitate its civilization; but they were wholly ineffectual without the aid of that influence which results from a belief in, and a reliance upon a superintending Providence. According to Vico, there are in the history of the world three distinct epochs—one which is theocratic, another which is heroic, and a third which is human. The first is obscure, the second fabulous, and the last historical. Language corresponds with these divisions: it was first hieroglyphical or sacred, then metaphorical or poetic, and it is now clear and intelligible. It is to the earlier periods of history that Vico directs his attention, and to the investigation of our present condition. After the deluge, man degenerates into a brutal state; he becomes, from leading a savage

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savage and uncontrouled life, gigantic in stature and grossly sensual. The thunder from above and the powers of nature overawe him. He seeks an asylum, and with this arises social life. The first fathers of families were like the Polyphemes of Homer—they were absolute, though submitting themselves to the power of Providence. In this way, the first government is a theocracy. These fathers of families are the early nobles or patricians. Those who still remain in a savage state recur to the society which is constituted, for protection and advice, and hence they become the dependents or vassals. Such a *government* is naturally aristocratical, and societies so formed are warlike; πόλις, πόλεμος,—foreigner or stranger is synonymous with the word 'enemy.' As man gets more civilized, democratical take the place of monarchical feelings; but, nothing being fixed or immutable, popular governments, in their turn, become corrupt, and riches are made an instrument of tyranny instead of legal superiority. Hence we see in Tacitus, that after the Roman people had passed through the consular, decemviral, and tribunitian power, and were wearied with Cinna, Sylla, Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, they took refuge in the sole authority of Augustus. Domestic rule springs from divine legislation, then comes aristocratical power, and from its abuse the exaction of popular rights. These, in their turn, becoming licentious, the nation resolves itself again into monarchy.

Such are the general views which Vico develops with no less solidity of reasoning than confirmation from historical authority. It is in enumerating the great writers of the History of Mankind, that M. Cousin, in his Course of 1828, speaks of Vico as being the natural successor of Bossuet, and the predecessor of Herder: he looks upon the 'Scienza Nuova' as the model, and perhaps the source, of Montesquieu's 'L'Esprit des Lois.'

'Elle rappelle les institutions particulières à leurs principes les plus généraux, rattache le mouvement des sociétés humaines à un plan supérieur et invariable qui domine l'avenir comme le passé, et convertit les conjectures et les probabilités de l'erudition et de la politique en une vraie science dont la base est la nature commune des nations.....Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que Vico est le premier qui, au lieu de s'en laisser imposer par l'éclat qui environne certains noms, ait osé les soumettre à un examen sévère et qui ait ôté à plusieurs personnages illustres de l'histoire leur grandeur personnelle pour la rendre à l'humanité elle-même, au temps, au siècle, dans lequel ces individus avoient fait leur apparition. Vico a démontré qu'il fallait considérer Homère, Orphée et quelques autres non comme de simples individus, mais comme des représentans de leur époque, omme

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comme des symboles de leur siècle et que s'ils avoient existé réellement on avoit mis sur leur compte ou avoit ajouté à leurs propres ouvrages tous ceux du siècle et du peuple qu'ils représentent dans l'histoire. Le premier encore il a discuté les temps primitifs et les lois fondamentales de Rome, et il a indiqué à la critique moderne quelques-uns de ses plus beaux points de vue. Tels sont les mérites de Vico. Ils justifient sa haute renommée.'

Vico's most important work, after the 'Scienza Nuova,' is entitled 'De antiquissima Italorum sapientia ex originibus linguæ Latinæ eruenda.' The object of this discussion, which is metaphysical, was to prove, from the history of the Latin language and its etymology, the knowledge which existed amongst the Italians in very remote times. Aware that the Roman people, in the early period of its history, despised alike all science and art, which was not either military or agricultural, and yet observing in their language terms which could only be applied correctly in a nation, which had either itself made great advances in civilization, or which sprang from another which was enlightened, Vico assumes, that from Pythagoras and the Italic school which he founded, and from the Etruscans, who are admitted by all to have been anterior to the Roman people, and from whom many of the rites, laws, and ceremonies of Rome were afterwards derived, much must have emanated of that refinement in the powers of reasoning, which showed itself in the common language of the country. This again is traced up to an Egyptian origin, and consequently made to be older than the philosophy of Greece. We know from Iamblichus and others, that Pythagoras visited Egypt and remained there a considerable time, and that upon his return to his native island, he endeavoured to instruct his countrymen in the knowledge he had acquired during his absence, but that, upon being unsuccessful, he passed over into Italy, and established his school in Magna Græcia. He taught his doctrines at Crotona, Metapontus, Agrigentum, and Rhegium. His method of instruction was founded upon the Egyptian system. It was exoteric and esoteric. The number of the brethren of the College of Pythagoras, at Crotona, was so great as six hundred. This manifests such a desire of instruction in the people, as to justify the opinion of Vico, that even before Pythagoras settled in Magna Græcia, the inhabitants were far from being in an uncivilized state. The most general opinion with respect to the origin of the Etruscans is, that they were either Lydians or Pelasgians, and not in any way connected with Egypt. Vico, on the contrary, believes, that the Egyptians colonized Etruria, when they possessed that great empire, which extended itself over

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over Africa and the whole of the East, and of which Tacitus gives us a short description, when relating the visit of Germanicus to the ruins of Thebes.

'Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari, atque eo cum exercitu, Regem Rhamsen, Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque, et Persis, et Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum, quasque terras Suri, Armeniique, et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum, equorumque, et dona templis ebur, atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur.'

Whether Vico is or is not correct in making the Etrurians descend immediately from the Egyptians, instead of from the Pelasgians or Lydians, is a question which it is now impossible to decide. Dionysius says, that there was no resemblance between the people of Asia Minor and the Etrurians, either in their language or laws, and that their own writers declared the latter to be a primitive race. This is in favour of Vico. The resemblance of the works of art in Etruria and Egypt would also seem to confirm his theory; and we know, from the statements of Livy, that the connection between the Romans and the Etrurians is undeniable in the earlier times of Rome, when, as he states, the Roman youth were as carefully instructed in Etruscan as they were afterwards in Greek literature. Valerius Maximus and Cicero both speak of young men being sent to Etruria for the purpose of learning augury; and Numa, who was the founder of religion in Rome, if not a disciple of Pythagoras as asserted, was at least intimately acquainted with and borrowed much of his system from the doctrines of that philosopher. All of this we think bears directly upon the matter in dispute, and strengthens Vico's views.

The neglect which has attended the works of Vico in other countries is perhaps, besides the causes before mentioned, to be ascribed to the little attention he for many years met with in his own. We find honourable mention made of him by Leclerc, who was his contemporary, at the time of the appearance of his productions, entitled, 'De universi Juris, uno Principio et Fine uno,' and 'Liber alter est de Constantia Jurisprudentis;' but little notice was then taken of him for several years, and until 'La Scienza Nuova' was reprinted in 1801, the work had become scarce. Genovesi and Duni, the one in his 'Logica Italiana,' and the other in his 'Governo Civile,

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Civile,' allude to Vico; and Cesarotti comments upon his theory with respect to Homer; but still, up to the period just mentioned, he was comparatively little known. M. E. Weber, of Leipzig, has since translated his 'La Scienza Nuova' into German, and the Marquis of Villa Rosa has collected his minor works into one publication, printed at Naples in 1818. It would be difficult, in the short limits of a literary notice like the present, to give any adequate idea of the laborious investigation of Vico. His mind was philosophical and capacious, and it is impossible not to be struck by the novelty of his ideas upon many subjects of literature, jurisprudence, and history. The ability with which he advocates views, such as, in his day, must have been judged paradoxical and unsound, but which the increasing knowledge of a century has tended to confirm rather than invalidate, entitle him to the highest degree of commendation, and justify us in comparing his writings with those of the best informed historians, critics, and philologists of the present day. We think that many of them are indebted, in a greater or less degree, to Vico; and we are anxious to assert his claim to that merit which he so eminently possesses. Had his style been as clear and forcible as his information is profound, we are convinced few writers would have attracted more attention, and none communicated more knowledge.

ART. V.—*Thomas Morus.—Aus den Quellen bearbeitet.* Von Dr. Georg Thomas Rudhart, Professor at the Royal Lycée at Bamberg. 1829. 8vo. pp. 458.

IT is certainly a somewhat singular circumstance, that foreigners often lead the way in inquiries concerning our own history. Rapin was the first who wrote what may be called a systematic history of England; and now we find a German giving us a biography of our countryman, such as we are not able to exhibit. The mere enumeration of the works which Mr. Rudhart has consulted fill thirty pages, and we see among them the Rotuli Parliamentorum, &c., the Journals of the House of Lords, the Statutes at large, all the works of Sir Thomas More himself, Latin as well as English; the Chronicles of Hall, Stowe, and Holinshed; L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c. Every work relative to the subject, to be found in the excellent public library of the University of Göttingen, which contains nearly every important book on the history of England, has been consulted by Mr. Rudhart. His whole volume, therefore, is full of

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of matter to be relied on ; and if there is little of reasoning, it is certainly because Mr. Rudhart was of opinion, that the best argument is, that which we awaken in the reader's own breast by the intelligence which we convey. The style, indeed, could have been somewhat more elevated without prejudice to simplicity ; but we are too thankful to the author to find much fault with his labours : we shall therefore proceed, without further preface, to lay the contents of the volume before our readers.

Sir Thomas More was descended from an honourable English family. His father Sir John, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, was a man of an unblemished character, and of courteous and engaging manners ; and, though his first marriage might have had sufficient drawbacks, yet he thrice contracted that engagement. His first wife, of the Handcombs of Holywell, Bedfordshire, brought him a son, *Thomas*, and two daughters. Thomas was born in Milk-street, Cheapside; the date of his birth, however, is variously stated between 1479 and 1483 ; neither Roper nor Stapleton have mentioned the circumstance : Cresacre More fixes it in 1480.

He learned the first rudiments of the Latin language at St. Anthony's school, in Threadneedle-street — one of the four grammar-schools established by the pious Henry VI. He next entered, according to the fashion of the time, into the house of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, where he remained some time. Thence, but under the auspices of the Archbishop, he went to Canterbury College, now called Christ Church, Oxford. We cannot, indeed, compare the then state of that University, with that which now distinguishes it as the seat of so much talent and erudition ; however, it had already began to emerge from the sloth and ignorance which till lately had prevailed there ; for when the famous Dean of St. Paul's, John Colet, the friend and teacher of Sir Thomas More, first went to pursue his studies at Oxford, the learning of the Greek language was still considered there as at least superfluous, and those who cultivated it could not avoid a suspicion of heresy. The description given by Erasmus of the state of learning at Cambridge will also apply to Oxford ; where 'Alexandri Parva Logicalia,' the old 'Axioms of Aristotle,' and 'Joannis Scoti Quæstiones,' comprised the whole course of studies. But visible improvements began to be introduced, when the fame of the Italian Universities having attracted scholars from the remotest parts of Europe, such men as William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, and William Lilly brought home their treasures of classical learning. It was under their tuition that More studied

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died at Oxford, and from his teachers they soon became his best and intimate friends. With Linacre, the friend and tutor of Erasmus himself, he read the works of Plato and Aristotle; and with William Lilly, 'charissimus rerum mearum socius,' as More himself calls him, he practised literary exercises, (*Progymnasmata*,) which consisted in translating a number of Greek epigrams into Latin, in their original metre. Here is a specimen:—

Οἶνος, καὶ τὰ λοῦτρα, καὶ ἡ πρὶν Κυπρις Ἱρωὴ,
ἐξυτίην πιμπτει τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς ἀΐδεω.

De Luxu et Libidini.

Si quis ad infernos properet descendere manes,
Huc iter accelerant balnea, vina, Venus.—*T. Mori.*

Nos caligantis rapiunt ad tecta tyranni
Præcipiti cursu balnea, vina, Venus.'—*G. Lillii.*

More's acquaintance with Erasmus began at the table of the Lord Mayor, where without their knowing each other, they fell into a dispute, when Erasmus told him, 'Aut tu es Morus, aut nullus;' upon which More replied, 'Aut tu es Erasmus, aut Diabolus.' We cannot say much for the courtesy of the reply; but such is the anecdote, though it wants sufficient authority. But the acquaintance with that distinguished man certainly gave a new impulse to More in his ardent pursuit of truth, of science, and learning; and probably also inspired him with such a taste for Lucian, the favourite author of Erasmus, that he translated three of his Dialogues into Latin (the Cynicus, Necromantia, and Philopseudes). He afterwards challenged Erasmus himself, who should not only best translate the 'Tyrannicida' of the same author, but also frame the best reply to it. The palm may justly be adjudged to Sir Thomas More.

But More was destined by his father to a life of activity, and returning to London, he was called to the Bar of New Inn. In the nineteenth year of King Henry VII. he was chosen member of parliament. The king asked a subsidy of 40,000*l.* for the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the king of Scots; More opposed the demand with such energy and success, that it was rejected. It being reported to the king that a beardless boy had defeated his intentions, he was so much incensed, that he threw the father into prison, and fined him 100*l.*, and More was obliged to seek refuge in a monastery. He had, however, by his resistance, effected thus much, that Henry, instead of 40,000*l.*, declared himself satisfied with 30,000*l.*, which now were voted without further objection.

More, in his retirement, had leisure again to indulge in his favourite pursuits of philosophy and theology, and of various languages.

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languages. A little earlier in life he had had a strong tendency towards a monastic life. He had early imbibed the spirit of monkish discipline, and practised on himself ascetic severity.

'When he was about eighteen or twenty years old,' says Cresacre More, 'he began to wear a sharp shirt of hair next the skin, which he never left off wholly, no, not when he was Lord Chancellor of England. Which my grandmother on a time in the heat of summer espying, laughed at, not being much sensible of spiritual exercises, being carried away in her youth with the bravery of the world, and not knowing "quæ sunt spiritus," what is the true wisdom of a Christian man. He added also to his austerity a whip every Friday and high fasting days, thinking that such cheer was the best alms that he could bestow upon himself .... He used also much fasting and watching, lying often upon the bare ground, or upon some bench, laying some log under his head; allotting himself but four or five hours in a night at the most, for his sleep, imagining, with the holy saints of Christ's church, that his body was to be used as an ass, with strokes and hard fare, lest provender might prick it, and so bring his soul, like a head-strong jade, to the bottomless pit of hell ..... He had enured himself with straitness, that he might the better enter in at the narrow gate of heaven, which is not got with ease, "sed violenti rapiunt illud," that is, they that are boisterous against themselves snatch it away by force.'

He dwelt near the Carthusians by the Charter House, and attended daily their spiritual exercises, and would have taken the vows of the Franciscans. Dean Colet, however, seems to have advised him to marry. He espoused Jane, eldest daughter of John Colt, Esq., of Newhall, Essex. This gentleman had three daughters, and More was attached to the second: he, notwithstanding, proposed to the eldest, fearful lest she would be pained on her younger sister being married before herself. This marriage, and the birth of a family, forced him to labour in his due profession.

To follow the order of our author, the following is the account of More's person. According to the picture which Erasmus draws in that letter to his friend, V. Hutten, Sir Thomas was of a middling stature; all the members of his body were well-proportioned, only his hands were rather clumsy (*manus tantum subrusticæ sunt*); in his walk, the right shoulder appeared higher than the left, not from any natural defect, but from habit; his complexion was rather white than pale, a slight red shining through his skin; the colour of his hair was neither fair nor dark, but between both; that of his eye grey and dappled—their glance calm and penetrating; the nose strong; the mouth middling, with slender lips; the chin round and strong; his voice neither loud nor feeble, but easy to be understood. He loved music,

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music, and was a proficient on the viol. His face showed serenity and sweetness of temper, and seemed more inclined to hilarity than to the serious and severe mien of office; but this serenity seems to have disappeared from his brow in later years.

'More,' thus Erasmus continues, 'enjoys a good and strong health, which makes him fit for labour. The green old age of his father promises a long life to him also. His food is simple, his favourite dishes being salt meat, eggs, milk, and home-baked bread. In his clothes, too, he loves simplicity, disdaining silk, purple, and gold chains, which he only wears when necessary. Mere civilities he holds in very slight estimation, whence his neglect of them; as he does not ask them from anybody, so he is not over anxious to show them to others, either at meetings or feasts: he knows, however, how to use them when required, only judging it unmanly to waste time in such fooleries; therefore, nothing is more odious to him than the life at court, whereas he extols liberty and leisure above all things. In friendship he is a perfect pattern; and in the intercourse with approved friends consists his greatest pleasure—his chief diversion; for he detests cards and games of all kinds, which serve to kill the time of the multitude in high life. But there is no species of birds, or of other rare animals, as monkeys, foxes, ferrets, weasels, and the like, which he is not keeping at his house; and if any such are publicly shown, he is certain to go and see them, and even to buy some of them. The pleasure he finds in them rekindles as often as he perceives others to be pleased in looking at them. Objects of plastic art are no less sure of engaging his attention. Never has the favour of the great made him overbearing; but amidst all his business he faithfully remembers his friends: to them and to the common weal all his influence is directed. Every one he endeavours to assist—there is nobody he dismisses without some consolation; so that More may be called the protector of all needy and suffering men, for he esteems it the greatest gain to relieve the oppressed, and to remove difficulties from those labouring under them.'

With regard to his domestic discipline, the great principle of Sir Thomas was gentleness of behaviour towards his wife, his children, and his domestics. His first wife, Joan, had, during the six years they were married, brought him a child almost every year, of whom four survived him, namely, three daughters and a son. Margaret, his first-born, was his favourite, and in high esteem with Erasmus and other scholars, on account of her extensive knowledge, and the uncommon faculties of her mind. The second was Elizabeth; the third, Cecilia. His son, John, was the youngest, and grandfather to the Mr. T. More, who has written an account of the life of his great-grandfather. His wife dying soon after the birth of the son, Sir Thomas was not long in making another choice; and though, as

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as he himself tells us, Mrs. Alice, his second wife, was neither young nor beautiful, yet he lived with her, according to Erasmus, as happily as if she was the first of beauties. His courtship again has something peculiar; for he himself had at first not the least thought of marrying Mrs. Aloysia Middleton (she was a widow), but, on the contrary, was engaged to ask her for a friend. Of the learned education he bestowed on his daughters we shall hereafter have occasion to speak. To his domestics he was very attentive, careful of their being always well occupied, and never suffering them to play at cards, or other destructive games. He was so much convinced of the importance of domestic devotion, that he never, even when raised to the highest stations, omitted assembling his family, before going to bed, to pray with him; and even at table he would often have one or the other to read some passage of the Holy Scripture, till he gave a sign, upon which a more general conversation followed, which, on his part, was always pregnant with wit and good-humour. When with his more intimate friends, he would speak of the immortality of the soul in a manner sufficiently indicative of the firm belief and exulting hope with which he looked for it.

Of More's literary productions we have to note here, first, his *Epigrams*. Though he himself does not seem to have valued them very much, they found numerous admirers among his contemporaries; and Beatus Rhenanus, in his letter to Bilibald Pirkheimer, comparing them with those of Marullus and Pontanus, writes—'Jam inter Epigrammatographos Pontanum et Marullum in primis hodie miratur Italia, at dispeream si non tantundem *in hoc* est naturæ, utilitatis vero plus,' &c. At another place, he says—'All he (More) writes is interwoven with so much agreeable pleasantry, that I am tempted to believe the Muses have heaped all their playful wit on his head. Even his satire is never lacerating, but entertaining and amusing, and anything but malicious,' &c. And again we find in the *Collection of Choice Epigrams*, edited by *Leodegarius*, then Professor of *Humanity* at Paris, a greater number taken from the epigrams of Sir Thomas than of any other writer. Some of them, indeed, exposed him to a fierce attack, which, however, seems to have more surprised than angered him, as he was easily prevailed upon to refrain from all reply to his antagonist. The occasion which gave rise to that literary feud was the following:—When Henry VIII. waged war with France, in consequence of the famous league of Cambray with the Pope and the King of Spain, Sir Thomas Knevet, Master of Horse, was sent to the coast of Brittany

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Brittany with a fleet of forty-five sail; and he carried with him many young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity for displaying their valour. After they had committed some depredations, a French fleet of thirty-nine sail issued from Brest, under the command of Primauget, and began an engagement with the English. Primauget, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. 'Both fleets,' writes Hume, 'stood some time in surprise as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair which came from the miserable combatants. At last, the French vessel (*la Cordelière*) blew up, and at the same time destroyed the English (the Regent).' This exploit had been celebrated by a Frenchman, Germain de Brie, otherwise Brictius, in a Latin poem, styled *Chordigeræ navis conflagratio*, in which, however, he was not content to extol the valour and bravery of his countrymen, but indulged in many opprobrious expressions against the English. More ridiculed, in a number of epigrams, the extravagancies of the Frenchman. Brictius, on this, grew exasperated, and, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of Erasmus, who was friendly to both, he published his *Antimorus*, answering Erasmus, though contrary to truth, that when he received his letters it had been no longer in his power to suppress the publication; but when Erasmus wrote to the same effect to Sir Thomas More, imploring his forbearance, More, though vehemently and personally attacked, replied, 'I had hoped Brictius would produce something learned and witty, that might amuse even me, his antagonist, who am not apt to take offence at a joke. To this rude and envenomed concoction I could but laugh, and was resolved to give no answer at all. Other men, however, in whose judgment with regard to my affairs I have more confidence than in mine own, judged otherwise. They were of opinion that there could be some who would read the Antimorus of Brictius, without knowing the Chordigera and my epigrams; and that it might therefore be well done to publish all this together in one book, and thus to present it to the reader.' 'And yet, that thou mayst see, my Erasmus, (he wrote in a subsequent letter,) how much readier I am to obey thee than Brictius, know that, though, at the receipt of thy letter, my book was not only under the press, but already printed, I have yet bought in all the copies thereof, and keep them with me, with the exception only of the two copies sent to thee and Aegidius, and five others the printer had sold already.' This is certainly no common trait of moderation, especially

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especially in an author; neither was there any doubt among the learned public to whom the victory belonged.

There are also some historical essays of More still extant, regarding the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., which, however, are not finished, neither in Latin nor in English; and some other literary productions concerning the disputes of the learned Erasmus with the Obscurants, particularly his letters to Martin Dorpius, whom More, from being their chief opponent, succeeded in gaining over to his own party, that party which, still adhering strictly to the Roman Catholic faith, and obedience to the Pope, asked for reforms among the clergy, a more liberal education in general, and, besides, a revision of the text of the Vulgate, which was to be promoted by a more universal study of the Greek language. But his chief work is his *Utopia*, which for ever will proclaim him as a benevolent man, an eminent scholar, an enlightened statesman, and a tolerant Catholic; and, with regard to the last point, must make us very cautious in receiving the aspersions cast upon him as to his cruelty and persecution towards the Protestants.

The plan of his Utopia, Sir Thomas had probably conceived at the time of his first legation to Bruges, A.D. 1515; it was finished in the following year, as appears from his letter to Petrus Aegidius, with which he accompanied the manuscript, (see Pref. to the Edit. of 1518,) and appeared in print in November of the same year, under the title—'*Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimo reapublicæ statu, deque nova insula Utopia, authore clarissimo viro Thoma Moro inclytæ civitatis Londinensis, cive et vicecomite, cura M. Petri Aegidii, Antuerpiensis, et arte Theoderici Martini Alustensis, Typographi alma Louaniensium Academiæ nunc primum accuratissime editus. Cum gratia et privilegio 4to.*'*

More was compelled, much against his will, to enter the service of the king, in which he rose to such eminence, that he at last had to ascend the scaffold. The occasion which immediately led to it, as told by his son-in-law Roper, is materially as follows:—

* There are, besides, a great number of editions, and it has been translated into almost all modern languages. The first translation is a German one, that appeared at Basil, 1524; and towards the end of the first century, the imperial general Shnebelin made a humorous moral chart to it, under the title—*Tabula Utopiæ, oder das Schlaraffenland.* The first English translation is that of 1551, by *Ralph Robinson*, of which the newest edition appeared 1808, under the title—'A most pleasant, fruitful, and witty work of the best state of a public weal, and of the new isle called Utopia, written in Latin, by *Thomas More*, and translated into English by *Ralph Robinson.*' There is a new edition with copious notes, by *Thomas Frogn. Dibdin.* Lond. printed by Bulmer, 1808, 8vo. 2 vols.

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It was in the year 1518 that a ship belonging to the Pope arrived at Southampton, and, we do not know for what reason, was confiscated. The papal legate obtained from the King, that the cause should be tried in a special court, in his, the legate's presence, as he was himself a great civilian, and desirous of learning the proceedings in English courts; the better to understand which, he begged the assistance of an English lawyer as counsel for his side, who might, at the same time, give him the necessary explanations. For this purpose, More was recommended to him, who, by his great knowledge of the Latin language, was able immediately to translate the arguments preferred in the pleadings on both sides. The cause was tried in the Star-chamber, in presence of the Lord Chancellor; and More succeeded in bringing his party triumphantly off, and recovering the ship. This act drew upon him the regard of the King, and More was obliged to accept the place of Privy Councillor; with what reluctance, we may perceive from a letter which he wrote to Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, on the Bishop's having congratulated him to his elevation.

'It is much against my will that I am come to court, as every body knows, and the King himself will sometimes reproach to me in joke; therefore, I behave as awkwardly as one who, not being used to ride on horseback, knows not how to keep firm in the saddle. But the king is so very kind and condescending to all, that every body imagines his Majesty likes him best. Thus the old women of London, if they have very fervently prayed before the shrine of our Lady, near the Tower, imagine the Holy Virgin has graciously smiled upon them. But I am not so happy as to perceive any such well auguring occasions by which I may merit the love of the King. The more I observe his virtues and his learning, the less obnoxious will be to me the life at court.'

It was no less the political talent of Sir Thomas which Henry affected to patronise, than his erudition, which, indeed, must shine in a lustre proportionate to the gross ignorance which not only still pervaded all ranks and classes of society, but was even gloried in by those who called themselves students. Thus a party having formed itself among the clergy, who, afraid of all reforms or innovations, in whatever shape they might appear, had declared it heresy to study the Greek language, the greatest number of the students at Oxford entered into a combination denominated "*The Trojans;*" and, under the names of Priam, Hector, Paris, &c., harassed and persecuted all those who earnestly applied to the Greek grammar. This mode of vindicating their namesakes was at first considered as mere foolery. But when More was at Abingdon, in the suite of the King, and not only heard of the existence of the Trojan

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faction, and that there was a clergyman who endeavoured from the pulpit to inflame the dislike of the young men towards the Greek language, and the fine arts in general, he held it to be his duty to inform the King of these proceedings, who immediately issued an order, enjoining on the students to apply to the study of Greek literature. Henry himself took such pleasure in the conversation of Sir Thomas, that he very often on holidays, after divine service, invited him to his cabinet, there to talk with him about astronomy, geometry, theology, or other scientific subjects; or, on a fine night, ascended with him to the roof of the palace, to make astronomical observations.—He would even come to see him at his own seat at Chelsea; and once, having arrived unexpectedly, he staid to dinner, and afterwards walked with Sir Thomas in his garden, with his arm about his servant's neck. All this, however, could neither blind Sir Thomas, nor reconcile him to his loss of liberty, and the constraint of the life at court; and when his son-in-law, Roper, once congratulated him about such uncommon tokens of royal favour, 'I thank God, son Roper,' he replied, 'his Majesty is, indeed, my very gracious master, and I believe he at present shows me as much favour as to any of his subjects; but I can tell thee, son, I have no reason to glory in it, *for if my head could win him a single castle in France, be assured it would be instantly required of me.*'

Henry was, at least, not slow in promoting his favourites; and More, being knighted soon after his entrance into the royal service, (1518,) was, in the short space of eleven years, Privy Councillor, Treasurer of the Exchequer, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and, in 1529, Lord Chancellor of the Realm. How little the independence of his spirit was, however, liable to be affected by such favours, may be seen from the following examples.

It happened, that a short time after Sir Thomas had taken his seat in the Privy Council, Cardinal Wolsey proposed to revive the dignity of High Constable, as a personal representative of the monarch through the whole realm. Though it was not difficult to perceive who was to fill this exalted station, yet such was the preponderating influence of the Cardinal Prime Minister, that the rest of the Privy Councillors, without much hesitation, acceded to the proposal. But Sir Thomas More opposed the measure with such energy and force of argument, that many of the senior members began to waver and to retract. Enraged by this unexpected resistance, the Cardinal turned to his antagonist and said, 'Are you not ashamed, that you, the last in dignity and in place, should thus presume to disregard the opinion

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opinion of so many of the noblest and wisest of the country? You show yourself an unthinking and foolish counsellor.' Without hesitation, Sir Thomas answered, 'Then let us thank God that his Majesty in his whole council has but a single fool.' The debate, however, was put off, and the measure finally abandoned.

On another occasion, when King Henry, in the year 1523, was obliged to convoke a parliament, the means furnished by his father's treasury being exhausted, and he in need of a supply, Sir Thomas, by the influence of the court, though against his own inclination, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. The King asking a vote of eight hundred thousand pounds, it was resolved that the Cardinal, in order to silence all opposition, should proceed in person to the House of Commons, not only to bring in the bill himself, but also to assist during the debate. This innovation occasioned much alarm; and the question arose whether the Minister should be admitted singly, or with his whole train of attendants? Sir Thomas, however, took hold of an expression that had fallen from the Cardinal, 'that no sooner had any measure been discussed in parliament, than it was hawked about in all ale-houses,' to say, 'Gentlemen! as my Lord Cardinal has lately blamed the lightness of our tongues for having talked about our affairs, it would, in my opinion, not be bad to admit him with all his pomp, his sceptres and maces, his crosses and hat, and the great seal to boot, as also all his followers, that if he ever after should blame us for having blabbed, we might safely return the charge to his own people.' This advice found universal assent. When the Cardinal had finished his elaborate speech, and paused for an answer, the whole House remained silent. Astonished at this unexpected event, he first turned to the most considerable members, and desired a reply; but all preserving the same silence, he asked an explanation from the Speaker. Hereupon, Sir Thomas, kneeling, submissively excused the silence of the House, alleging that the Members were abashed in the presence of so eminent a person, who well might intimidate the wisest of the country. He then proceeded to prove, that the presence of the Minister in the House of Commons was neither conformable to, nor consistent with its liberties. As for himself, he said, he was far too inexperienced to give a satisfactory answer in a matter of such importance, which, indeed, he would not be able to do, though he were possessed of the wisdom of them all together. It was, however, from them he must receive his instructions. The Cardinal, upon this, departed in high anger; and, notwithstanding the subsequent exertions of Sir Thomas himself

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in supporting the motion for the supply, his rhetoric would certainly have little availed, if the King, impatient of resistance, had not shortened the matter. He sent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a considerable influence on the House, and he, being introduced to the presence, Henry called to him—'*Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?*' And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then kneeling before him, he said, '*Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else by to-morrow this head of yours shall be off.*' This had the desired effect, for next day the bill actually passed.

Though Sir Thomas succeeded in dissuading the *King* from sending him on an embassy to Spain, from which he excused *himself*, on account of his health, there is, yet, scarcely any treaty of importance to which his name is not attached as one of the commissioners. Thus we find it in the convention of Bruges, 1520, composing the differences that had arisen between the English merchants and the members of the Hanse-towns, with regard to the privilege of the latter to import English cloth into Dutch ports. Again, in the treaty of Amiens, with Francis I., 1527, the 18th of August, and in the instrument of the peace of Cambray, 1529, August 5th, which, on the part of England, was signed by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London; Sir Thomas More, Knight, and Chancellor of the Duchy (county-palatine) of Lancaster; and John Haclet, Esq. It was this last treaty, in particular, which exalted the fame of Sir Thomas More; made his name popular with the nation, who were rejoiced at the peace; and obtained for him the public commendation of the King.

On the 18th of October, 1529, Cardinal Wolsey was compelled to surrender the Great Seal; and on the 25th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, King Henry, in the presence of Henry Norris, Christopher Hales, and others of the Privy Council, conferred it upon Sir Thomas More. On the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning, he was solemnly installed into his office, at the Court of Chancery, by a commission, consisting of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other distinguished noblemen. The Duke of Norfolk made a speech, in which he exalted the talents and capacity of the new Chancellor, to which More replied with great modesty and firmness.

Of the chancellorship of Sir Thomas, which had lasted three years (till the 16th of May, 1532), there can be said little more than—or, rather, what can be said more than?—that, though on entering his office he found many arrears, some of which were of twenty years' standing, he one day, upon ordering the clerk to proceed to the hearing of a new cause, was answered,

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answered, *that there were no more on the paper.* With joyful heart (as well he might) he rose, to thank God that at last he had got clear, and ordered this extraordinary event to be entered on the records of the court.

The transactions of the reign of Henry VIII., with regard to his divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, his subsequent marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the effects which resulted from it, leading to the final separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, are too well known to be more than alluded to in this article. How little the king at first thought of introducing, or even suffering any religious reforms, is best seen from the manner in which he, at an earlier period, attacked Martin Luther himself, by whom he, in return, was treated very indecorously, though excuse may perhaps be found in the unpolished manners of the age. Sir Thomas, however, in his defence of the king, remained not behindhand in retaliating on his adversary; for if Luther said, 'Whereas a king of England has vomited his impudent lies, I have lustily crammed them back into his throat; for he has thrown dirt on the crown of my master, who is Christ; and he, therefore, may not wonder that I throw such dirt on his own crown, and declare, before the whole world, that the king of England is a liar and an unreasonable man,*' we find, in the reply of More, such passages as†—

'Certe quandoquidem totum se devovit inferis, et obduravit in schismate, nec unquam decrevit hæreses recantare, statuere tamen secum debet aliquam saltem, ut habeat civilis honestatis rationem, quo sibi potius vindicet authoritatem dogmatistæ quam vilis in heretico scurræ. Quod si quando volet, si disceptabit serio, si mendacia sua recantet, ac sycophantias si abegerit stultitias, furores, et hactenus nimium familiares furias, si merdas suas resorbeat, ac sua relingat stercora, quibus tam fœde linguam suam, calamumque conspurcat, non deerunt, qui de re gravi graviter, quod decet, disserant. Verum si ad istum, quo cœpit, modum scurrari pergat, et furare, si grassari calumnia, nugari stultitia, insanire dementia, scurrilitate ludere, nec aliud in ore gestare, quam sentinas, cloacas, latrinas, merdas, stercora, faciant quod volent alii, nos ex tempore capiemus consilium, velimus ne sic bacchantem ex ejus tractare virtutibus, et coloribus suis depingere, an furiosum fraterculum et latrinarium

* That "ein König vonn Engelland sein Lügē unverschampt uss speyen, so that ich sie ihm frölich wider in seinen halss stossen, und schmiert er seinen Dreck an die Krone meines Königs, nemlich Christi, darumb solls in nicht wundern, ob ich denn Dreck uff seine Krone schmier, und sage vor aller Welt, dass der Künig von Engeland ein Lügner ist und ein unbilder Mann," &c.

† Responsio ad Convitia Martini Lutheri congesta in Henricum regem Angliæ ejus nominis octavum, conscripta Anno MDXXIII. et sub *Guilielmi Rossei* nomine edita.

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nebulonem cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus, cacantem cacatumque relinquere!!!'

It is well known, that for this piece of theological chivalry, Henry, on sending a copy of his book against Luther to Pope Leo X., was rewarded by him with the title of *Defender of the Faith*,—a title he thought proper afterwards to retain, though certainly much against its original meaning. But when the difficulties opposed by the court of Rome to his divorce from his first consort, made him earnestly think of some other means to enforce his will and gratify his passion, it could not but be of the utmost importance for him to gain the assenting opinions of Sir Thomas More, than whom none stood in higher estimation throughout the whole country, both on account of his elevated station and his unblemished character. The question had already been mooted during the ministry of Cardinal Wolsey, and his failing in procuring the desired divorce was a chief cause of his disgrace. Nor is it improbable that Henry, who till then had found all his endeavours fruitless to make Sir Thomas express himself in favour of the measure, thought, by conferring on him such uncommon distinction, to curb his resistance by the ties of gratitude. But in this he was mistaken. More, who always had endeavoured to excuse himself, on account of his ignorance of the canonical law, from giving an express opinion on the question of the divorce, upon being again pressed by the king, entreated the assistance of some men learned in the canons, for his own instruction*. Henry appointed for this purpose Cranmer, Lee, Richard Fox, and Nicholas of Italy, all of them doctors of divinity and of the canonical law; but the Chancellor, after many conferences, and after having repeatedly read all that had been written on the subject, declared that, though his mind was open to persuasion, he had more than ever found himself confirmed in his previous opinion. This he likewise repeated to the king, who called Sir Thomas before him; and, after hearing the submissive, but resolute answer of his Chancellor, was pleased to declare, that if his conscience forbade him agreeing in this point with the other councillors of his majesty, he would, however, still accept of his other services, nor should he any further be dis-

* More was always anxious to exculpate himself from any charge of obstinacy on this point; so we find him writing to Secretary Cromwell: 'I am not he which either can, or whom it would become to take upon me the determinacion or decision of such a weighty matter, whereof divers pointes a great way passe my learning, so am I he, that among his grace's faithful subjects, his highness being in possession of his marriage, will most heartily pray for the prosperous estate of his grace, longe to continue to the pleasure of God.'

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turbed about this matter. Sir Thomas, however, was too well persuaded, that this state of things could not last, and that the measures by which Henry was proceeding, the abolition of the annates, the restrictions of the authority of the clergy, &c., must infallibly lead to a total rupture with the court of Rome, and a separation from the Roman Catholic Church. Equally unable to approve of those measures and to prevent them, he, on the plea of ill health (since the death of his father, shortly after his own elevation to the chancellorship, he had really suffered in his breast), tendered his resignation, which, with great reluctance on the part of the king, was finally accepted on the 16th of May, 1532.

Sir Thomas retired to his favourite seat at Chelsea, of which Erasmus writes to Bishop Faber of Vienna: —'At Chelsea, near London, More has built himself a country-house, neither bad, nor so magnificent as to excite envy, but comfortable. Here he lives in happy harmony with his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, three daughters with their husbands, and eleven grand-children. You will say, here is the republic of Plato'; but I should be doing injustice to the house by such a comparison; I should rather call it a school of Christianity.' Here he had likewise constructed a private chapel, where he performed his devotions, and where he sometimes even officiated as assistant to the minister. Nor did he discontinue this practice when raised to the dignity of a chancellor, which made the Duke of Norfolk (who, coming to dine with him, found him in the chapel singing, and in a white surplice) exclaim, in his surprise, 'God's body, my Lord Chancellor! what, a parish clerk! what, a parish clerk! You dishonour the king and his office.' But Sir Thomas calmly replied, 'Nay, your Grace, not so; for the King, your master and mine, cannot be displeased by what I am doing in obedience to God, the Master of Kings; nor can his office be dishonoured by it.'

But the chief care and the favourite occupation of Sir Thomas More was to superintend the education of his children. Stapleton has preserved a remarkable letter from him to Gonellus, their teacher, which, however, admits of no extract here; but it was a main principle with Sir Thomas not to make any distinction with regard to the sex; as he said, the fruit of all learning must be to lead an innocent life in this world, and to hope for its reward in the next; and that at the time of the harvest it would make no difference, whether the hand that had strewed the seed was a man's, or a female's. His daughters were, therefore, from their earliest youth, very liberally educated; they were informed in the Latin and Greek languages, in

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in dialectics and astronomy; and the progress made in these sciences by his eldest daughter and favourite child, Margaret, was such as to attract the notice and admiration of the greatest scholars of the age. She would even enter into a competition with her father, when they both chose the same subject for their theme; and once upon such an occasion she succeeded in performing her task (the translation of an English treatise into Latin) so admirably, that it was difficult to determine to whom the victory belonged. Erasmus spoke of her with the greatest esteem, and used to call her the Ornament of Britain—to Sir Thomas himself she was the intimate friend *of his heart*, and the keeper of all his secrets.

Nor were the abstract sciences only cultivated in the house of More. Holbein, on coming to England, found there hospitality and protection. Vocal or instrumental music, in which he himself would join, were reserved for the recreation of the hours of leisure. The excellent harmony of his own mind could not but produce that constant serenity of temper which made him love to see all around him pleased and happy. Mirth and guiety, he used to say, are the spices of life; but as it would be absurd to feed on a dish that was all spice and no matter, so it would be a hard and disagreeable fare that wanted all seasoning.

Though Sir Thomas, by the resignation of his office, had lost the greatest part of his income*, he was as jealous as ever to preserve the independence of his mind, which most strikingly appears in the following instance. The coronation of the new Queen approaching†, and great preparations being made for it, the Bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester, invited Sir Thomas to assist with them at the solemnity. They at the same time, *in consideration of his poverty*, sent him a present of twenty pounds, that he might order a new gown for the occasion. More took the money, but did not move from home; and the next time he met the bishops, he told them, 'My Lords, in the letter you sent me last day, you requested two things of me, and I willingly gratified you in the first, that I may with the better grace refuse the other. But as I complied with the one because I do not take you for beggars, and am myself no rich man, so the other recalled to my memory the history of an emperor who had issued a law, that whoever should commit a certain crime—I don't remember which—should suffer death. From this penalty nobody should be ex-

* He had as Lord Chancellor a salary of *four hundred pounds.*

† Anne Boleyn was married to the King on the 14th of Nov., 1532, and crowned in the following year.

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empt, save a virgin—in such high esteem did he hold virginity! Now it happened, that the first person offending against that law was a virgin, by which the emperor, who wished to set an example, was brought to a considerable dilemma. But while he was anxiously discussing the matter with his councillors, one of them—a good man and simple—rose: "And why," said he, "make so much ado about such a trifle? Let her first be deflowered, and afterwards devoured." It is just in this manner that your Lordships, though till now you have kept your purity undefiled in this business of divorce, should yet take care how you keep it so for the future. For there are people who begin with inviting your Lordships to assist at the marriage; they next will induce you to approve it in your sermons, and at last will urge you to write books in its defence. Thus, they first endeavour to deflower, and will not fail to end in devouring you. Now, my Lords, though it is not in my power to prevent being devoured, yet, with the help of Almighty God, I shall take care never to be deflowered.'

The time now approached which was to put to the test the religious philosophy of Sir Thomas More. The king was not of a temper to suffer opposition to his decrees; and even the mere passive resistance of such a man as More he felt as a silent reproach to himself, and dreaded as a dangerous example with regard to others. More's sagacity made him sensible of his danger; and when the King had declared his resolution to take a second wife, in despite of the Court of Rome, Sir Thomas could not refrain saying to his son-in-law Roper, 'God grant we may never be put to our oaths on account of these matters.' His presentiment showed itself but too true. On the 26th of March, 1534, an act was passed in Parliament, commonly called the Act of Succession, by which 'the King's first marriage was declared null and void, as contrary to the laws of God and man; the succession was settled on the descendants of the King by Anne Boleyn; it was declared high treason to disturb the reign of the King by any writing, book, or action, or in any of these manners act to the prejudice of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, or to that of the children by that marriage; and, under the penalty of misprision of treason, every subject of the realm was to swear to the validity of this act.'

The whole clergy of London, but of the laity no one, save Sir Thomas More, were ordered to appear before the royal commissioners at Lambeth, to take the oath according to the act. On the morning of the 13th of April, before his departure from home,

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home, More went to church at Chelsea, confessed himself, and took the sacrament, as was his wont before proceeding to any important business. Regularly when he went to town, his wife and children accompanied him to his boat: this time he would not let them, but drew the wicket after him, and went away, accompanied only by Roper and four domestics. He seems to have undergone some inward struggle, for he at first was sunk in deep meditation; but, on a sudden, raising his head, he said, 'The Lord be praised, son, the field is won!' and he appeared before the commissioners with the greatest calmness of demeanour. His behaviour will be best seen from his own letter, which, some days afterwards, he wrote to his daughter Margaret from the Tower: it is to be found in page 373 of M. Rudhart's book.

'After having read the oath and the Act of Succession, I declared to their lordships I was far from imputing any blame to the act, and its authors, or on the oath, and those who had taken the same; nor would I pretend to judge over the conscience of anybody: but the oath, as tendered to me, I could not swear, without endangering my soul, as it was against my conscience. However, I did not refuse to swear to that part of the act relative to the succession.*

'"We are all very sorry," answered the Lord Chancellor, (Thomas Audley, his successor,) "for your refusal; for, indeed, you are the first who will not take the oath, which will make his majesty very angry with you." They now showed me a list of names of all those who had sworn and signed; but I persisted in my refusal, without blaming anybody for having sworn. They now desired me to leave the room; but, after a while, having called me back, they again showed me the list of names, and again asked me to take the oath. I gave exactly the same reply as before. Now their lordships told me it was mere obstinacy from my part, as I could give no reasons for my behaviour: but I replied, it was rather for fear of offending the King that I did not tell any reasons. However, if the King would grant me security not to take them amiss, I was ready to

* That part of the statute to which Sir Thomas objected is the following (of Stat. of the Realm, vol. iii., p. 472):—'The Nobles and Commons of this Realme doo therfore moost humbly beseche your Highness that it may please your Magestie, that it may be enacted by your Highness, with the assente of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the auctoritie of the same, *that the mariage hertofore solempnyzed betwene your Highness and the Lady Katherine*, being befor lawfull wyff to Prince Arthur, your elder brother, which by hym was carnally known, as doth duely appere by sufficient prove in a lawfull process had and made before, &c., shalbe, *by authoritie of this present Parliament, defyntyuely, clerely, and absolutely declared, demed, adjudged to be agaynst the lawes of Almyghty God, and also accepted, reputed, and taken of noo value ne effecte, but utterlie voyde and adnychyled; and the separacion therof*, &c., shal be *good* and *effectuall* to all intentes and purposes, &c. &c.'

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write them down; and if anybody was able to answer them to the satisfaction of my conscience, I should take the oath most cheerfully. They said, notwithstanding any assurance given by the King, the statute would yet remain in force against me. Upon this, I replied, if I cannot tell my reasons without danger to myself, it is no obstinacy not to tell them. Cranmer now began, saying, "You blame nobody for having taken the oath; wherefore it appears you are not satisfied there is any wrong in swearing it. But that you know for certain that it is your duty to be obedient to your liege; therefore you are obliged to do off your doubting conscience, which makes you refuse the oath, and to betake yourself to the surer path, by swearing, in obedience to the will of your king."

'This unexpected argument from the mouth of so noble a prelate surprised me to such a degree, that I was not immediately able to make any reply. I only answered, this was one of those cases where our conscience forbade us obeying the King. Whatever might be the opinion of others, I was not to blame them for it,' &c. &c.

More finally persisted in his refusal to take the oath, and only declared himself ready to swear to the maintenance of the succession, provided he could do so without forswearing himself or endangering his conscience. He was therefore found guilty of misprision of treason, according to the act, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, the loss of his income, and confiscation of all his property, of whatever nature or kind.

Sir Thomas More was then conveyed to the Tower. In prison his chief occupation consisted in the composition of religious tracts, such as—*Quod pro fide mors fugienda non sit*, 1534; *Precatio, ex Psalmis collecta*, eod. a.; *Expositio passionis Christi, conscripta in arce carceris Londinensis*, anno 1535. In this last work, it is remarkable that More was, by the greater strictness of his arrest, hindered in proceeding just when he had come to the passage, *et injecerunt manus in eum.* At first, however, his family was allowed to see him; and his conversations with them all bear the same tone of meekness of spirit, independence of mind, and confidence in heaven. When, about a month after his imprisonment, his daughter Margaret first got leave to see her father, he, after they had prayed together, said, 'I believe, Margaret, that those who have brought me hither think to have given me much pain; but, upon my word, my beloved daughter, were it not for the sake of all of you, I should long since have confined myself in a place as narrow as this—nay, and one narrower still. But as I am come here by no act of my own, so I trust God will, in his kindness, deliver me of the care for my family, and by his gracious assistance supply my own absence. I have, indeed, Margaret, no cause

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cause to think myself in a worse situation here than at my own house; nay, it seems to me as if God is now exalting me to be his favourite child.' Of his wife, who had exerted all her eloquence to make him submit to the royal will, he asked, 'Well, and how long do you believe I may yet have to live?' 'At least twenty years,' was her reply. 'Indeed!' he said, 'if you had but said some thousands, it would have been something; and yet that must be a bad merchant who, to gain a thousand of years, risks the loss of a whole eternity.'

The first act that passed the next session, 1534, was that of Supremacy. Though Sir Thomas was still imprisoned, the King ordered that he should be asked his opinion concerning it; for which purpose, on the last day of April, 1535, the Secretary, Thomas Cromwell, accompanied by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and two doctors of law, proceeded to the Tower. Sir Thomas, however, declined giving any explicit answer. He had, he said, already expressed his views to the King in person, and now he had divested himself of all thoughts about the rights and titles of the King, as well as of the Pope. He was his Majesty's faithful subject, and daily prayed for him and his, for all his councillors, and the whole kingdom; but he never would meddle again with this business. In this answer he persisted, though Cromwell observed to him, that the King would not be satisfied. Sir Thomas replied, that he would never again think of any worldly business: his whole occupation was the contemplation of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and of his own departure from this life.

He was then ordered to retire; and, when called again, Cromwell said, 'Though you are condemned to imprisonment, yet the duty of your allegiance continues, and the King may require obedience to his and the Parliament's decrees. His Majesty is gracious to those who submit, but will suffer the laws to take their course against those who are refractory. Your behaviour encourages others to a like obstinacy.' 'To nobody,' More replied, 'give I an occasion to defend the one or the other opinion: I persuade nobody; and to nobody give I any advice in this matter. But, whatever punishment may be inflicted upon me, I cannot act otherwise. I am praying for the King, and all in authority under him; no one do I desire to hurt, but wish each all happiness. If this may not suffice to preserve my life, I do not wish to live any longer. I now am dying already; and since I am arrived here, I esteemed myself so near unto death, that I thought to die every hour. But, God be praised, I have never been concerned about this, but only whenever the hope

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of death seemed to disappear. Therefore, my body is at the disposal of the King; would to God my death may be useful to him!'

The King, enraged at the resistance which the Act of Supremacy experienced among the lower clergy, in particular from the monks, resolved to proceed against them with the utmost severity. On the 4th of May, 1535, the priors of three monasteries, and one *Reynolds*, a monk, were executed for high treason, because they had dared to prefer their objections against the act before Secretary Cromwell. Care had been taken that they were led before the window of Sir Thomas More, who, when they passed, was looking out, with his daughter Margaret. 'Look,' he said, 'how gaily these reverend fathers meet their death, just as if they were going to a wedding. Now you may know what difference there is between such as really have led an austere and anxious life in the fear of the Lord, and those who have passed their time in pleasure and revel; for God is looking on their sorrows and sufferings, and will not have them remain any longer in this vale of misery and injustice, but takes them from hence to the enjoyment of his eternal contemplation; whereas thy sinful father is not deemed worthy by Him to arrive so soon to such eternal happiness, but is still left in this world, harassed and oppressed by affliction.'

On the 3rd of June, 1535, another commission arrived at his prison. It consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire (father to the Queen), and Secretary Cromwell. The latter read to More his earlier depositions, and the report made to the King. 'His Majesty,' he continued, 'was by no means satisfied with your answers, and believes your behaviour will occasion much disturbance and damage. You are of a refractory and rebellious mind. By your duty of allegiance, you are obliged clearly and distinctly to declare, whether that statute respecting the King's supremacy, seems to you to be *legally* enacted or not. It is to ask this from you, and in the name of the King to compel you to answer, that these noble persons are now here. Either you must acknowledge Henry VIII. as the lawful head of the English church, or you confess your malice against your liege lord.'

More replied: 'I can find no malice within me, and therefore confess none. As to the matter itself, I can give no other answer than that given already. It much grieves me that his Majesty thinks thus ill of me, and sorry I am that he should do so but for a single day. I trust, however, the day will come, when God will make appear my innocence and my fidelity to the King, unto

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unto his Majesty and the whole world; and though this may seem to many a one but a cool and trifling comfort, because the King's anger might harm me in the mean time, yet I thank God that the purity of my conscience is such, that even if the King would punish me, I yet may remain unharmed. For in such a case, a man may lose his head without coming to any harm. There is in me no ill-will towards the King; but from the beginning of that controversy, I have acted towards him with the greatest righteousness, and according to his own commands. For the first lesson that ever his Grace gave me at my coming into his service was, that I should look *first unto God*, and, after God, unto him.' Again the Chancellor and the Secretary urged him to give an explicit answer, whether or not he assented to the act, as the King might compel him to do by the force of the law. 'I will not deny the power of the King,' answered More, 'nor presume to determine what he legally may do in this case, what not; yet in my opinion this constraint is rather troublesome. If my conscience is against the statute—whether or not it really is, I need not declare at present—but I am neither speaking nor undertaking anything contrary to it, it seems to me to be very hard that I should be compelled either to approve it against my conscience and to the prejudice of my soul, or to reject it to the sure destruction of my body, though in obedience to my conscience. Thus there is danger on both sides, and this law like to a two-edged sword.'

All further questions insidiously put to him, Sir Thomas eluded by declaring positively his resolution never again to dispute about this matter; and that the law of a single country could not be binding with regard to a point of faith, as soon as the tenets of the whole of Christendom spoke to the contrary. At length the Commissioners tendered to him an oath, that he would truly and sincerely answer to all questions relative to the name and person of the King; but More declined this oath, objecting, that he had resolved never again to swear any. They now all exclaimed against his obduracy: More, however, was resolute in his course.

Two questions were asked of him: first, whether he had seen the act of Parliament concerning the supremacy of the King; second, whether or not this statute seemed to him to be legally enacted. The first point he had already confessed; to the second he made no reply, and refused every oath. From that time he was kept with the greatest strictness, like one who was soon to receive his sentence. Mr. Rich, who had recently been named Solicitor to the King, was sent to the Tower, together with Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer, to take away

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away from More all his books and writing materials. In consequence of this harshness, he was compelled to write his letters to his family with a coal, on such scraps of paper as he was able to collect.

While the others were occupied with packing the books, Mr. Rich insidiously, as afterwards appeared, began a conversation with Sir Thomas, hoping that the words, which might escape from him, might afterwards be proved against him by Sir Richard Southwell and Palmer. 'You are,' he said, 'Sir Thomas, a man of eminent learning, and particularly versed in the laws of this kingdom,—this is universally acknowledged. Give me leave, therefore, in friendly intention, to put the following case to you. Suppose it had been enacted by Parliament, that the whole kingdom should have me for its king, would not you consider me as such?' 'Yes, Sir, I should,' answered More. 'Well, then, continued Rich, 'I shall again suppose it had been enacted, the whole kingdom should accept me for the Pope, would not you then acknowledge me to be the Pope?' 'As to your first question,' returned More, 'the Parliament may, indeed, decide in affairs of secular princes; but to your second question, I shall oppose another one. How, if it was enacted by Parliament, that God should not be God; would you, Mr. Rich, say God was not God?' 'No, that I should not, for no Parliament can enact such a law.' 'As little,' replied More, 'may any Parliament enact, that the King, a secular prince, shall be the supreme head of the church.' For these words, the truth of which Mr. Rich offered to prove, Sir Thomas was indicted for high treason, having denied the supremacy of the King.

On the first of July, 1535, More, after an imprisonment of one year, two months, and thirteen days, the severity of which appeared from his emaciated face and tottering limbs, was carried before his judges, consisting of *Sir Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellor, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, *Sir John Fitz-James*, Lord Chief Justice, *Sir John Baldwin*, *Sir Richard Leicester*, *Sir John Dort*, *Sir John Spelman*, *Sir Walter Luke*, and *Sir Anthony Fitz-Herbert*. The act, which was read to him, and by which he was impeached for high treason, on account of having denied the supremacy of the King, seemed to be artfully confused and incoherent, in order to overwhelm even his memory; however, he replied to it with his usual clearness and precision, dividing it into four points, to which he answered accordingly. The first, his having disapproved of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, he confessed, but denied that there was any high treason in it, and thought the loss of his property, and an imprisonment of fifteen months, a sufficient punishment. The second point,

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point, as to his opinion whether the King was, or was not the supreme head of the church of England, about which he had already been twice interrogated by the members of the Privy Council—this point he contended could not affect him; for as he did not enjoy any benefit from the church, so it was immaterial to him whether the statute was enacted legally or not. However, he had never spoken or done anything against it, and neither this statute nor any law in the world might punish a man for his silence. Words and deeds could alone be liable to punishment; God only was the judge of thoughts. The third point accused him of having, during his imprisonment, carried on a traitorous correspondence with Bishop Fisher, encouraging him, the Bishop, to resistance against the statute. He might demand, he said, the production of these letters; but as they were said to have been burnt, he would tell all about them. He had been asked by the Bishop, what answer he, Sir Thomas, had in his examinations given with regard to the supremacy. To this he had replied, and God was his witness that this was the whole truth. But he had made up his mind in obedience to the dictates of his own conscience, and thus he begged him, the Bishop, to do likewise. As to the fourth point, which accused him of having compared the statute to a two-edged sword, contending, at the same time, that as Bishop Fisher had made use of a similar expression, it was clear they had colluded together, he could only answer for himself, that his comparison had been a conditional one, as he had merely alleged, that if there was danger on both sides, as well in assenting to or dissenting from the law, it might well be compared to a two-edged sword, and he had only complained of the hardship of its being used against him. What the Bishop had said he did not know, and any similarity of expression could only prove the similarity of their situation. He concluded with solemnly asserting, that he had never, at any time, or to any body, spoken a word against the statute, though his Majesty might have been told to the contrary.

Mr. Rich now offered his evidence, that Sir Thomas had expressly, in the conversation had with him in the Tower, denied the supremacy of the King, and was sworn accordingly. Quite astonished at such audacity, Sir Thomas thus addressed the court:

'If, my Lords, I were a man who disregarded an oath, I would not now be obliged here to appear before you as a prisoner; and if that oath, which you, Mr. Rich, have just now sworn, be true, I pray to God he may never let me see his face; what I should certainly not say if it was otherwise, though I could gain the whole world by it.'

Upon

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Upon this, having related the whole matter according to the truth, he turned to Rich; 'and, indeed, Mr. Rich,' he said, 'I am more concerned for your perjury than for my own situation. You may know, that neither I myself, nor, to my knowledge, any one else, thinks so well of your integrity, that any man of common prudence may confide to you matters of such importance. You know that since a long time, and indeed from your first youth till the present hour, I am acquainted with your conduct and behaviour, as we have long dwelt in the same parish; and you must own that you were always thought to be a man of a light tongue, a great gamester, and of no very good repute, either there, or at your lodgings in the Temple. Can your lordships, therefore, think it probable that I should in so important a matter have acted thus inconsiderately, to confide myself to Mr. Rich, a man of whose veracity and honour I think so very lightly as your lordships have heard just now? That I should have disclosed to this Mr. Rich alone my secret thoughts about the supremacy, while I declined to do so to his Majesty himself and the Royal Councillors? I leave it to the judgment of your lordships whether this evidence may find any credit.'

The intention of supporting the evidence of Mr. Rich by that of Sir Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer was likewise frustrated, as these declared they had been too much occupied with the packing of the books to attend to the conversation of Mr. Rich with the prisoner. Notwithstanding this, Sir Thomas More was found guilty. The Chancellor, however, before proceeding to sentence, thought fit to consult the Chief Justice, who, with a salvo to his own conscience, replied: Gentlemen, all, by St. Gilian, I must needs confess, if the statute is not illegal, then the indictment and condemnation are well founded in law. Upon which the Lord Chancellor pronounced the following sentence: that Sir Thomas More should, by William Kingston the Sheriff, be led back by land to the Tower, from thence be drawn on a sledge through the city of London to Tyburn, there be hanged till he was half dead, then be taken off alive, his pudenda cut off, his belly ripped open, his bowels burnt, his four quarters be fixed on the gates of the city, and his head on London Bridge.

After this sentence was pronounced upon him, More, with a fearless and composed countenance, replied, 'Well, I am now condemned; whether justly or not, God knows. And now, to relieve my conscience, I shall tell freely what I think about that law: when I perceived the intention of the King to enquire whence the power of the Pope was derived, I confess to have

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laboured for seven years in order to come at the truth; and in not one single book of learned men, and approved by the church, have I been able to find that a lay person was, or could be, the head of the Church.' Again the judges offered him a favourable hearing, if he had something else to say in his defence; but he gently replied, 'I have nothing to add. Only this! Whereas St. Paul the Apostle, as the Acts tell us, was present at, and had voted for, the death of the first martyr, Stephen, guarding the clothes of those who stoned him to death, and they yet are both now as saints in heaven, and are friends in all eternity, so I trust, and will heartily pray, that, though your lordships were my judges on earth, we yet may meet joyfully in heaven for an eternal happiness. God keep you, and, before all, the King my master, and grant him faithful councillors.'

When More was led out of the court, the first with whom he met was his son, who threw himself at his feet and asked his blessing. But the bitterest pang was yet to come. At the Tower his daughter Margaret awaited his arrival. When she saw him she pierced the multitude and the armed guards, flew into the arms of her father, and covered him with kisses. '*Oh*, my father!' were the only words she was able to utter. Collecting all his firmness, Sir Thomas gently raised her, gave her his blessing, and tried to comfort her. 'What I have to suffer, my dear child,' he said, 'even if innocently, is by the will of God. He knows my heart. Submit, therefore, to his will, and bear my loss with patience.' She then went from him, but having walked a few paces, again returned, and embraced and kissed him. More spoke not a word; but while he endeavoured to look composed, the tears rolled down his cheeks. John, too, came to receive the last blessing of his father. At last Margaret departed with a broken heart. The whole crowd, and even the guards, were melted at the sight, and wept.

Thus More had overcome the severest task, and he now prepared for his approaching end—if, indeed, we can say so of a man whose whole life consisted in nothing else. On the 5th of July, the fourth day after his condemnation, he, with a coal, wrote the last letter to his daughter. It is as follows:—

'Oure Lorde blesse you, good daughter, and youre good husbande, and youre lyttle boye, and all yours, and all my chyldren, and all my godde-chyldren, and all oure frendes. Recommende me, whan you maye, to my good daughter Cicily, whom I beseche oure Lorde to cumforte. And I sende her my blessing, and to all her chyldren, and praye her to praye for me. I sende her an handkercher; and God cumforte my good sonne her husbande. My good daughter *Daunce* hathe his picture in parchemente, that you delivered me from my

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my ladye *Coniers*, her name is on the backe side. Shewe her that I hartelye praye her, that you maye sende it in my name to her agayne, for a token from me to praye for me. I lyke spesiall well *Dorothy Coly;* I praye you be good unto her. I woulde wytte whether this be she that you wrote me of. If not, yet I praye you be good to the tother, as you maye, in her affliccion, and to my good daughter Joone Aleyn too. Geve her, I praye you, some kynde aunswere, for she sued hither to me this day to praye you be good to her. I comber you, good Margaret, much, but I woulde be sory if it shoulde be any longer than tomorrow. For it is St. Thomas even, and the utas of St. Peter; and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God; it were a day very mete and convenient for me. I never liked youre manner toward me better, than whan you kissed me laste; for I love when daughterly love and deere charitye hath no leysure to loke to worldlye curtesy. Farewell, my deere chylde, and praye for me, and I shall for you and all youre frendes, that we maye merelye mete in heaven. I thanke you for youre grete cost. I sende now my good daughter Clement her algorisme stone, and I sende her and my godde-sonne, and all her's, Goddes blessing and myne. I praye you, at time convenient, recommende me to my good sonne John More. I liked wel his naturall fashion. Oure Lorde blesse hym and hys good wyfe, my loving daughter, to whom I praye hym to be good, as he hathe great cause: and that if the lande of myne come to hys hande, he breake not my wyll concernynge hys sister Daunce. And our Lorde blesse Thomas and Austen, and all that they shall have.'

There were, however, still some persons who endeavoured to make Sir Thomas comply with the wishes of the King. Tired with their importunities, he mentioned before one of these creatures he had changed his mind. The courtier, full of joy to have succeeded in what neither the King nor the council could bring about, hastened to court with the news; but was ordered immediately to return to the Tower, in order to know *in what* Sir Thomas had changed his mind. 'At first,' was the answer, 'I had thought of shaving my beard before going to my execution, but I am now resolved that my beard shall share the fate of my head.' When he was told the King, from special grace, had altered the dreadful punishment of high treason into that of decapitation, he replied, 'God preserve all mine from such special grace!'

Early on the morning of the 6th July, Sir Thomas Pope, an intimate friend of More's, came to announce to him that he was to be executed on that day, that he might prepare for his end. 'I thank you heartily,' said More, 'for your good tidings. I was always obliged to his Majesty for the favours and places of honour he bestowed upon me. Now, believe me, I am still more obliged to him for having sent me here, where I had suf-

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ficient leisure and occasion to prepare myself for my last end; and, by God, for nothing do I owe him more thanks than for having so speedily delivered me of the troubles of this world.' His friend still told him, that it was the royal will he should abstain from all harangue to the people before his execution. 'It is well you inform me of this,' answered Sir Thomas, 'for I had purposed to speak some words on the occasion, though nothing that might offend his Majesty or any body else. But I shall willingly obey the commands of my master, and I only beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to obtain from his Majesty that my daughter Margaret may assist at my burial.' 'The King,' replied Pope, 'is content that your wife and children, and your other friends, be at liberty to assist at it.' 'Oh, how much am I obliged to his Majesty for taking my poor burial in his gracious consideration!' He then, with many tears, took leave of Sir Thomas Pope: 'Be comforted,' he said, 'I trust to God we shall once meet again;' and in order to cheer his friend by his own example, he composedly observed, 'Indeed, I do not perceive any dangerous symptoms: our patient could have lived still many a day, if such had been the pleasure of the King.'

At nine in the morning he was led from the Tower. His beard was long, his face pale and emaciated, his eyes often turned to heaven; in his hands he bore a red crucifix. When he passed the house of some pious woman, she came to offer him a cup of wine; but he refused it with the words, 'Christ drank not wine, but vinegar and gall.' Another woman pursued him, asking for the papers she had left in his hands as Lord Chancellor; 'Good woman,' More told her, 'have but patience for one hour, and you shall see how the King will deliver me from the care of your papers as of all other things.' By a third woman he was even reproached for having wronged her by his judgment as Chancellor; 'I remember your cause very well,' he said, 'but if I had still to decide it, I should not judge otherwise.'

Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, he turned to one of the sheriff's officers, begging his assistance in ascending it, adding, 'For my descent I shall take care myself.' As he was forbidden to harangue the people, he desired them to pray for him, declaring he died a faithful subject to the King, in the true Catholic faith. Upon this he knelt down, and prayed with great fervency. Having finished his devotion, he cheerfully rose, and, embracing the executioner, who had begged his pardon, he said, 'Thou wilt to-day do me the greatest service that is in the power of man. Have courage, and do not fail to perform

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perform thy office; my neck is very short, therefore take care how thou strikest, that thou acquit thyself honourably.'

When the executioner was about to muffle his head, 'that will I do myself,' he said, and tied the neckcloth round his eyes. Laying his head upon the block, he desired the executioner to stay one moment till he had put aside his beard, as that had committed no treason — and with one stroke the head was severed from the body.

ART. VI.—*Las Comedias de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.* Por Juan Jorge Keil. Tomos primero y secundo. Leipsique, 1827, 1828.

THE drama of Spain, arising out of the same state of society and manners as her poetry, presents to us the same characteristic features of Gothic chivalry and Arabian romance; is modified by the same circumstances of international intercourse; and, like the latter, is also marked by two distinct periods—the first an age of barbarous grandeur, and the second the perfection of the romantic style, when Lope de Vega and Calderon embellished it with all the grace and sublimity of which it was susceptible;—in its infancy nurtured by the people, and in its maturity and decline the favourite of kings and courts. Rejecting the conventional rules of the Greek and Latin stages, on which Ferreira in Portugal, and Trissino and Ruccelai in Italy, had framed their works; those officers, who, during the Italian wars of Charles the Fifth, witnessed, at the Court of Ferrara, and elsewhere, the comedies of Ariosto and Macchiavelli, perhaps possessing, like our own great dramatist, but small Latin and less Greek, desired to have something of their own resembling those compositions, without dreaming of the study or imitation of the ancients. Hence their drama acquired a noble and chivalrous character, which, if not formed in obedience to the laws of literary jurisconsults, at least preserves a more independent and original spirit. Hence, too, the contrast between the tameness of the Italian and the native genius of the Spaniard,—the eternal mythology of the Greeks, and the more interesting materials drawn from the history and feelings of Christian ages.

On perusing their works, we are struck with the want of some piece of commanding merit, to which we might at once refer, as displaying the genius of the Spanish people, and which might stand a comparison with the masterpieces of other nations. No celebrated tragedy, (for it is by tragedies more than by comedies

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dies that the drama of any nation is appreciated,) developing those universal passions which make the whole world akin. As it is evident that many of their early poets had the requisite powers, a spirit of intense nationality, and lived in an age when the imagination predominated over rules, it is only to be accounted for on the supposition that their powers were dissipated by their great fertility. It would seem as if they never thought of acquiring a lasting reputation or superiority over their rivals by one grand effort of thought, but rather by a multiplicity of loose works, which reduce their merit merely to that of ingenious novel-writers. This, however, might also depend upon what was then considered by the public as the scope and tendency of the stage. Their plays were too often the labour but of a few days, sometimes even of a few hours; and, seduced by the advantage of a language in which almost every person could versify, and the prospect of speedy remuneration, it was not surprising that they should have preferred the fleeting breath of popular applause to the criticism of their more learned contemporaries, or the judgment of posterity. It was not until a national style of comedy had become firmly established, that Calderon, Moreto, Solis, and others, turned their *genius* to the composition of plays of more purity, more invention, and exhibiting more correct copies of manners. Among that variety there will be found much invention, noble and refined sentiments, characters marked with force and sustained with dignity, happy situations, well-managed surprises, and a rapid succession of incidents, that never permits the attention of the spectator to languish for a moment. Such are the beauties which the comedies of those illustrious poets offer to us, from whose spoils the *Cid, Geolier de Soi-même, Le Menteur,* and so many other works, were brought from the heart of Castile to shine on the French boards; and from whom Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Dryden, in England, extracted so much of what is excellent in their dramatic works. The last age includes the termination of the Austrian and the commencement of the French rule, the period of the greatest degradation of Spain in politics, and of her greatest abasement in literature. That flame of imagination which, during a century, had given her so many poets, was now extinct, and those who came after no longer possessed the same enthusiasm or brilliancy. Then sprung up a crowd of parasites, similar to the opera-writers and court-flatterers of Louis XIV., and the ignoble race of our own second Charles, of whose name or works the world has no renown. As their poets, debarred from the more noble subjects of the muse, and contrasting the beauty of external nature in a smiling,

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smiling, glowing land, with the moral deformity of man, found a vent to their feelings by ranging in the Armida gardens of romance, and by clothing the pastoral life with the charms of an ideal Arcadia, (even as Guido traced an angel-beauty from the coarse features of a rustic,)—or were obliged to content themselves with singing, in long obscure canzonis, the incomparable beauty of their mistresses, and their own intolerable martyrdom; in like manner, their dramatists were reduced by a similar necessity to recur to an ideal world, and to the hurry and excitement of romantic, though unnatural, incidents—and this was all that was demanded of them by their hearers. Since the discovery of America, luxury and effeminacy had made rapid progress, and the ancient virtues had disappeared; the age of chivalry was gone; a customary indulgence in gratifications had rendered the taste more lively, the imagination more craving; and an impassioned people, living under an ardent sky, desired to have pleasure at will, wherever they had nothing to dread from the king or the grand inquisitor. It was in this disposition the Spaniards now visited their theatres; and the most ingenious and captivating works could not satisfy their taste, if they did not intoxicate their imagination by a succession of brilliant and varied scenes, and offer to their minds a strong excitement, without disturbing them with the recollection of any sort of principle or method—any rule or law. On that stage, every regularity seemed tiresome, even that of beauty itself.

As no history which we could presume to give of the national drama could equal, either in interest or authority, the description presented by Cervantes, in the preface to his Comedies, we shall make no apology for laying the words of it before our readers.

'Gentle reader,' says he, 'you must pardon me, if, in this prologue, you see me depart a little from my usual modesty. Some time ago, I happened to be in a society of my friends, where they treated of comedies, and things relating to them. This subject was discussed with so much subtlety and learning, that it seemed to me they arrived at perfection. They spoke also of him who, first of all in Spain, drew Comedy from her swaddling-clothes, and dressed her in pomp and magnificence. As the eldest of the company, I said that I remembered hearing the great Lope de Rueda, a man equally famous for his acting and intelligence. He was born at Seville, and by trade a gold-beater. He was admirable in pastoral poetry, in which style no one surpassed him, either before or since. Although I could not then judge of the goodness of his verses, being a child, there still abide some of them in my memory, which, on reviewing in this my ripe age, I find not unworthy of their reputation. In the time of this celebrated Spaniard, all the furniture of a comedian was held in one sack, and consisted of four white shepherd's

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herd's pelisses, garnished with gilt copper; four beards, and false heads of hair; and four crooks, more or less. The comedies were only conversations, like eclogues, between two or three swains and shepherdesses, embellished and prolonged by two or three intermedes, with negroes, clowns, and Biscayans. This same Lope made these four parts with all the excellence and truth imaginable. In those days there were no wings to the stage, no combats of Moors and Christians on foot and horseback, no figures which arose, or seemed to arise, from the centre of the earth, by means of the trap-door of the stage; and that was formed by a few benches and planks, which raised it about four palms above the ground. One did not then see, descending from the heavens, angels, or souls borne upon clouds. All the ornament of the theatre was an old rug, sustained by cords from one side to the other, which separated the tiring-room from the scene. Behind it were placed the musicians, who sung, without guitar, some old romance or so. Lope de Rueda died, and, on account of his celebrity and excellence, was interred between the two choirs, in the great church of Cordova, in the same spot where that famous clown, Luis Lope, lies buried. Naharro, a native of Toledo, succeeded him, and made himself celebrated above all others for the character of a foolish, cowardly intermeddler. He increased the decorations of the comedies, and changed the sack for the dresses into coffers and chests, and brought on the scene, the music, which, prior to that time, sung behind the curtain, and also deprived the farce-players of their beards; for, till his day, no one acted without them. He wished that all should show themselves with uncovered batteries, except those who were to play the parts of old men, or to change their visages. Naharro invented scenes, clouds, thunder, lightning, challenges, and battles; but nothing of all this was carried to the perfection which we see now-a-days, (and it is here that I may be permitted to depart from the limits of my modesty,) at a time when we see acted on the theatres of Madrid, 'The Captives of Algiers,' which I composed, the 'Numantia,' and the 'Naval Battle.' It is there that I ventured to reduce comedies of five acts, of which they had formerly consisted, into four. I was the first who represented the imaginations and secret workings of the soul, and brought forth images of morality on the stage, with the universal applause of spectators. In that time I composed from twenty to thirty comedies, which were all acted without the public throwing at the actors cucumbers or oranges, or any of those things which the spectators launch at the heads of bad comedians. They followed their career without hisses, confusion, or clamour. I began to occupy myself with other affairs, abandoned the pen and the stage, and thereupon appeared that prodigy of nature, Lope de Vega, who bore away the comic diadem. He subjected and reduced to his dominion all the farce writers, filled the world with comedies, agreeable, happily arranged, and in so great profusion, that those which he has written are not contained in ten thousand leaves, and, wonderful to tell, he has seen them all acted, or at least has been assured that they were. If all those writers who wished to share his glory were to unite their works together, they

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they would not have written the half of what he has composed alone. Notwithstanding this, as God does not accord all things to all men, one cannot cease to esteem the works of Doctor Ramon, who was the greatest labourer after the great Lope; the ingenious intrigues of the Licentiate Michael Sanchez; the gravity of the Doctor Mira de Amescua, who does so much honour to our country; the sagacity and prodigious invention of the Canon Tarraga; the sweetness of Guillen de Castro; the finesse of Aguilar; the noise, pageantry, and grandeur of the comedies of Louis de Guevara; the subtle wit of Antonio de Galarza, whose pieces are written in provincial jargon; and, finally, the lovecheats of Gaspar de Avila—for all these, and some others, have assisted the great Lope in the creation of his theatre.'

The Spaniards have freed themselves from the law of the unities, which the French follow on their theatre. The latter require, that a piece, whether comic or tragic, should exhibit one principal action alone, and that this action should take place within the term of twenty-four hours, and in one place, or, as their great critic has expressed it,

> 'Qu'en un lieu, qu'en un jour, un seul fait accompli,
> Tienne jusqu'à la fin, le théâtre rempli.'

This rule has appeared to the former too circumscribed, and they have accordingly opened a more extensive field in their works, where a single play often contains the whole life of a man; the scene in the first act being in France, in the second in Italy, and the third on the coast of Africa. The neglect of the unities is not the only point in which they differ. The French prefer plays of character, and the Spaniards despise them; the former, subjects that are simple and little charged with incidents—at Madrid it was quite the reverse. To omit nothing which can assist in giving a complete idea of the Spanish theatre, we add, that princes and nobles, buffoons and priests, angels and demons, virtues and vices, in short, all real and imaginary beings figure there, and are sometimes assembled in the same piece. The word 'comedy,' in the language of that theatre, means something far different from that which was called comedy among the Greek and Romans, and in the greatest part of modern Europe. It is a generic name, under which is comprehended various kinds of dramatic compositions, which, though in reality neither tragedies nor comedies, are, nevertheless, conceived and executed in the same spirit. The principle of modern and ancient comedy is satire; that of the Spanish is quite different. We must seek this principle, says Bouterwek, in compositions, where an imagination, daring and irregular, has blended truth with interesting fiction, without dreaming

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dreaming of separating the sad from the gay scenes—the grief from the laughter. In a word, the Spanish comedy, in its '*fond*,' is a dramatic novel; and in the same way as there are tragical and lively novels, historical novels, and novels altogether of imagination, so, in the Spanish comedy, there are as many directions given to the dramatic interest. In these plays, as in romances, princes and potentates are not more out of place than grooms or fops, and, if the plot demands it, nothing prevents these different personages from figuring in it at the same time. Satire, in this species of comedy, is only an accessory, which the poet may either introduce or exclude as he pleases—delineation of character is not more essential with him; and the strangest mingling of scenes—burlesque and touching, mean and pathetic—is not at all at variance with the spirit of his piece: for, provided it interests, it matters little of what nature is the excitement; the only object is to amuse; but it amuses in another manner than the comedy, which has for its end the satire of vices and follies. In the comedies of the sword and cloak, (so called, because the characters were drawn from the fashionable world, as it was then constituted, and dressed in the costume of the times,) the most licentious gallantries, coloured by a slight decency, feebly upheld by honour, never by ideas of morality, are their essence. If the poet paints lively passions, these are precipitated towards their conclusion with a vehemence truly Spanish. If he paints them soft and sentimental, they are insufferable in tirades full of languor, and a play upon words full of affectation. 'L'amour excuse tout,' was then the favourite maxim of the better ranks of society, and the characters of Lope de Vega, both men and women, behave in conformity with this rule. Treacheries, and the most scandalous devices, abound in these plays on the slightest occasion; men of condition draw their swords, and even murders are regarded but as episodical events. The plays of Lope are not more removed from the perfection of the romantic than of the classic style, and it could not be otherwise from the unexampled celerity with which he wrote; but by traits of a superior talent, as well as by his wonderful fecundity, he impressed a new character on his theatre. His works are all unfinished, but almost always display some spark of genius, and, at times, sentiments singularly noble and chivalrous. In the 'Discreta Venganza,' a fine scene occurs between the hero of the play and his enemies, who have prevailed on the king to sign an order for his arrest, which may serve as an example of his best passages. The discourse of Don Juan is full of dignity and discretion.

'JUAN.

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JUAN. I yield obedience to the royal mandate,
Nor do I grieve to lose my sovereign's favour;
For of mine innocence I rest assured.
Like Joseph, crown'd with honour from this prison
Shall I come forth;—*but* that I cannot tell thee,
Noble Ramiro!—words which I did meditate—
You understand me?

RAMIRO. All things terminate;
And this captivity will have an end.
Then, should'st thou seek an answer, thou wilt ever
At thy disposal find me.

JUAN. I accept
That word, and make it now my consolation.

VASCO. This is no time to treat of a defiance,
When thou perforce must render up thy sword;—
Nor is it, methinks, bath'd in the African blood
So deeply, as to cause fear or remorse
In breasts of cavaliers such as Ramiro.

JUAN. Vasco d' Acuña! I do ne'er lose heart
At fortune's crosses and adversities:
But much I marvel, that I see you three
Building ambitious hopes upon my fall,
Because you have discovered that your king
Is but a mortal, and may be deceived.
Albeit ye saw with envy my advancement,
This sword I give you. Well ye know it all:
In Coymbra and the Algarves hath it served,
If not in Africa.—But wherefore weary me
In yielding satisfaction to your rage!
Take it;—and be ye certain, for this wrong
Dearly ye shall account.

NUNO. Were't not the bonds,
Thou would'st not speak so proudly.

JUAN. Nuño, friend!
Less rigour!

RAMIRO. Guards advance!

JUAN. Tello!

TELLO. Señor!

JUAN. Mark what hath passed!'

Even the traitors of the Spanish stage are never the cowards of the Italian. The character of Nuño's sarcasm will be remarked in reproaching Juan with taking advantage—not that he is the stronger but the weaker party. It could only be placed in the mouth of a man extremely sensitive as to his honour. And yet the 'Discreet Vengeance' is effected by the same dishonourable means as the injury: Juan causes some false letters to fall into the king's hands, by means of which his

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his enemies appear guilty of the crimes which they had laid to his charge!

But to give a more perfect acquaintance with his writings, we shall adopt the method usually followed, of extracting from his inexhaustible store the plot of one of his pieces, composed from the same story as Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. It begins as follows:—

Romeo and Anselmo, two young cavaliers of the faction of the Montagues, appear in a street of Verona, before the palace of Antonio, chief of the Capulets, discoursing of a feast which is going on within. There is a ball and concert, and the sounds of the violins are heard. Romeo manifests a strong desire to enter, but his friend dissuades him from it, remonstrating on the temerity of such an action. 'You are not ignorant,' adds he, 'that an implacable hatred separates for ever the Montagues and Capulets,—an hereditary hatred, which we feel in our cradles, and is envenomed more and more by age; and a hundred times our mutual discords have bathed in blood the plains of Verona. What project do you meditate? How will you excuse yourself to your father, for having entered a house which he abhors? Besides, you run to throw yourself into the hands of your most cruel enemies, whom you have reason to fear will deprive you of life.' 'My dear Anselmo,' replies Romeo, 'deign for once to lose sight of your prudence, and grant me this mark of friendship. I feel a supernatural transport urging me to enter the house of Antonio. Doubtless this ball will have assembled all the principal dames of their party, and we shall behold and admire them. I augur to myself some good from it; for it seems heaven has taken the pains to divide her gifts between their faction and ours. The Montagues have ever produced men of incomparable valour; and among the Capulets we have always seen dames of such ravishing beauty, that Nature seems to have stolen their die from the seraphs. O, that love would come and end our quarrels! how happy would Verona be!—the most flourishing cities in the world would have cause to envy her!' Anselmo, after much reluctance, yields to his caprice; and being now resolved, they mask themselves for their greater safety, and enter. The scene changes. It is now a spacious and magnificent garden, where there is seen a number of dames and cavaliers, variously dispersed. A band of musicians appear in the back ground, and from time to time sound a few chords on their instruments. In a word, it is the picture of a grand 'bal champêtre;' and this ball is in the house of Antonio. While a few masks amuse themselves with dancing, Octavio, the son of Teobaldo, pays his respects to Julia, the daughter

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daughter of Antonio. These two old men, who are heads of the Capulets, advance on the stage, and display their joy at seeing their children so pleased with each other, as they intend to unite them in marriage. But affairs do not proceed altogether as they wish. Octavio loves Julia; but she is content with answering his protestations with cool politeness. Anselmo and Romeo enter, and mix with the company. The extreme beauty of Julia strikes the attention of the latter, who regards her with looks of admiration: he is troubled; and, no longer aware of his actions, takes off his mask. Antonio instantly recognises him, but is persuaded by Teobaldo to conceal his anger. During their dialogue, Julia and Romeo eye each other tenderly. The lady says, in admiring the cavalier, 'If ever Love descended among men, he assumed the air and countenance of this unknown. What trouble invades my spirits? Ah! it is Love himself, who comes to drive peace from my heart!' On the other part, Romeo exclaims, 'Wherefore am I of the blood of Montague? Would it have cost heaven more to have made me a Capulet?'

Imperceptibly, the confusion which reigns in the assembly allows him to join the lady, and make his declaration. While she listens without anger, Octavio interrupts their conversation. Julia slips a ring into her lover's hand, and grants him a meeting in the garden for the following night. As the day draws to a close, the company separate. All the actors depart, and there remain only Julia and her maid, Celia, on the stage.

'Julia. But how did he venture to enter this house?

Celia. Truly, madam, with great risk.

Julia. Ah, Romeo, Romeo! what was thy design? why show thyself in such a dangerous place? My father will think you came to brave him. I tremble for thy life. Oh, heavens, how I love thee!

Celia. How, Señora! guard your heart better. Consider, the consequences of such an attachment could only be unfortunate for you.

Julia. But how to disengage me! Must I pass in his mind for one without faith or honour?

Celia. Such consideration to a stranger is useless.

Julia. But I have given him a ring.

Celia. An innocent gallantry, which might escape in a day of joy.

Julia. But—

Celia. How, another but, madam?

Julia. Celia, do not vex me; he will come to speak this night in the garden: I have promised to meet him.

Celia. Do not go—his pride will be offended, and you will see him no more. 'Tis the only way to cure your wound speedily.

Julia. You are right. Now that I know I ought to avoid him, I feel

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I feel that a second interview would only wound my honour, and deprive me of the little tranquillity left. To-morrow thou shalt seek him, and tell him from me, that the blood whence he is sprung places insurmountable barriers between us, and that I beseech him not to approach our mansion.

CELIA. I will obey; for, frankly, I was in pain to see you take such pleasure in his conversation.

JULIA. Why, then, did you not tell me that he was the son of Frabicio?

CELIA. His servant seated himself near me, and I had some inclination to listen to him.

JULIA. The servant of Romeo?

CELIA. Yes, Señora; and I swear to you, if the master *has* attractions, the servant does not want for merit also.

JULIA. Endeavour, by means of this man, to know if Romeo loves any other lady in this city.

CELIA. What can it matter to you?—you have resolved to banish him from your thoughts.

JULIA. I had forgotten. But, after all, what harm can it do to inquire if he has paid his homage elsewhere?

CELIA. Why give yourself the trouble, since he is not for you? Permit him to love whom he pleases.

JULIA. Leave me! thou tormentest me. If I wish him not to love any other one, is it for you to oppose it?

CELIA. That were most unjust, truly.

JULIA. Still impertinent.

CELIA. (*Aside.*) She grows angry.—Madam, will you please to enter?

JULIA. No!

CELIA. But what do you here?

JULIA. Nothing.

CELIA. O that Romeo might become—

JULIA. What?

CELIA. Your spouse.

JULIA. Do not you see it is a thing impossible?

CELIA. Love hath done greater miracles.

JULIA. You jest, Celia; and yet, in deceiving, you please me. When once we give way to our tenderness, the true way not to irritate us, is to speak according to our fancy.'

At night, Romeo scales the walls of Antonio's garden, and persuades her to a secret marriage. Their happiness is interrupted by the death of Julia's cousin, Octavio, in a brawl: he falls by the hand of Romeo, who is banished, in consequence, by the Duke, and departs, after a tender scene with his lady, to his exile. During his absence, Antonio presses his daughter to accept the hand of the Count Paris, to whom he dispatches an esquire, with a letter, announcing his intention. The messenger finds

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finds the Count with Romeo in the outskirts of the city, where the latter had been saved by the former from an ambuscade of the Capulets, into which he had fallen. After reading the letter, Paris hands it to his companion, upon whom it makes a violent impression, as he imagines he has been already forgotten by Julia. The Count takes the road to Verona, after protesting that he will always be his friend, notwithstanding the alliance he is about to contract with the Capulets. In the scene which follows, Romeo abandons himself to all that grief and despair can suggest, in a speech which would not be misplaced in the mouth of Orlando the Furious; and at length bends his steps towards Ferrara, with the design of finding a new mistress, to console him for the infidelity of Antonio's daughter.

In the last act, the unhappy Julia, no longer able to withstand the commands of her father, to avoid the hated marriage, swallows poison.

The scene changes, and discovers a scene in Ferrara, where two cavaliers, named Rutilio and Fernando, are giving a serenade to a dame of that city, called Sylvia, who appears but once in the play, and that only at the window. The personages of this scene are quite episodical, and are bound by no interest to the Montagues and Capulets. Lope de Vega has merely introduced them for the purpose of giving his hero an opportunity of seeking his revenge. The morning begins to break, Romeo draws near, and the two cavaliers and their musicians retire, for no other reason than because the poet ordains it. The young Montague pays a few compliments to Sylvia, but in a tone and manner which betray how absent are his thoughts from the object of his flattery. He is interrupted by the sudden arrival of his friend Anselmo, who narrates the tale of Julia's death, together with a secret which he had obtained from the priest who married the lovers, and who had provided the poison. This secret has the effect of making Romeo depart immediately to Verona, and the scene again takes a new form. It is now the cemetery of the Capulets, where nothing is seen but funereal objects, the frightful sight of which would occasion disgust in a comedy. Julia, whose senses a potent opiate had steeped in forgetfulness, at last awakes; her astonishment and love inspire her with a soliloquy, sufficiently lengthy indeed, but not without beauty. Romeo and his servant draw near. The buffoonery of the latter sheds an air of the comic over the scene, under which all the horror disappears. The union of the former with his spouse is accompanied by the most tender marks of love and joy, and they depart in happiness from Verona, to the country-house of Julia's father, where they resolve to abide in concealment

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concealment until they can escape with safety. But fortune decides otherwise. Antonio, along with Dorothea, the daughter of Teobaldo, whom he has resolved to marry since the supposed death of Julia, arrive with many great seniors at the villa, for the purpose of celebrating their espousals; and, after a strange scene, in which Julia, in the character of a ghost, rates her father through the key-hole for his barbarity, the whole is discovered and pardoned. The Count Paris, who is present, prides himself on his magnanimity, in giving up his rights to Julia.

There is a great deal of interest in this piece; but the number of superfluous scenes, and the extreme *length of* the action weaken it considerably. The sentiments of Julia are noble, tender, and delicate. Her clandestine marriage with Romeo is a weakness; but it is this weakness which renders the action more theatrical. The Stagyrite demands, in the dramatic personages, a mediocre virtue, that is, a virtue which, though brilliant, yet pays some tribute to the passions; and the greatest masters of the art have approved of his taste. Another thing to be admired in her character is, that she never enlarges into declamations or maxims accumulated one on another. Whatever she says is the effusion of her heart. Sometimes a maxim is expressed, but it never has the 'air de sermon,' being always disguised under the expression of sentiment. Corneille, Racine, and Shakespeare knew well the secret of suppressing them in the mouths of their characters, and causing them to arise in the minds of the spectators by means of the sentiment and situation: a delicacy which is often the source of the true sublime. Romeo is a young lover full of fire and courage; but his character is lessened by the suspicions which he so lightly assumes against his spouse. And it was unnecessary, since the course of the Italian novel is changed, to make him kill Octavio. To facilitate peace between the two factions, there was no need of sowing the seeds of implacable hatred.

Of Gaspar d'Avila and Mira d'Amescua, the contemporaries of Lope, we remember two plays, the 'Fenix of Salamanca,' and 'El Dicha por malos medios,' which, 'upon reviewing in this our ripe age, we find not unworthy of their reputation;' but, as they possess nothing which differs so much from the works of their superior as to make them worthy of notice, and as the tragedy of Numancia, by the Æschylus of Spain, is a splendid anomaly on their stage, we therefore hasten to notice the prince of Castilian poets, who, in his turn, deprived Lope de Vega of that diadem which the voice of fashion had adjudged to him in preference to his greater rival, Cervantes.

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The lives of the eminent Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bear a great resemblance to each other. The pursuits of war and literature commonly went hand in hand, and many of them, after being warriors in youth, when tired of the despotism and insecurity of camps, sought the means of enjoying retired leisure in the bosom of the church. Mendoza, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and a long list of famous men, were all of that renowned race of adventurers, now taking up the sword and now the pen, which Spain, in the days of her greatness, produced from the ranks of her noble hidalgos. The flame of genius which, in other people, is fed by slow and inward cultivation, was, in their case, fanned into a sudden blaze by habit and education; and, above all, by a period of national glory and supremacy, which urged them on to surpass in literature, the world which they had so nearly conquered in arms. Their enthusiasm was something more than that 'violet, in the primy youth of nature,' which is by many mistaken for genius. It continued unabated through the ordeal of adversity; and after having fought and wandered over the globe,

'Buscando a vida algun remedio o cura,'

they finally retired to an old age of reflection, convinced of the vanity of greatness and of the illusion of heroism. To that extensive roll must also be added the name of a dramatist, who described with inexhaustible fertility and unrivalled ingenuity and eloquence, the living manners of his time, to whom was reserved the honour of eclipsing the phœnix of his age, and who, after keeping possession of the stage during the reign of three monarchs, left behind him, at his death, the reputation of having brought the Spanish drama to its greatest perfection. To form a great dramatist, it would seem almost essential, that his life should be varied by reverses, or, at least, by striking incidents, that he might be enabled to describe the varieties of mankind with the truth and feeling of one who had experienced the reality. Though born an age later than those great men whose genius he inherited, he, too, had undergone a youth of adventure; but when, by a happier fate, removed to a more befitting rank, he then stept forth upon the world with the dignity of a mind, to which romantic honour and delicacy were intuitive feelings, and which in the communion of the noble and high-minded, had only attained its natural sphere. The meagre sketch of this poet's life, attached to the present edition of his works, is such a perfect specimen of Gongorism, or the 'style ornate,' as to be nearly unintelligible, and, as the principal events alone are noticed, it affords little to satisfy the curiosity. In all probability, his life, after his removal to court and entry

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into holy orders, pursued the 'noiseless tenor of its way,' unvaried by any more remarkable event, than the production of each 'famosa comedia,' or an additional mark of his king's esteem, in the shape of a title or a pension. Such as it is, we have gathered the following particulars:—

Pedro Calderon de la Barca was born of a noble family at Madrid, in the first year of the seventeenth century. Having finished his studies at the University of Salamanca, he attached himself in his nineteenth year to some patrons at court. Little satisfied, however, with the world, in the outset of life, he enlisted as a common soldier, and made some campaigns in Italy and the Low Countries. This new kind of life did not hinder him from cultivating his talent for dramatic poetry, and his fame, spreading throughout Spain, made the public expect a writer equal, if not superior, to their favourite, Lope de Vega. He is even said to have written for the stage many ingenious comedies at the age of fourteen. Philip the Fourth, who expended more money on the theatre than any of his predecessors, and who even deigned to compose himself, at length discovered the talents of Calderon, and called him to his capital in 1636. From this moment the poet was chained to Madrid, and his young monarch, who knew of no affair more important than amusements, took care to keep him in perpetual activity. No expense was spared to represent, with all imaginable pomp, the plays which he contributed to the amusement of the court; but it was necessary for Calderon, in return, to accommodate his genius to its spirit. In the fifty-second year of his age he devoted himself to the church, without renouncing entirely his preceding occupations; but bestowing the greater portion of his time and studies on the composition of his Autos, or Plays of the Holy Sacrament, in celebration of the mystery of the Eucharist, in which allegorical personages are introduced. Admired by his country, and richly endowed with benefices and honours, he attained the advanced age of eighty-seven; having composed, during the period of his long life, nearly two hundred various dramatic works, a treatise in defence of the stage, another defending the nobility of painting, and sonnets, romances, and songs innumerable. His humility is said to have been 'profound, his speech candid and honourable, his pen never enviously carping at another's fame, but always the most courteous and polite, and his house the open and ready asylum of the unfortunate. In heroic poetry,' concludes his biographer, Villaroel, 'he was lofty and sublime; in moral, learned and sententious; in lyric, eloquent and agreeable; and in the comic, subtle and jocose: smooth and harmonious in his versification, sublime

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sublime and elegant in his elocution, learned and choice in his invention, single and eternal in his fame.'

'Te celebrant alii quanto decet ore tuasque
Ingenio laudes uberiore canunt.'

Passing by the rude state of the Drama previously to the era of Cervantes and Lope, it is from a comparison with the latter, that the merits of Calderon are properly to be estimated. There is no need of great penetration, says Bouterwek, to see at a glance, the essential services which the latter has rendered the Spanish theatre. It is difficult to decide which of the two poets has the greatest merit for invention—for even Lope himself has not created the genius of his plays, and, in combinations of intrigue and interesting situations, Calderon is not less inventive than he. Generally speaking, the conceptions of the former are, perhaps, more hardy—but they are also less refined; and, under the question of art and taste, whether in the plan or execution, or, above all, in the style, it may be said that Calderon has created a new species. At least he gave the Spanish Comedy all the perfection of which it was susceptible, without altering its nature. The delicacy of his taste imprinted on his heroic plays a character of dignity, and on his comedies of intrigue a more perfect design and finish of those general characters which, from the commencement of the Spanish theatre, had possessed the place of particular ones. His plays could not be more comedies of character than those of his master, or they would cease to be comedies of intrigue: but they abound in traits of character which shew the natural springs of the intrigue, which the poet develops. Above all, he has succeeded infinitely better than Lope in the art of making his females act and converse: to this, he unites an almost inconceivable subtlety of combination of plot, and among other merits, that of an easy, lively dialogue, which he shares only with the best dramatic poets of his nation. We have already seen the character of the 'Comedia de Capa y Espada,' as Calderon received it from Lope, and, with these improvements in elegance and purity, he has left it with the same unvaried features. We still perceive the diffuse dialogue, relieved by plots 'ever varying, ever new,' and the poetry which so frequently degenerates into the vein of Ancient Pistol's verse—his lofty and formal heroes speak quite in such phrases, as one would fancy were used by those gallants whom we see painted by the Flemish masters in their pictures, where some feathered Cavalier, with speeches as ornate as his dress is elaborate, pursues, hat in hand, through some splendid Cathedral,

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'Alguna dama tapada,
Que tan ciega y turbada
Huyendo fue'—

And the lady and her maid, muffled up in their long veils, retreat with solemn air and sanctimonious face, seemingly of Madelon's opinion in 'Les Précieuses Ridicules,' that to countenance anything resembling courtship or matrimony, would just be 'pour prendre le Roman par la queue.'

'Que, en la Universidad de enamorados
Dignidades de amor se dan por grados.'

The respectful gallantry of the cavaliers, the pride of the women, the suspicious jealousy of husbands, and the ferocious severity of fathers and brothers on the point of honour, are all painted with such striking fidelity, that it is sufficient to read one or two of these comedies, to be on the most intimate terms of acquaintance with the world which the poet has represented. Their plot is, for the most part, so complicated, that unless the spectator is a Spaniard, and, as such, accustomed to this exercise of the mind, he cannot seize, at the first recital, all the threads so artfully interlaced and twined, that the principal characters are always falling into some embarrassment, unforeseen the previous moment. The great talent of Calderon is, to accumulate surprises, to heap one interesting situation on another, and never to allow the curiosity to lag for a moment, until the conclusion of the piece. But, to facilitate this, he embarrasses himself still less than Lope, to draw his scenes in a natural manner; and his actors come and go, without any other motive than the will of the author. The public did not, however, find fault with improbabilities of this kind, provided the situations he gained by it possessed dramatic truth and novelty. It is particularly by the effect of his situations, that he seems to have valued his plays of intrigue: yet he might have shewn himself more of an inventor, had he placed greater variety in his lists. Their characters are almost always the same, under different names; two or three ladies, as many lovers, an old man, some waiting maids, valets, and, among these a buffoon (gracioso); such are the rolls with which he is commonly content. Their two grand principles of action are, a gallantry, where no moral interest can mingle, and a point of honour, which occasions perpetual quarrels. But, of all the passions which animate them, jealousy is that which enjoys the first place. To put this in action, all manner of means are employed —disguises, mistakes of individuals, of houses, of letters, and sometimes

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sometimes local peculiarities, as in the 'Dama Duende,' where a private door or passage, which appeared to be a cabinet or cupboard, is one of the sources of the plot. Nocturnal scenes are also very common; but, whatever admirable variety of situations the author has had the art to draw from the sources which he uniformly employs, it is not the less impossible, that it does not long suffice with a refined taste, which demands amusements of a nobler sort. Whether these really were the manners of his time, it is impossible to say. He has been reproached with having misrepresented the nation entirely, in shewing it as made up of ridiculous fops, and gay, dissipated women. These attacks are the fruits of an unreflecting zeal for the maxims of the French stage, which can never apply to the Spanish. There is no need of telling critics, that to paint the manners of a particular class of society, is not to paint the whole nation. But this is not the only reproach made against him. He is also accused of having placed in the mouth of his waiting-maids and valets, language too poetical, even for their masters. It is true, that in these days, we would see few Spanish valets capable of expressing themselves as these do; but it must not be forgotten, that it is only on particular occasions. They always imitate the language of their masters, which it is natural for them to do, and most commonly speak in ordinary language, and with simplicity; often, indeed, without preserving that poetic colouring, without which, a dramatic work ceases to be a poem: but, when romantic gallantry speaks the language of love, admiration, or flattery, then, according to the Spanish character, every idea is a metaphor, and Calderon, after the manner of his countrymen, seizes the opportunity to display all his wit and imagination. Besides, the public for whom he composed, found nothing misplaced or unnatural in such things, and he himself, on such occasions, only aimed at being a more elegant Lope de Vega, or a Spanish Marini. Thus, in the comedy which he has entitled, 'Tis lucky if misfortunes come single,' —(Bien vengas mal si vienes solo), an Abigail is made to say, 'That Aurora to-day might very well have rested asleep in her palace of crystal, since the attractions of her young mistress would have sufficed to draw the curtains of the sun's couch:'— she adds, that on seeing her, she may well be excused this Spanish idea,—(el conçepto Español),—'That the sun had arisen in the eyes of Donna Anna.' One must own, as Molière says,

> 'Ce n'est que jeu de mots, qu'affectation pure,
> Et ce n'est point ainsi que parle la nature.'

The valets speak in the same terms on similar occasions; and when

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when the lovers, in their turn, have placed themselves in train to say tender things to their mistresses, and the ladies to reply in like tone, then Spanish gallantry overflows in a torrent of metaphors and antitheses, quite insufferable to one who is not a Spaniard. It must not be forgotten, however, that this style was, in those days, the tone of fashionable society, and that it reigned for ages in the national poetry. In Calderon we often meet, if not fine characters, at least fine traits of character. That delicate honour, which there stands in place of morality, often shews itself in its most beautiful point of view. In one comedy, a lover comes to the assistance of his rival for love of his mistress. 'Where,' says he, 'is the man of honour and courage who, seeing his enemy humbled, would not pity and protect him? Not only generosity obliges me to grant his request, but, moreover, the word I have pledged to his lady to aid and defend him. How then can I refuse my arm to Don Felix, when he has over me the rights of an enemy and a friend also?' It is not uncommon for this poet to derogate from the received rule of never moralizing on the stage; and, when he does, it must be confessed, he moralizes with much dignity. The moral, or application of the piece, is often indicated by its title, and is impressed still more clearly at its termination. The 'Dama Duende,' or Fairy Dame, to which we have alluded, is among the liveliest of the comedies of intrigue, and may be selected as a favourable specimen. The following sketch may convey some notion of its complicated arrangement.

Don Manuel and his servant, Cosme, who is the buffoon of the piece, having just arrived at Madrid, are strolling about the streets, when they are encountered by Donna Angela and her maid, Isabel, both veiled. These two intreat Don Manuel, as he is a man of honour, to detain the cavalier who follows them, till they have escaped to a place of safety. The gentleman consents, and Cosme, hearing his master's intention, endeavours first of all to detain the pursuer, Don Luis, by asking him to read the address of a letter; but his importunity meeting with a rude reply, his master comes up, and demands satisfaction for the insult offered to his servant. The fiery young man makes no other reply than by drawing his sword, and a fight instantly commences. Don Juan, the brother of Don Luis, happening to pass by with a lady, Beatrice, upon seeing the combat, springs to the assistance of his brother, who now seeing that he is an overmatch for his antagonist, politely declines continuing the combat. The two opponents are about to part with professions of mutual esteem, when Don Juan is surprised to discover, in his brother's enemy, the guest whose arrival he is hourly expecting.

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pecting. He immediately introduces him to Don Luis, and then accompanies him to his abode, for the purpose of dressing a slight wound in the hand received on the occasion. Beatrice, having ascertained that no harm has taken place, also departs, leaving Don Luis to complain to his servant, Rodrigo, of his own disappointment, and his brother's imprudence, in bringing a stranger to his house, where their young widowed sister is living in retirement. In the next scene, Donna Angela complains of her loneliness to her maid, Isabel; and scarcely has time to put off her walking dress, when her brother, Don Luis, enters, and relates his adventure. The dame naturally has a great curiosity to see the guest; and Isabel lets her into the secret of a concealed passage from her apartments to those of the stranger, where it terminates in a cupboard. They accordingly visit Don Manuel's apartments, and turn over his luggage without the least ceremony. Cosme, upon returning to his room, is astonished to find the contents of his purse converted into bits of charcoal, which Isabel had substituted in place of dollars. This he attributes to the agency of some fairy; and his master is also much surprised at discovering a sealed note addressed to him.

The second act commences with a conversation between Donna Angela and her cousin, Donna Beatrice. The former repeats to the latter the contents of a letter written by the stranger, in reply to her paper, and signed 'The Knight of the Fairy Dame.' Don Juan then enters to make a fine speech to Beatrice, the sense of which is, that he supposes his sister, in revenge for the anxiety caused to her from the introduction of a stranger into the house, had invited another guest to place him in similar danger. He protests, however, that he is well-pleased with such a method, and takes his leave. Angela proceeds to tell Beatrice how letters had been exchanged between her and the stranger, who imagines that she is an acquaintance of Don Luis, who has a key to his apartments; she also mentions her intention to pay his rooms another visit; and, in the meantime, dispatches her maid with a note for Manuel. Don Luis here comes in to pay his respects to their new guest in another courteous speech, to which she returns a careless answer. After the ladies' departure, he encounters Don Manuel, and complains of Beatrice's rigour in ambiguous terms, which the other applies to the fair incognita. Isabel now appears on the stage, with a basket in her hand, groping her way in the dark through the gentleman's apartments. Cosme enters with a light to interrupt her; she strikes it out, and endeavours to escape, but unluckily encounters Manuel, who enters, upon hearing the cries of his alarmed

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alarmed servant. He lays hold of the basket, which she leaves in his hand, and vanishes through the concealed door. Don Manuel, supposing that he has at length caught the intruder, dismisses Cosme for a light; and, on his return, is astonished to find that he has only grasped a basket, in which there is another note, assuring him that the writer is not the lady of Don Luis, and declining further explanation, until they shall have had an interview. Angela and Beatrice, upon hearing Isabel's adventure, resolve to see the stranger that night; and, as Juan and Luis will not absent themselves from the charms of Beatrice's company, they concert between them to give out that she has been hastily recalled by her father. Don Luis overhears this conversation. Donna Angela, on visiting Manuel's apartments, is detected by him and Cosme, who are greatly astonished at the beautiful vision, which they at first suppose to be the Fairy Dame. The cavalier draws his sword, advances to the apparition, and grasps its arm. The affrighted lady has still sufficient presence of mind to dissemble, though she is forced to confess her correspondence, and to beseech him to restrain his curiosity till the ensuing morning, when she promises a full disclosure; but Manuel insists on an immediate explanation. Angela first of all stipulates that the doors be closed; and, while they proceed to shut them, she escapes through the passage, to the increased surprise of Don Manuel, who is now at a loss whether to doubt or believe her supernatural character.

The last act opens with Isabel leading him into a darkened room, where she leaves him to be visited by the ladies, who have scarcely begun a conversation when they are alarmed by Don Juan's entrance. He soon departs, upon being told that Beatrice had returned home. During his visit, Don Manuel had been conducted by the maid to his own apartments, where he encounters Cosme, who has some difficulty in persuading him that he is in his own chambers. Isabel, who now re-enters to lead him to her mistress, unfortunately mistakes the servant for the master. While the disappointed dames amuse themselves with Cosme's fears, Don Luis arrives, and expresses astonishment at finding Beatrice still in the house. The two servants making a noise in the passage, he seizes a light, enters, and discovers Manuel, from whom, in these circumstances, he will hear no explanation, although the latter offers to refer his innocence to the testimony of his servant. In the meantime, Manuel proposes that they shall lock the doors, and lay the keys on the floor, for the use of him who escapes with life from the duel. Luis consents; and moving a desk, for the purpose of closing the entrance to the private passage, discovers Cosme. This quite

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quite convinces him of his guest's treachery, and leaves Manuel no alternative but that of fighting it out bravely. Having locked up the servant in an alcove, they commence their desperate strife. Manuel disarms his opponent, whom he permits to go in search of his sword. In his absence he enters the alcove, and releases his servant. Meanwhile, Angela, alarmed by the noise of the combat, enters the room, and is surprised by her brother Juan, who leaves his terrified sister, to search her apartments for further proofs of her guilt. Manuel and Cosme now enter, and discover, to their unspeakable astonishment, the identical Fairy Dame who has caused all the disturbance. She explains at full length, and Manuel replies. While they are yet speaking, Luis enters, and seeing the supposed traitress, draws his sword. His former adversary mentions how the lady had made her appearance while he was waiting his arrival, and entreats him, as a return for the favour of allowing him to regain his weapon, to permit him to see her out of the room in safety, as he has given her a promise to that effect. He assures him that he will not fail to return and finish their duel. Don Luis answers, that he being her brother, can suffer no man to be her guardian who does not first present her with his hand. Don Manuel, in admiration of his prudence and spirit, throws himself at his feet, and, upon being raised by Don Luis, offers himself for the lady's husband. Juan, Beatrice, and Isabel then enter; and the comedy ends with the usual number of marriages.

The tragi-comedies sometimes present a moral lesson of no ambiguous character—as the 'Secreto Agravio, Secreta Venganza,' (To a Secret Injury, a Secret Revenge,) in which the hero murders his unsuspecting rival, by casting him from a boat into the sea, and afterwards sets fire to his house, and assassinates his wife in the confusion. His king is then made to understand the nature of the injury which 'fire and water have now washed out;' and he, instead of expressing any horror or anger, simply remarks, that it is a more remarkable event than any circumstance which history records; but seems to think it quite natural.

'Porque secreta venganza
Requiere secreta ofensa.'

Similar to this play is the one entitled 'El Medico de su Honra.' These are true specimens of the 'Comédie larmoyante:' not deficient in dignity and pathos, nor altogether free from artificial sentiment.

But by far the most dignified of these pieces is the beautiful romantic creation, 'El Mayor Monstruo los Zelos.' The Tetrarch will not, perhaps, be the exact Herod of Palestine. He

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He will be so, if it be required that a Spaniard be placed in the circumstances in which history paints him to us. Calderon represents in him a historical personage, invested with a character profoundly ideal, and national in the expression of his sentiments. Who does not recognise in the hero, or tyrant of Jerusalem, traces of the Arabian blood, and the concentrated and furious passions, which lodged in the breasts of those Africans, who, for so many ages, held dominion in Spain?

Herod appears on the scene blindly enamoured of his spouse. For him there is not in nature a pleasure which exceeds that of loving—unless it be, that of feeling his wife's love to be reciprocal. Nothing disturbs him, or distracts the current of his passion. The sinister omens that surround him, serve only to afford the means of manifesting his tenderness to Mariamne. Happy, beyond expression, whilst he is ignorant that there lodges in his breast the impious monster, which is to devour his happiness, and bathe his dagger in the innocent bosom of his beloved.

(*Music.*)

The Sun of fair Jerusalem,
Mariamne the divine,
To sooth her sorrow now comes forth,
Upon our plains to shine:
Fountains, flowers, and sweet birds,
Their welcomes all proclaim,
Repeating in their melody
A thousand times her name:
Let all nature serve the triumph
Of her beauty—all that bend
To the glory of her footsteps,
And her pomp all that attend.
Sparkling fountains, as ye flow,
Like her lucid mirrors show:
Joyous songsters, hither fly;
To salute her, light draw nigh;
Flowers, 'neath her beaming eyes,
Arise! arise! arise!

TETRARCH. Mariamne, life adored!
To whose fair orb the sapphire spheres afford
A throne of sovereignty;
Bright Star, translated to the spangled sky,
Wherefore let desponding gloom
Usurp thy heavenly beauty's roseate bloom?
Seek'st thou aught? Nay, tell me now,
What is't thou lov'st or enviest? Art not thou,
Beloved Glory, mine!
Queen of Jerusalem's immortal shrine?

These

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These realms o'er all the circling seas surround,
With joy salute me as their monarch crown'd;
As now securely certify
The signets of Mark Anthony
And of Octavian—the twain,
Who both presume (albeit the attempt be vain)
The empire of the world, that now extends
From Tiber to the earth's remotest ends,
To share between them. Whilst, with wary zeal
And doubtful style, dissembling all I feel,
Uphold I not the stronger part
Of Anthony; for thus I seek to thwart
Their overtures of peace, to mar
Their friendship, and foment eternal war;
And, when the wearied earth and ocean's shore
Are troubled with their countless hosts no more,
Why, then, may I, my purposes made known,
At thy right hand, myself in Rome enthrone.
I, in thy royal brother, now confide,
And Ptolemy my armaments to guide;
And, for my plan's accomplishment,
Them, with my power, to Anthony I sent.
Meanwhile, (O fairest heaven!)
Till the triumphant day to us is given,
Art thou not by me prized
'Bove all things, by my subjects idolized?
In this proud palace dost thou not recline,
On whose high dome the skies of Joppa shine?
Since yonder sun veils not his radiance bright,
Though clouds may partially obscure his light—
Fair love! Cast off thy sadness,
And to the mournful day restore its gladness,
Her tints to pallid Flora,
Her pearls to red Aurora,
To the birds their melody,
Their fragrance to the flowers—my life to me:
For grief my anxious mind doth overcloud
With jealousy,—nor say I more, that odious word avowed.

Such appears Herod in the eye of the spectator, reposing in the endearing lap of his mistress, and, in the confidence of his love, scarce suspecting that the seeds of jealousy can dwell in his impassioned soul; but on seeing realized in part the fatal presages which he before despised—on beholding himself the prisoner of Augustus and condemned to death—when he comes to fear a powerful rival, disputing with him the heart of his Mariamne, perhaps inspiring a corresponding passion—then he wholly abandons himself to the gnawing suspicions and passions that

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that unchain themselves. An obstinate strife between self-love, honour, and tenderness burns within; and then, in fine, he knows the excesses to which jealousy can lead him. The man who, a few moments before, would have sacrificed his existence to free the object of his love from the slightest molestation, is the same who now inexorably destines her to a horrid and bloody death. Love and jealousy fight for the mastery. The combat is obstinate and profoundly internal. The soul is the field of battle, and there, and nowhere else, we seek and always encounter the unfortunate Herod.

'Halcyone Cëyca movet: Cëycis in ore
Nulla nisi Halcyone est: et, cum desideret unam,
Gaudet abesse tamen. Patria quoque vellet ad oras
Respicere, inque domum supremos vertere vultus.
Verum ubi sit nescit. Tanta vertigine pontus
Fervet: et inducta piceis è nubibus umbra
Omne latet cœlum: duplicataque noctis imago est.'

Absent from the object of his tenderness and pain, unthroned, and on the point of ascending a scaffold, the Tetrarch is a superhuman hero, and such he would always appear, if the passions that devour and rend his bosom did not make us know he is a man. But what a man! How sublime and ideal is the expression of his sentiments! His greater pang is, not to contemplate Mariamne in the arms of another, but the idea of being forgotten or abhorred. To such extremity this thought reduces him, that neither his own existence nor that of his wife imports any thing to him; and, in so grievous a strait, his only care is, that she may be ignorant of the hand whence parts the fatal stroke—that he may not be hated by her one single moment of his life.

νῦν δ' ὀλωλε δὴ
γλυκεῖα φροντίς· σφῷν γαρ ιστημένη,
λυπρον διαξω βιοτον ἀλγινόν θ' ἱμοι—*Medea.*

Love for the Tetrarch is a passion of the soul, and, as such, so all-engrossing, he believes that it will in like manner be eternal.

'Dirasme que que me importa
Pues con la vida se acaban
Las desdichas? Ay Filipo!
Cuanto esa opinion engaña,
Que Amor en el alma vive,
Y si ella a otra vida pasa
No muere el amor sin duda
Puesto que no muere el alma.
O caigan, O caigan
Sobre mi mares y montes!' &c.

In

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In the Classic Theatre, the greater part of the beautiful scenes arising from the situations of this tragedy, would have been placed in narrative; but, as in the Romantic, all must be action and unfolding; the spectator interests himself for Herod alone—to him he looks in all parts, from him hears his most intimate sentiments. The Tetrarch is the one who pourtrays the combats of his soul, and he it is who confides to us the griefs and heart-burnings of his inflamed breast. With such an interest, is there a man who could find himself in a state to demand, whether the scene is always the same, or if the action endures for one or many days? He who would be capable of putting such a question might be very fit to calculate the quadrature of the circle, but not to feel or judge the merits of

> 'Those deepest wells of passion and of thought,
> Wrought by wise poets in the waste of years.'

The 'Pintor de su Deshonra' is another of this cast.

Don Juan de Roca, a Castilian, somewhat past the prime of life, marries, at Naples, the daughter of Don Pedro, named Serafina, who had long mourned the death of her former lover, Don Alvaro. The unexpected appearance of this cavalier in the suite of the Prince of Ursino, after a tedious absence, and his surprise and sorrow at finding his mistress married to another, form the opening of the play. Serafina and her husband depart to Spain. Alvaro, unable to conquer his passion, follows them in a vessel to their new country; and, having discovered the place of their abode, obtains an interview with the object of his flame, but finds her inexorable to his entreaties. At a masked ball, given in the country villa of a friend, while the dancers amuse themselves in the hall, a fire breaks out, and consumes the building. Don Juan, having rescued his fainting wife from the flames, commits her to the care of Don Alvaro, who stands on the beach with his comrades, disguised as a mariner, gazing on the disaster. The young man cannot withstand the temptation which fortune has so unexpectedly thrown in his way: he assembles his crew, and, leaping into a boat, bears away his prize to the galley, which lies at anchor in the bay. They then hoist sail and put out to sea, leaving the distracted Don Juan on the strand, whence he is with difficulty restrained by his friends from precipitating himself into the waves in pursuit of the pirates.

The third act conveys us back to Naples, and opens with Don Luis reading an account of this catastrophe, and of the subsequent disappearance of his friend, Don Juan. His daughter, Porcia, enters, and demands his permission to visit her brother Alvaro at his hunting-lodge in the mountains, but, in reality, for

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for the purpose of having an interview with her lover, the Prince of Ursino. To this retreat the unhappy Serafina has been conducted after the night of the fire. The mutual endeavours of the parties to conceal from each other the true intent of their stay cause a few interruptions, after which the Prince arrives. He surprises Serafina in her concealment: the sight of her beauty has the effect of awakening in his breast a 'penchant' which he had felt towards her on his arrival from sea with Alvaro, and that so strongly, that he now hesitates between his love for her and for Porcia. To feed his passion, he bribes the old servant of the lodge to admit to her presence a poor painter, whom, for his great merit, he has attached to his household, that he may find an opportunity of employing his art to paint her portrait. A favourable moment occurs, and the injured husband, Don Juan, who, since the night of his loss, has wandered in poverty and misery in pursuit of the ravisher, is admitted into a neighbouring closet. While the lady 'turns her face towards the window, Belardo departs, leaving her exposed to his view. Don Juan seeing her, stands in suspense.' The whole attention of the reader, and interest of the piece, is painfully drawn towards this instant; but, unfortunately, the soliloquy of Juan does not come up to our ideas of the natural or powerful. Serafina, being disordered by her dream, awakes, exclaiming, 'My lord, my husband! hold, hold your hand! Do not stain your noble sword with my blood. Do not slay me—do not murder me!' Alvaro enters, and clasps her in his arms. 'Having beheld in my sleep the image of my death,' says she, 'never were thy embraces more agreeable to me.' At this moment the injured husband advances, and discharges his pistols, and the lovers fall, bathed in blood, at the feet of their respective parents, who enter on hearing the noise. The Prince, and the servant of Don Juan, fearing that some punishment has been inflicted on the intrusive artist, also rush in. The scene is one of the most energetic of the Spanish stage, and one that best displays that delicacy on the point of honour and religion of vengeance among the Spaniards, which throw such a poetical shade over all their domestic relations.

JUANETE. Without doubt they have discovered him.

PRINCE. If a man stir to harm him he dies, had he a thousand lives: he is here on my confidence. But what sad spectacle is this?

JUAN. A picture drawn in blood by the painter of his dishonour. I am Don Juan Roca: kill me, all of you! since all have your injuries before you. You, Don Pedro, because I return to you a sad and bleeding corse—the beauty you bestowed on me;—you, Don Luis, for your son lies dead by these hands;—and thou, Prince, because the

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the portrait you ordered me to make I have painted with her crimson dye. Why wait ye? Slay me, all!

PRINCE. Let no one dare to injure him; I am bound to his defence. Open these gates—mount a horse, and fly! Drink the air before you!

DON PEDRO. From whom must he fly? As to me, though he has shed my blood, instead of having offended, he leaves me his debtor: I must aid him.

DON LUIS. I say the same; for, though he has slain my son, whosoever has avenged his honour has not offended me.

DON JUAN. I esteem worth so great; but not to excite your wrath, I relieve you of my presence.

PRINCE. Like honourable men you have all proceeded; and that I also may not fail in doing a generous action, I give my hand to Porcia as my wife.

PORCIA. Then I am happy.

In these plays, though we cannot but feel, and, in some degree, admire, the dignity of the husbands, when united to so much tenderness, yet Calderon has drawn the characters of the victims so delicately, and has left their guilt so indistinct, as to cause a more powerful feeling of regret that such imperious honour required to be satisfied at the expense of so much morality and humanity. The innocent, though wavering, Serafina, the Donna Mencia of 'El Medico,' and the Leonor of 'A Secreto Agravio,' are all so poetical and dignified in their passion and reserve, that their natural regard for their former lovers appears more a platonic than a criminal love.

We now come to his heroic comedies, which are of different kinds, and of very unequal merit. Some of them are not to be distinguished from his comedies of intrigue, unless by the rank of their characters. Such is the piece 'El Secreto a Vozes,' which has been imitated in Italian, French, and German. Others which go under that name are only romantic pastorals, resembling our own 'masques.' The *dramatis personæ* of these pieces are very insipid. Like the citizens of Abdera, they have but one note—'Oh, Cupid, Cupid! Prince of Gods and men!' and all nature is in unison. Serene and placid skies, shady groves, and murmuring streams,—they may be compared to an ideal landscape of Claude Lorraine, peopled with figures as imaginary. Perhaps a company of 'mild Arcadians, ever blooming,' piping and dancing beneath some 'flowery rocks;' or Cytherea and the Graces wending their way to some tangled cave,—

> 'Where young Adonis oft reposes,
> Waxing well of his deep wound;'

or the sprightly Oreads and Dryads of the woods watching Narcissus,

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cissus, too intent on his own image reflected in the crystal fountain to heed their enamoured looks. But one soon tires of swimming in a sea of milk and honey. Such are the plays—'Echo and Narcissus,' 'Apollo and Climene,' 'La Purpura de la Rosa,' 'Ni Amor se libra de Amor,' and some others. Then we have the 'Lances d'Amor y Fortuna,' translated into French, by Quinault, though altered to suit his taste; 'The Bridge of Mantible,' a dramatized romance of chivalry, where Charlemagne and his peers, Moorish kings, giants, courteous and heroic knights, and love-sick princesses, all figure as in the compositions of the Amadis school; and the 'Conde Lucanor,' the very model of a preux chevalier, with his rivals, the Princes Casimiro and Astolfo, representatives of the two grand classes into which fops are for the most part divided—viz., the warlike and the effeminate. Others, again, are kinds of operas or melo-dramas, as the piece entitled 'Love the greater Enchantment,' (El mayor Encanto Amor,) comprising the adventures of Ulysses and his companions in the island of Circe. Two clowns in this play have been compared to our old friends, Stephano and Trinculo, with their monster.

(*Enter* CLARIN *and* LEBREL.)

LEB. I tell thee this is the best life I ever passed in my days, this of ours.

CLA. Say you so?

LEB. I do; and that in all the world there is not an island like Trinacria; and that Circe is an angel in beauty and condition.

CLA. Are you mad?

LEB. Answer me—does she not entertain us like kings?

CLA. For certain;—but it were better for us to be in an inn in Greece, than in her palaces.

LEB. Do we not eat delicately?

CLA. No; there is no good eating, where I am in dread each morsel may turn me into a hog.

LEB. That's not so bad as you deem it; for I myself was one, and did not find much ill from it; so that those who behave like hogs without dress or cleanliness, I can excuse, for they avoid many troublesome impertinencies; and, to the point, where, for example, would you find a bed so well-smoothed and comfortable?

CLA. Rest is not in the bed, nor is there a poor rogue who does not sleep on his truss of straw without cares, sounder than a lord on his couch with them.

LEB. Where didst thou ever see such gardens?

CLA. What are the gardens to me?

LEB. Bethink thee!—where wouldst thou find two damsels of such favour as Livia and Astrea?

CLA. I give in when you touch that string. Still, I will not confess

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fess that Circe is not a savage, a necromancer, an enchantress, a witch possessed by the devil, a succubus, an incubus,—Circe interrupts him. He endeavours to persuade her that his companion is her detractor and her defender. She promises a reward to his zeal. 'Fair cozened Circe!' exclaims he afterwards, 'for in truth, women, who know the most in the world, are the most easily deceived; thankful am I that I am now alone, and may summon this Brutamonte, whoever he is, to bring me this great treasure.' A giant appears to answer his call, and presents him with a box, which contains, instead of treasure, a duenna and a dwarf. From these troublesome appendages he rids himself, for a time, by presenting the box as a peace-offering, to the enraged Lebrel, in whose hands it becomes full of diamonds. Clarin recalls the giant, and prays him to take back his gift; but the uncivil Cyclops replies, 'By Jupiter! if you trouble me again, I shall send you so high with a kick, that when you arrive at the heavens, you will be dead with hunger, and return, if ever you come back, eaten up by the birds.' The poor gracioso's last hopes are in Circe's pity; and he prays her to relieve him of his plagues, were it even by changing him into a monkey: much to his dismay, she takes him at his word. While in this condition, he is thus addressed by his quondam friend.

LEB. How he leaps and capers! Now I could not carry to Greece a thing of more importance than this—Señor Monkey!—henceforth we must be comrades. No help, but patience, and come along.

CLA. Enough! he does not understand me.

LEB. What grimaces he makes! and with what rare grace!

(*Enter* LIVIA.)

LIV. All day long I have not seen thee, Lebrel. Where hast thou been?

LEB. Hunting monkies, and truly no bad sport it is. I have caught this one.

LIV. Ah! what a pretty little fellow! What wilt thou do with him?

LEB. I think, my Livia, to carry him to Greece, and teach him to strum the guitar, and dance on the rope, and cut gambols on the table.

CLA. I, the rope and tables!—this alone was wanting!

(*In another scene he resumes his form of a man*)

LEB. Now, since Circe has left us, and we are alone, 'tis time, my darling, to take a lesson. The caper I taught you! how was it? Well! very well!—in truth.

CLA. O that this should have come to pass! to leap, or to starve! Unhappy speaker that I was! (*Leaps.*)

LEB. Again, my pet,—take to your legs!

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CLA. No remedy, alas! (*Leaps.*)

LEB. Rarely! rarely! by my faith. Now, that thou mayest learn to hand me the glass when I have none to wait on me; take this mirror, and don't break it: follow me.

CLA. What sort of a face have I as a monkey? O! distraction! Sacred Jupiter! what a snout!

(*Seeing himself in the mirror, his dress of a monkey falls.*

LEB. Who spoke there?

CLA. Who but I?

LEB. Clarin! to see thee what a fright I am in!

CLA. I Clarin!—That's good! I am a monkey!

LEB. Where have you hid?—but the monkey's gone.

CLA. Here's another wonder!

LEB. Know you where the monkey went, I had just now?

CLA. I am he!

LEB. What foolery—for the monkey I asked!

CLA. Then I am he.

Enter ANTISTHES *and* GREEKS.

ANT. Who is here?

CLA. We two.

LEB. What! because Clarin comes, the monkey goes. Time and labour I have both lost.

ANT. Tell me, Lebrel, where is—

LEB. The monkey! I know not, woe's me!

ANT. Ulysses, I tell you!

CLA. There!

Whatever amusement Calderon may have afforded by the ridiculous situations in which he places his worthies, he never equals in their discourse the wisdom of those sages whom Shakspeare delighted to honour.

In this class he has, perhaps, been surpassed by many of his rivals. We do not know one of his heroic plays equal to the 'Desden con el Desden,' of Don Augustin de Moreto, one of the most characteristic pieces of that author, and of which Molière has availed himself, in one of his 'pièces de circonstance.' But the 'Princesse d'Elide,' with all the genius of its author, is inferior to its prototype in poetic merit and comic talent. The argument is this:—Carlos Count Urgel, the Prince of Bearne, and Count Gaston de Foix, sue for Diana, daughter of Barcelona's Count; who, either through vanity or natural disposition, abhors all men. The wooers vie with each other in all sorts of gallantries, without the slightest success. Carlos, counselled by Polilla his servant, pretends to be of the same opinion as Diana; and, consequently, can neither love, nor even desire to be loved, which strange taste makes it incumbent on the dame to force him to her homage. Carlos, doing the greatest violence to his feelings, and constantly aided by Polilla, who

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who has introduced himself to Diana, keeps up his disdain so well, that the lady at length yields to his love.

DIA. Did you not tell me you could never love?

CAR. That was because I had not then felt the poison of this dart.

DIA. What dart?

CAR. This hand—like the fish which imparts its poisonous violence to the line and rod of the fisherman, benumbing the hand that holds them. So the sweet ardent poison of your hand steals through mine, even till it reaches my heart.

DIA. O treasures, my genius! his pride gives way—now shall he prove the chastisement of his presumption! So you did not imagine you could love, and yet you find that you love in earnest?

CAR. My soul is all on fire! Ah! let your pity temper the flame which consumes me!

(DIANA *takes off her mask.*)

DIA. Let go my hand! What do you say? Let go! I favour! The blindness of your passion may excuse you from the punishment, but not from the knowledge of it. And do you expect favour from me, by saying you love in earnest?

CAR. Heavens! I have committed myself! (*Apart.*)

DIA. Don't you remember what I said—that, in loving me, you would be sure to suffer my disdain; nor would your prayers avail you.

CAR. Were you in earnest then?

DIA. Do you not love in earnest?

CAR. I, Señora! Jesu! what a mistake; how could I change my nature? If I had fallen in love, at least I would have concealed it from shame. This is merely complying with the custom of the day.

DIA. What do I hear?—not in earnest! Then how came you?—I am dumb with shame!

CAR. Since you are so discreet, could you not see it was all feigned?

DIA. What! all that about the dart, and the fish, and the line, and to say that your disdain only existed, because you had not felt the violence of the poison?

CAR. Why this is to act well. (*Apart.*) Ah, cruel savage! ah! ingrate!

The devices of the ingenious clown, the pride of the dame, the struggle between real love, and assumed disdain in Carlos, and the manner in which he proceeds

'By cold gradation, and well-balanced form,'

to pique her vanity, and awaken her love, are all masterly.

DIA. He is admiring the garden. The man has no feeling! Let us sing, and see if he will turn to hear us. (*They sing.*)

CAR. How well this coat of arms is made! how neat!

DIA. What do I hear and see! He is praising the flower-beds, while I am singing!

CAR. I never saw ivy so well twined. What beautiful green!

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DIA. Surely he has neither seen nor heard me. Laura, tell him I am here!

CIN. This caprice must quickly force her to love.

LAU. Carlos! are you aware that Diana is there?

CAR. Here is a famous place; the laurels are good; but that cherry-tree disfigures the jessamines.

DIA. Did you acquaint him, Laura?

LAU. Yes, Señora! I have told him now.

DIA. Then it is not the fault of his ignorance—what diverts him?

(*They pass before them,* POLILLA *raising his dagger close to* DON CARLOS'S *cheek, that he may not turn.*

POL. Señor, pass by this road without looking.

CAR. I am abandoned to my passion—I fear I shall turn.

POL. Hold! or by Jove I will wound you with my dagger.

CAR. I can hold no longer, friend.

POL. Look, man, I shall cut you!

CAR. What would you have? I am overcome!

POL. Turn to the other side!

CAR. This way?

POL. That way, I say!

DIA. Has he not turned?

LAU. Nor do I think he will!

DIA. I scarce believe what I see. Go you, Fenisa, and tell him of his inattention, and return with his answer.

POL. Another courier despatched—but the arrows won't hit the mark.

FEN. Carlos!

CAR. Who calls me?

POL. Who?

FEN. Look, Diana has seen you!

CAR. I was amusing myself with admiring this fountain, and did not see her Highness. Say that I now retire.

DIA. Heavens! he is certainly going. Hear! listen! to you I speak!

CAR. To me, Señora?

DIA. Yes, to you!

CAR. What are your commands?

DIA. How have you presumed to enter here, knowing that I was in retirement with my dames?

CAR. Madam, I saw you not. The beauty of the garden allured me—I ask pardon.

DIA. This is worse.—Not even to say that it was to listen to me he came!—Then you did not hear me?

CAR. No, Lady!

DIA. Impossible!

CAR. It was an error which can only be remedied by no longer committing the offence. (*Exit.*)

CIN. Señora, this man is a stock!

DIA. Leave me! His slights have taken away my composure.

CIN.

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Cin. Laura! This goes very near destruction.

Lau. If she is not in love with Carlos, the deuce is in it!

Dia. Heavens! What is it I see! I breathe an Etna! I despised! Caniqui!

Pol. Señora!

Dia. How is this? Did this man come to hear me?

Pol. Yes, Señora!

Dia. Then why did he not turn to listen?

Pol. 'Tis foolish—heed it not.

Dia. What did he answer? What did he say?

Pol. I am ashamed—

Dia. Say on!

Pol. That you sang like school-children, and he did not care to listen to you.

Dia. Said he so?

Pol. Yes, Madam!

Dia. Was there ever such contempt?

Pol. 'Tis a dunce!

Dia. I am out of my senses!

Pol. Don't heed—

Dia. I am mad!

Pol. A barbarian!

Dia. I must conquer him, if I should die to accomplish it.

And again, after a few more scenes of a like nature,

Dia. Caniqui!

Pol. My Lady! Was there ever greater scorn? Why did you not fly on the fool, and tear out his beard?

Dia. I have lost my senses!

Pol. And your nails too!

Dia. Cast off! despised! scorned! I am mad!

Pol. Señora, stop! This looks like love.

Dia. I love!

Pol. What is it you feel!

Dia. A madness, a torment, I know not what ill it is?

Pol. Hand me your pulse, and we shall see!

Dia. Leave me! Do not infuriate me! Such is my rage, I would scarce pardon myself.

Pol. Alas, Señora! Bless me! how blue your veins are rising—a bad sign!

Dia. What do you infer from that?

Pol. That it is the sting of jealousy!

Dia. What say'st thou, knave! thou disrespectful villain! I jealous!—Away with you! Away!

Pol. Señora!

Dia. Off! I say, or I will have you tossed from a window.

Pol. It works! I go in a moment—I am off! Mother of God! what a state she is in!

But

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But to return to Calderon. Under this class are also ranked the historical plays, of which some are in reality veritable tragedies, and others the least estimable of all his works. All these plays abound with great spectacles, where one sees armies defile, battles fought, or magnificent festivals given; the scene, at one time representing a palace, at another a vast landscape, sometimes a cavern, at other times a garden of pleasure, and cymbals, trumpets, and artillery sound whenever an opportunity happens. This grandeur is more especially exhibited in the court festivals, (Fiestas de la Corte.) Indeed, in the department of theatrical embellishment his imagination has gone far beyond that of Lope de Vega, who had not the resources of a king at his disposal. He has not succeeded well in this kind of play, unless when he has taken the subject from the history of his own country. Whenever he has attempted to accommodate the Greek or Roman history to the Spanish taste, even the strange alteration of costume is hardly offensive, when compared with the odd confusion of adventures, and the crowd of situations resulting from them, and producing a pitiful effect. It seems, at times, that his genius has deserted him, in scenes where he affects to display his historical erudition —he makes the most glaring inaccuracies. Those comedies, the subject of which is altogether invention, or where the author has placed the scene in the ideal times of Greece, are greatly superior to the others. It is when treating of countries which no cosmography has ever dealt of, that he revels at will. Such is the one entitled, 'Woman, Weep, and you Conquer,' 'Mujer, Llora y Venceras,' where one 'Madame Inez of Turingia, daughter of the Landgrave of Asia,' is the heroine, or the 'Fineza contra Fineza.' But this piece, full of sensibility and interest, yields to the Christian tragedy, of which the history of Portugal has furnished Calderon with the subject. It is in this well-known tragedy of 'The Constant Prince,' that the poet has exerted all his genius. If the unities of time and place are ill observed, they are forgotten for the unity of action —of an heroic action, in which he has had the power to instil the truest pathos, without departing from the national style of comedy. Don Fernando, Prince of Portugal, is the hero of this piece, which might have been termed the Portuguese Regulus. He makes a descent on the coast of Africa at the head of an army: his brother Enrique accompanies him. He attacks the states of the King of Morocco, and is victorious in the first battle, where he takes prisoner an African hero, named Muley. This Muley, who is in love with the king's daughter, relates

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relates his history to the prince, whose generosity being moved by the recital, he restores him to freedom. Scarce has the African time to express his surprise and gratitude, when reinforcements arrive for the enemy's army, which place them in a condition to renew the battle, and Don Fernando is, in his turn, defeated and made captive. Here commence the tragic scenes, for which we are prepared by touching situations of another sort. The King of Morocco offers liberty to his prisoner in exchange for the fortress of Ceuta, which the Portuguese possess on his coast. The prince declares his intention sooner to die in the most cruel slavery, than to see a Christian town delivered over to the infidels for his sake. The king sends an embassy to Portugal to make the proposal, and reckons so surely that it will be agreed to, that he treats his prisoner with the greatest distinction until the return of his ambassadors. The answer of the Portuguese is, in effect, as he desired; but Fernando refuses to be ransomed at this price. In vain they endeavour by tortures to overcome his resolution—he bears them without murmuring, and with religious constancy; but at last his strength succumbs, and he dies without breaking his vow. The sufferings and heroism of the prince—the struggle between religion and gratitude in the breast of Muley, who makes ineffectual efforts to relieve his benefactor—the love of this Muley for the princess of Morocco, who is promised to a Moorish prince—and the love, still more interesting in her melancholy exaltation, of this princess for Muley—all these form a whole so captivating, so truly poetic, that the faults which are to be found, and which cannot be concealed, are too slight to be mentioned in an outline so brief as this. The action would appear finished by the death of the prince; but a new armament arrives from Portugal, and the spirit of Fernando, with a burning torch in its hand, places itself at the head of the army, and conducts them to victory. The impression which this apparition causes, carries to its height the pathetic effect of the foregoing scenes.

When the martyr Prince is first degraded to the state of a bondsman, he hears one of his companions singing a song, of which he himself is the subject.

FERNANDO. Oh, that my story should not cease one moment
To pain my aching memory! I am sad
And troubled.
CAPTIVE. Captive! why art thou cast down?
Come, dry thy tears and comfort thee; for now
The master says that we shall soon regain

Our

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Our liberty and homes—nor shall a man
Remain upon this soil.

FERN. How soon thou art doom'd
To lose this consolation!

His faithful friend, Don Juan, enters the gardens where he labours, in search of him.

JUAN. Tell me, so may heaven shield thee, hast thou seen
The Master, Don Fernando, labouring here?

CAPT. No, friend, I saw him not.

JUAN. Alas! I scarce
Restrain my tears.

CAPT. Behold, the garden opens!
More captives still arrive.
(*Enter* FERNANDO, *bearing two vessels with water.*)

FERN. Mortals! be not alarmed to see
The Infante to such woe reduced—a Master
Of Avis in such wretchedness! for Time
Even such a scene of misery represents.

JUAN. How, Señor, your Highness in such trouble?
My heart will burst!

FERN. God help me! what a pang,
Don Juan, thou giv'st by this discovery!
For 'twas my wish to hide and bury me
Here, midst my people, slaving miserably.

CAPT. Señor, I humbly pray your pardon;—
My blindness and my folly! At thy feet—

FERN. Arise, my friend—no ceremony with me.

JUAN. Your Highness—

FERN. Ah! what highness, prythee say,
Can he possess, who is so low debas'd?
Behold! I live in all humility,
And that I am among you as a slave,
No one must treat me now but as an equal.

JUAN. Will not the heavens in mercy launch a bolt
To strike me dead!

FERN. Don Juan, it becomes not
A noble, thus to murmur and complain.
Who shall mistrust the heavens? All fortitude
And magnanimity must now be shown.

But the distress deepens more and more, particularly when he is borne upon the stage by his companions in misery, to expire of hunger. 'God knows,' says one of them, 'I fain would stay to share thy griefs and comfort thee.'

FIRST CAPTIVE. But whilst we speak, e'en now, thou may'st behold
Our hard taskmaster waits us;—we must go.

FERN. My sons, adieu!

FIRST

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FIRST CAPT. O eyes, your tears withhold!
SECOND CAPT. Alas! scarce bear I the o'erpowering woe!
FERN. Wilt thou forsake me?—art thou flying?
JUAN. Ah me! I fear I, too, must leave thee!
FERN. And wilt thou of thine aid bereave me?
Go not now—e'en while I'm dying!
JUAN. Soon I will return, sweet Prince!
In search of food I go, that thou
May'st thy life sustain; for, since
Muley from Fez departed, now,
Whilst each woe on earth assails,
Every consolation fails.
* * * * *

He is surrounded by the King, his daughter, and her lover, whom he severally entreats in vain to afford him relief.

KING. And canst thou, in such agonies,
Still boast thy dire calamities?
Thy pains being thine—can I reveal
Pity for pangs I do not feel,
When on thyself thou tak'st no pity?
Since 'tis not mine, but thine own hand
Which signs thy death. Then, Ferdinand,
Be towards thyself compassionate,
And I will show no longer hate. [*Exit.*
FERN. Sire! will not your Majesty
Plead for me?
TARUDANTE. Unfortunate! [*Exit.*
FERN. Or that soul of beauty—she!
That angelic deity!
Señora! thou wilt sure entreat
The King for me?
FENIN. O grief!
FERN. Is't so?
Wilt thou not deign to look on me?
No! 'tis not for those eyes to see,
Lady, my dreadful state of woe!

In this beautiful tragedy, the unity of place is utterly violated; and one might naturally ask, if the actors enjoyed the cap of Fortunatus, or the seven-league boots of the fairy tale, to enable them to perform such quick voyages. The Prince, too, is rather over-submissive to his tyrant; but the laws of a sovereign, and those of love, are, to the Spanish dramatists, as the decrees of destiny, which nothing can avert, and everything must pardon,—

'Que, por reynar y por amor, no hay culpa
Que no tiene perdon, y halla disculpa.'

Nor has it escaped Cervantes to notice this in the above lines of

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of his 'Gallardo Español.' And when Tarudante, the Moorish suitor, and Alfonso, brother of Fernando, quarrel before the King, their rhodomontades are in strange taste. One says, 'I am the wind!'—the other says, 'I am a volcano!'—'And I,' rejoins his opponent, 'am a hydra vomiting fire!' But, as Boileau says,—

'La colère est superbe et vent des mots altiers.'

To make amends for this, it is never interrupted by that mixture of buffoonery, which, however hallowed by the example of Shakspeare, the principles of good taste must ever reject.

We would not avoid mentioning another fine play, '*Los dos* Amantes del Cielo;' but can afford no room for an analysis.

Our poet has been represented by one party as describing the passions in language prodigiously false and exaggerated; and, by his admirers, as the writer who, of all others, has described them in the most poetical colours. It must be granted that his lovers do sometimes speak in terms which will be thought sufficiently florid, and make use of similes rather far-fetched; but still they are not 'précieuses.' Such lovers might not converse in those words; but they might very naturally be inspired with them in the reveries of their solitude. Calderon might have done as Lope and other writers, who imagined that by describing the

'Quam sint improba semper,
Fraudeque, et omnigenis fœmina plena dolis,'

they were displaying great knowledge of the female heart; but he was too much of a true poet to be always gratified with that which lowered the nature he wished to ennoble. The most refined passion on record dealt as freely in imaginary and metaphysical conceits; and Calderon has rather chosen to paint, in the same ideal colours, his cavaliers as poets, and his dames as goddesses,—his men all Petrarchs, and his women Lauras. Still it is not by comedies of intrigue, or melo-dramas, however marked with a higher air of refinement than those of his predecessors, that he is so particularly distinguished, as by a mystic gloom—a spirit of religious fervour, which he displays in his Autos; and those mixtures of allegory and reality, where, tired of painting common mortals, he wanders into the regions of spirits;—it is there that the mind of Calderon proves its affinity to those of Shakspeare, Goethe, and Dante—those mighty poets who, soaring on the wings of imagination,

'Look from their throne of clouds o'er half the world.'

Whether following the bent of a mind naturally serious, or the law by which moral phenomena present only reflected consequences of the natural, it so happened, that the painter of a gay court,

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court, surrounded in old age by superstitious monks, became a recluse, whose whole thoughts were employed in pondering on the mysteries of his faith, and the vanity of all beneath the sun. He had long reached the zenith of his fame, and there was not a Spaniard who did not, with the Castilian in Gil Blas, acknowledge his veneration and enthusiasm for the poet. Bound by ties of friendship to kindred minds,—to the historian, Antonio de Solis, to Moreto, and to his admirer, Juan de Villaroel, whose zeal for religion and the Muses equalled his own,—nothing now remained for him, but to retire from the scene where he had borne so distinguished a part, and, during the sunset of life, to lead, in the words of the elegant Luis de Leon, the calm life

——— of him who flies
Far from the noisy world away,
Who, with the worthy and the wise,
Hath chosen well the narrow way;
The silence of the secret road
That leads the soul to virtue, and to God.

'This happy man,' says the eloquent Schlegel, 'after having passed through the labyrinth of doubt to the asylum of faith, contemplates and describes, with an immovable serenity of soul, the impetuous hurricanes that agitate the world, and solemnizes in his verses, with a degree of animation and cheerfulness, which appear ever new, the magnificence of the creation, and the wonders of nature and art. When he unites the stars and the flowers, every metaphor displays the bond of union and relation, which exists between the Creator and his works; and this enchanting harmony, this concert of the universe, are for him the image of Eternal Love.' In his youth, we behold the clear spirit refined by poetry, painting, and music,

The sanctified, the sacred soul of song,

which the love of nature inspires with an Epicurean philosophy, which desires, before bidding 'earth and its flowers farewell,' to taste some of the delights of this existence,

Della vita mortale il fiore e 'l verde—(Tasso)

yet has, in its nature, something too ethereal to remain satisfied with the possession even of 'world without end!' But, when time has tempered the fervour of the Castilian genius, how changed is that character! So proud, so serious, so temperate, so devout! Calderon then seeks for consolation in the mystic poetry of the love of God, and the world of moral and religious ideas. The romance of his youth becomes changed into monastic visions. Instead of the golden creations of his fancy, we have the breathings of a deep and ardent piety: and, for the loves,

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loves, the graces, and the scenes of pastoral happiness, his soul, winging its flight 'beyond the visible diurnal sphere,' centres at last in that kingdom of bliss, the true 'Royaume d'Amour;' where the Good Shepherd, crowned with purple flowers, pastures his happy flocks, wandering amidst vales of eternal bloom,

Con immortales rosas,	On flowers that ever spring,
Con flor que siempre nace,	Immortal roses—for their heavenly food,
Y quanto mas se goza mas renace.	Which, evermore enjoyed, are evermore renewed.

Time, eternity, the soul of man and its passions, the 'adorned earth' and its seasons,

On their eternal swift course running,

religion and its mysteries—all these form the materials of those singular Autos. It is not surprising, that the 'Romanticos' of Germany have exhausted on his character all their beau ideal of a poet. There is something in this wild love of novelty, congenial to the spirit of a people, to whom, in the distribution of the universe, the empire of the air has been allotted for a portion. Shelley, in his Posthumous Poems, has left an elegant version of part of the 'Magico Prodigioso,' in which, though much is improved, the spirit of the original is exactly caught. That an idea may be formed of Calderon's style, we extract a scene from this play, where a lady withstands the temptations of the Evil One, with the constancy of her sister, the Lady of Milton's Comus. The whole of Shelley's remnant cannot fail to charm the reader.

Scene III.

(*The* Dæmon *tempts* Justina.)

Dæmon. Abyss of Hell! I call on thee,
Thou wild misrule of thine own anarchy,
From thy prison-house set free
The spirits of voluptuous death,
That, with their mighty breath,
They may destroy a world of virgin thoughts,
Let her chaste mind with fancies thick as motes,
Be peopled from thy shadowy deep,
Till her guiltless phantasy
Full to overflowing be,
And with sweetest harmony
Let birds, and flowers, and leaves, and all things move
To love, only to love.

Let nothing meet her eyes
But signs of love's soft victories,
Let nothing meet her ear

But

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But sounds of love's sweet sorrow,
So that from faith no succour she may borrow:
But, guided by my spirit blind,
And, in a magic snare entwined,
She may now seek Cyprian.
Begin! while I in silence bind
My voice, when thy sweet song thou hast begun.

(*A Voice within.*)—What is the glory far above
All else in human life?
(*All*) Love, love!

(*While these words are sung, the* DEMON *goes out at one door, and* JUSTINA *enters at another.*)

(*The first voice.*)—There is no form in which the fire
Of love its traces has impressed not,
Man lives far more in love's desire,
Than by life's breath,—soon possessed not.
If all that lives must love or die
All shapes on earth, or sea, or sky,
With one consent to heaven cry,
That the glory far above
All else in life, is,
(*All*) Love, O love!

JUSTINA.—Thou melancholy thought which art
So fluttering and so sweet, to thee
When did I give the liberty
Thus to afflict my heart?
What is the cause of this new power,
Which doth my fevered being move?
Momently raging more and more,
What subtle pain is kindled now
Which from my heart doth overflow
Unto my senses?
(*All*) Love, O love!

JUSTINA. 'Tis that enamoured Nightingale
Who gives me the reply.
He ever tells the same soft tale
Of passion, and of constancy,
To his mate who, rapt and fond,
Listening sits a bough beyond—
Be silent, Nightingale! No more
Make me think in hearing thee
Thus tenderly thy love deplore,
If a bird can feel his so,
What a man would feel for me.

And voluptuous Vine,—O thou!
Who seekest most when least pursuing,
To the trunk thou interlacest,

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Art the verdure which embraeest,
And the weight which is its ruin,
No more, with green embraces, Vine!—
Make me think on what thou lovest,
For, whilst thou thus thy boughs entwine,
I fear, lest thou shouldst teach me, Sophist!
How arms might be entangled too.

Light enchanted Sunflower, thou,
Who gazest ever true and tender
On the sun's revolving splendour,
Follow not his faithless glance
With thy faded countenance.
Nor teach my beating heart to fear
If leaves can mourn without a tear
How eyes must weep. O Nightingale!
Cease from thy enamoured tale!
Leafy Vine, unwreathe thy bower!—
Restless Sunflower! cease to move,
Or, tell me all what poisonous power
Ye use against me?
(*All*) Love, love, love!

JUSTINA. It cannot be! whom have I ever loved?
Trophies of my oblivion and disdain
Floro and Lelio, did I not reject?
And Cyprian?

(*She becomes troubled at the name of* CYPRIAN.)

Did I not requite him
With such severity, that he has fled
Where none has ever heard of him again?
Alas! I now begin to fear that this
May be the occasion whence desire grows bold,
As if there were no danger. From the moment
That I pronounced to my own listening heart,
Cyprian is absent—O me, miserable!
I know not what I feel. It must be pity
To think that such a man, whom all the world
Admired, should be forgot by all the world,
And I the cause.—And yet, if it were pity
Floro and Lelio might have equal share!
For they are both imprisoned for my sake.
Alas! what reasonings are these? It is
Enough I pity him, and that in vain—
Without this ceremonious subtilty.
And woe is me! I know not where to find him now,
Even should I seek him through this wide world.

It would plainly have exceeded our limits to have given outlines of all the pieces contained in these volumes—and, indeed, it

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it would have been to little purpose. Enough has already been done by Sismondi, Bouterwek, and others, to give a general idea of them. It only now remains to make that acquaintance more particular, by bringing some of them before the public in an English dress; and certainly, we hope, without the barbarism of curtailing them to suit any foreign rules or taste. That theatre, whose pomp, romance, brilliant description, and captivating poetry were once the admiration of Europe, is no longer studied in England; and France, the country of Corneille, Racine, and Molière, regards as barbarous that stage, of which its own was but the beautiful firstborn. To the scholar, who studies the Spanish drama with some higher aim than a mere passing interest or superficial curiosity, the mind of this great Castilian will probably seem, notwithstanding the ridicule of Voltaire, as much endowed by nature with that instinct of perfection, called genius, as that of the author of 'Zaire,' though he did not compose his plays after the strictest models of Grecian taste. Without going the length of the eminent German critic, who places him next to Shakspeare, we would, nevertheless, assign to him a foremost rank among the imaginative and the wise of the earth—

> Those starry lights of virtue that diffuse
> Through the dark depth of time their vivid flame.

And conclude, by again expressing regret, that an author, so well known and translated on the continent, should not have found admirers in England, to point out to the lovers of poetry the many beautiful compositions that issued from his pen. No poet, after his death, appeared in Spain to form an era in the drama, as Metastasio or Alfieri in Italy. He was the last representative of true Spanish genius. The introduction of French rules and criticism, with a Bourbon dynasty, cast into the shade the national comedies; which, after a long interval, revived in the two Moratins—we fear only to fall into a second slumber at their decease.

ART. VII.—*'De l'Origine de la Nature du Progrès de la Puissance Ecclésiastique en France.* Par M. le Comte de Montlosier. Paris. 1829.

THAT country must be lapsing towards a dangerous crisis where the middling classes of society have not only lost all love of God, but even discarded all outward semblance of religious

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religious duties. The highest and the lowest ranks are, in this respect, but uncertain landmarks for the guidance of a right judgment. The aristocracy are the 'Corinthian capital of society,' according to the eloquent similitude of Burke; yet its beauty is lost entirely, if it be suffered to lie on the ground, and eaten away by corrosion, or if it be not placed on its elevating shaft. When there, however, and raised aloft for the admiration of spectators, its exquisite ornaments and florid workmanship will not lose aught of their effect, or be less the subject for commendation, notwithstanding that certain specks and flaws do really exist in the sculptured imagery, which, to be closely inspected, requires an altitude equal to its own elevation. The base, again, derives all its beauty from the elegance of the shaft, and the shaft is the means of connexion between the lofty capital and the lowly pediment: without the shaft, or if the shaft be broken, these two would be entirely useless. The perfect shaft, therefore, is the principal feature in the composition of a perfect column.

By the similitude of the column may be here signified, Society; by the shaft, the Middle Rank; and the *conclusion* is equally forcible.

The middle classes in France are in a woful condition; they seem not to have preserved amongst them one particle of religion; there is neither manifestation of God's worship in their churches, nor an evidence of its existence in their hearts. Old men, with one foot in the grave, or women or children, are the only persons seen within her temples of belief. The commands of the Church are disobeyed, fast days are never observed, confession is seldom attended to;—there is a thorough disregard of religion.

These circumstances are grievous signs in a nation; yet they exist, and are manifested in every day's intercourse, in France. A change, too, has come over the phase of the superficial character of the people: the citizen of France has cast off that sprightliness and gaiety, which were formerly his mark of nationality; he has become a moody, stern thinker; a talker of privileges and rights which are denied him; and he curses the priesthood—the ministers of that very religion, under whose influence his ancestors incurred the inexpiable guilt of a St. Barthélemi. These things we have ourselves witnessed in a late visit to the metropolis of France; and the whole secret of the mischief is to be explained in one short sentence—the patience of the people has been exhausted by the tyranny of the priesthood. If the griefs of that people be well sifted and examined,

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examined, we think it will be manifest, that they are severally to be traced to this one pernicious, deadly fountain!

Turn we now to M. de Montlosier's book on the power of the priesthood in France; the whole drift of which is, to prove the force and accuracy of the above statement. The author traces priestly domination to the most ancient times of the French history. That religious power has not only been part and parcel of civil power, but has been, from the earliest period, the *primum mobile*, the grand actuating principle of every law and institution, we think can hardly be denied by any one, particularly by him who is conversant with the process of the growth of Jesuitism among our continental neighbours. This is proved in Count de Montlosier's book, by the adduction of ample testimony. After shewing in what manner the priesthood of Rome tyrannized over kings and their subjects, having, in the fears of the ignorant and superstitious, powerful auxiliaries and allies, Count Montlosier's fourth chapter treats of 'Ecclesiastical Invasions, assisted by the Rules of Discipline.'

'To die,' he says, 'without bestowing gifts on the church, was reputed a crime; and as some, in order to avoid this law, died intestate, this was declared the height of impiety, and they who thus died were deprived at their burial of the rites of sepulture. To do away with such a stain, heirs constantly repaired to the parish priests, requesting them to make the will in the name and on behalf of the deceased. In after times, the Council of Trent absolutely consecrated this law, declaring, in canon viii. session 22, all bishops testamentary executors by legal right. It was added, that this was authorised by a commission of the Holy See.

'Crimes of every kind, particularly those against the clergy, whilst they were generally punished by excommunication, served, by the regulations which they induced on the part of the priests, to increase yet further the extent of their power. Every excommunicated person being obliged to obtain absolution, whenever this could not be effected, save through arbitrary conditions of penitence and reparation, numbers refused. In such cases, want of faith constituted heresy. Now this crime, as Fleury remarks, caused, even in regard to kings, loss of goods, rights, and seignory. Rigorous casuists decided thus harshly for even simple excommunication. St. Thomas of Canterbury adjudged, that for the slightest offence in this respect princes forfeited their crowns.

'While the clergy thus levied exactions on society by self-assumed rights, and laws thence derived, it entered yet more deeply into the spirit of the object which it proposed, through means of the rites, the worship, and the discipline which it imposed. Thus regarded, we may very well understand, that the simple religion of Christ was not sufficient for its purposes. Christianity is eminently a social religion. Now, it was social life which was to be dissolved,

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human life which was to be crushed. From that moment every thing was precipitated into asceticism. The constant effort was to make, not a people of Christians, not a people of citizens, but a people of monks. The vulgar, naturally linked to exaggerated superstitions, were not the only agents in that sphere—the higher classes were drawn into the vortex. All who were Christians among the higher ranks of society repeated the breviary, and assisted at several masses daily. The priests repeated, therefore, as many as they could. I know not which of the popes said nine. St. Louis assisted at all the offices, and compelled his children to do so likewise. He rose at midnight to repeat matins and lauds with his chaplains; after that he heard two or three masses. They sounded the *tierce*, the *sexte*, the *none*, as they now strike the mass and vespers. Many of the princes, particularly the Duke of Orleans who was assassinated at Paris, told their breviary daily. In times which more closely approximate to us, the Constable de Montmorency commanded armies with a long chaplet, which hung down to the ground, and he did not think it good, says Brantôme, to turn away from his paternosters. Further, every month of the year was so full of vigils and fête-days, that there remained not sufficient time for labour, and after these came every kind of abstinence.' pp. 35, 36.

This was, roundly, the state of devotion in France, and bitter has been the fruit of the tree, 'whose taste,' the people of that country may, from the saddest experience, well say, as far as they are themselves concerned, 'whose taste,'

> 'Brought death into the world and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden.'

'But to return to the Roman Catholics,' says Dryden, in his Preface to his "Religio Laici," after dwelling on the tendency of the followers of Romanism to form plots against the liberties of king and state, 'how can we be secure from the practices of Jesuited papists in that religion? For not two or three of that order, as some of them would impose upon us, but almost the whole body of them are of opinion, that their infallible master has a right over kings, not only in spirituals but temporals. Not to name Mariano, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Molina, Santaret, Simanca, and at least twenty others of foreign countries, we can produce of our own nation, Campian and Doleman, or Parsons; besides many are named, whom I have not named, who all of them attest this doctrine, that the pope can depose and give away the right of any sovereign prince, *si vel paulùm deflexerit*, if he shall never so little warp; but if he once comes to be excommunicated, then the bond of obedience is taken off from subjects, and they may and ought to drive him, like another Nebuchadnezzar, *ex hominum Christianorum dominatu*, from exercising dominion over Christians; and to this they are bound by virtue of divine precept, and by all the ties of conscience, under no less penalty than damnation.'

Hooker's opinion is of the same nature with Dryden's, Jeremy

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Jeremy Taylor with both, and a host of other writers might be immediately adduced, were such a course necessary; but the opinions of English writers are altogether irrelevant to the end which we have here in view, and that is, simply to shew, that the political supremacy of the pope was attempted to be established in every country under heaven, wherever the priests of that power were sufficiently successful in gaining a footing. The same thing was observable in Italy, where, curiously enough, the very greatest names of which that country can boast, are arrayed in bitter hostility against the head of their own church, the Bishop of Rome*. In Spain, we have only to peruse the works of Dr. Villanueva, and we shall see, that the pope has not only counted the kings of Spain amongst the humblest of his slaves, but that he has, literally speaking, impoverished the country, by the enormous exactions which he has been wont to levy from the pockets of the credulous and superstitious people. And lately, we have heard of certain demands for money made by his holiness on the kings of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies. The conduct of Rome, therefore, has been uniform from the earliest period down to the moment of our writing this paper.

Constituted as France is, her aristocracy are sure of following the example set by the monarch, whether it be for belief or scepticism, for bigotry or impiety. The aristocracy is not composed of the same materials as the like class in this country: here, we have old standing names, and immense landed possessions, and hereditary rank; there, we behold poverty-stricken nobles, and, though with many exceptions, still a mushroom peerage. What hope of emolument or riches have its component members, save through the indulgences and favours of a place-dispensing monarch? Approximating in rank to that monarch, and following, in the weakness of their hearts, the suggestions of false pride, they throng around the king, and would scorn the middle rank: but that body, which it considers in the light of a *bourgeoisie*, will not suffer itself to be treated with contempt, or scorned, inasmuch as, though it be a bourgeoisie, it is one '*ennoblie par force de richesses;*' and it knows full well that the contest between wealth and poverty is always terminated in favour of the former. Man never entirely loses his native independence of spirit: it may appear to slumber when circumstance is too powerful to be opposed; but when the fitting opportunity does actually arrive, he never fails to give, not only the 'word,'

* In the fourteenth century, we see Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Franco Sanhetti; in the sixteenth, Ariosto, Machiavelli, Sarpi, Aretino; in the seventeenth, Fortiguerra; in the eighteenth and nineteenth, Giannone, the Neapolitan historian, Genovesi, the Neapolitan philosopher, Casti, Alfieri, Monti, Pindemonti.

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but the 'blow.' Thus was it with the '*bourgeoisies*' of the middle ages, in the self-liberation of their respective cities: thus is it in France at the present day. The griefs of the middle classes effected the great revolution in that country, and not the idle preaching of her *persifleurs* and *philosophes;* for every effectual revolution must be the work of the middle rank, and of that alone. Every attempt to revolutionize, either in a literary point of view, or otherwise, made by a monarch, must pass away with the existence and the name of that monarch. What moral and lasting effect had the patronage of Augustus on the people of Rome? Every attempt, again, on the part of the commonalty will be of no avail—as witness the proceedings of the *Jacquerie*, and the insurrection of *Masaniello*. The germ of lasting change and improvement lies hidden in the bosom of the middle rank. This powerful order is hostile to the last degree in France against the aristocracy, not only on account of their unmerited elevation in society, but also on account of the insolence and contumely which they have a number of years endured at their hands. To the hatred which superiority of condition always engenders in the breasts of every *class of men, taken collectively*, is added contempt for the dependent situation of the aristocracy; and this becomes fixed, without possibility of ebb or flow, (until it absolutely stagnates through inaction,) when the vices of that aristocracy are considered: These vices, also, act as a powerful foil to render yet more glaring their detestable character, which, again, is rendered threefold detestable when seated on the person of a sanctimonious and quaker-coated *Tartuffe*. This is no exaggeration. Nothing can change the nature and vices of a court, whether it be presided over by a *Cameronian Wahab*, or a Cardinal Richelieu, or a Cardinal Wolsey, or a St. Louis, the Predestined of Heaven. There are certain ingredients in chemistry, which can never come in contact without combining and amalgamating. It is the same thing with men within the magic circle of the courts of princes; and, however virtuous a reputation a king or his court may have, as it is in the nature of wealth to corrupt and tongues to gloze, and the human mind to machinate for self-interest, and the human heart to deceive, so surely will vice hold its full-fed existence in such a place, showing or concealing its head as restrictions are more severe or more relaxed. But notwithstanding all the care and vigilance of the culprits, scandal, with its lynx eye, will mark out the sores and cancers in the moral character of men, and will as surely blazon forth each instance to the world with its trumpet tongue. These men, however, not unfrequently give little trouble to that lynx eye

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eye of scandal; for, trusting to their assumed sanctity, and to the ease with which their silly fellow-creatures can, by such arrant knaves as themselves, be deceived, they become careless in their gait and comportment, throw back their cloaks in the fulness of supposed security, and their diseases are at once discovered, and spoken of as they deserve.

The fault of all this is in the constitution of things in France; but that constitution has been induced by the abominable tyranny of her priesthood. There is only one way of repairing matters, and that is, by curbing the licentiousness of that heretofore unruly body, and forcing them, with blows and buffets, if need be, to confine their industry to the sphere of their own native duties. Politics and diplomacy, and the ordering of government, are not for any hierarchy under heaven; the period long since arrived for the secession from toil of all priests-militant with the arm of flesh. When the priesthood are *effectually* banished from power; when all their adder's-nests are crushed, so that the power of generating their order *ad libitum* is destroyed, and the numbers of themselves, their partizans, and their congregations are known to a nicety; when their wealth is ascertained, and the diligence which they exercise over their deluded victims in obtaining gifts in *Mortmain* is neutralized by a bold and resolute monarch, very different from the present pusillanimous race of her rulers; then may France, indeed, hope to receive some restorative, which shall strengthen her faded energies, and arouse her effectually from her present state of languor. However execrable may be the character of the lustful Henry of England, supposing that every word uttered by the Romanist champions against that bluff son of the Tudors were founded in truth, and that the moral character of the man were as 'dark as Erebus,' still the people of this country are under the deepest obligations to that bold monarch: without him the Reformation would never have succeeded in this island. Had another such ruler existed in Spain, *Constantine Ponce de la Fuente* would have been as successful as the reformer of Germany. The public were in his favour;* the Emperor Charles held him

* 'The slanders which were at this time so industriously propagated against him, only serve to show the anxiety of the inquisitors to blast his fame, and the dread which they felt lest the reformed opinions should gain credit from the circumstance of their having been embraced by a person of so great eminence and popularity. In this object, however, they did not succeed altogether to their wish. This appeared when his effigy and bones were brought out in the public auto-de-fe celebrated at Seville, on the 22d of December, 1560. The effigies of such heretics as had escaped from justice, by flight or by death, usually consisted of a shapeless piece of patch-work, surmounted by a head; that of Constantine Ponce consisted of a regular human figure, complete in all its parts, dressed after the manner in which he appeared in public, and representing

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him in honour; Philip the Second esteemed him much; he was a man of sufficient power of intellect, great firmness of soul, persevering in his exertions in the right cause, and only required such assistance from a powerful prince as Luther met with from the Elector of Hesse. The purest intentions, the most immaculate soul, and integrity unimpeached, will effect little in revolutions or reforms: there are needed men of rugged limbs and Herculean energy,—a Martin Luther, a Henry VIII., an Oliver Cromwell, a Mirabeau, Danton, Marat, Robespierre. Under her present race of priest-ridden and weak-minded princes, no amelioration or change can be expected in France: there *is not* the slightest hope of their realization.

The Count de Montlosier, after dwelling on the origin of abuses amongst the priesthood, on their avarice and their exactions, their luxury and vices, on their deceptions and forgeries, shows in what manner society resisted this grinding despotism.

'There is, in this respect,' says M. de Montlosier, 'a first order of things on which history leaves us no doubt. At the same time that

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senting him in his most common attitude of preaching, with one arm resting on the pulpit, and the other elevated. The production of this figure in the spectacle, when his sentence was about to be read, excited a lively recollection of a preacher so popular, and drew from the spectators an expression of feeling by no means pleasing to the inquisitors. In consequence of this they caused it to be withdrawn from the prominent situation which it occupied, and to be brought near to their own platform, where they commenced the reading of the articles of the libel on which Constantine had been condemned. The people, displeased at this step, and not hearing what was read, began to murmur; upon which Calderon, who, as mayor of the city, presided on the occasion, desired the acting secretary to go to the pulpit provided for that part of the ceremony. This intimation being disregarded, the murmurs were renewed, and the mayor, raising his voice, ordered the service to be suspended. The inquisitors were obliged to restore the effigy to its former place, and to re-commence the reading of the sentence in the audience of the people; but the secretary was instructed, after naming a few of the errors into which the deceased had fallen, to conclude by saying, that he had vented others so horrible and impious, that they could not be heard without pollution by vulgar ears. After this, the effigy was sent to the house of the Inquisition, and another of ordinary construction was conveyed to the stake to be burnt, along with the bones of Constantine. The inquisitors were not a little puzzled how to act respecting his works, which had already been printed by their approbation; but they at last agreed to prohibit them, "not because they had found anything in them worthy of condemnation," as their sentence runs, "but because it was not fit that any honourable memorial of a man doomed to infamy should be transmitted to posterity." But they had a still more delicate task to perform. The history of a voyage to Flanders by Philip II., when Prince of Asturias, had been printed at Madrid by royal authority, in which his chaplain, Constantine, was described as "the greatest philosopher, the profoundest divine, and the most eloquent preacher, who has been in Spain for many ages." Whether Philip himself gave information of this work we know not; but there can be no doubt that he would have run the risk of excommunication, by retaining it in his library, after it was stigmatized by the inquisitorial censors of the press. They ordered all the copies of the book to be delivered to them, that they might delete the obnoxious panegyric; "and on this passage," says one who afterwards procured a copy of the history in Spain, "the expurgator of the book, which is in my hands, was so liberal of his ink, that I had much ado to read it." '—*M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, pp. 266—269.

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a portion of society, besotted under the influence of priestly despotism, everywhere offers the appearance of a senseless piety, the most brutalized impiety pervades the other portion. Here is everything conceivable in the shape of pitiful superstition and credulity; there, whatever is most hideous in the shape of unbelief and blasphemy. It is well known, that, at this period, in the castles, in the seignories, in the armies, cries of fury and derision against God were vociferated on all sides; even the army of the Croisés was not exempt. St. Louis endeavoured to repress them—punishing delinquents by burning their tongues; but he could not succeed. The oaths with which they denied God, still called, in our meridional dialect, the *reniades*, have been handed down from age to age, even to our own times.

'These contrasted examples of extreme piety and ferocious impiety did not escape historians; but they scarcely paused to explain facts, the nature and origin of which they did not understand. It sufficed their capacity of observation, when they beheld that, through the effect of an impression which had pervaded universal mind, the priest came at length to be entirely confounded with God.

'Immediately that the priesthood had operated this profane confusion, all its vexations had reference to religion and God. In no other religion did anything of a similar kind exist. Did they ever at Ephesus blaspheme against Diana? at Rome imprecate '*par la ventre*' of Jupiter? Epicurus denied the existence of God, but he did not insult him. Among Christians, however, after Constantine had called the priests of God 'vos dii estis;' after one of our kings had given them place above himself, denominating them 'thrones of God;' the reverence for the priest being confounded with the worship of God, turned, with vulgar minds, on God himself the hatred excited by the abominations of the priesthood.

'Always, since civilization had commenced to operate, and even in times the most barbarous, among enlightened men, as soon as they had distinguished the religion from the priest, they were satisfied to guard themselves against the priest, and religion was spared. This happened under Louis VIII. and St. Louis. A portion of the French nobility, leaving to warlike and lighter spirits the shamelessness of oaths, and regarding God, dared to attack the sacerdotal order.

'We shall see, shortly, Louis XII. and Louis XIV. addressing themselves to the bishops to defend themselves against papal authority. Under Louis VIII. at first, and then under St. Louis, the monarch and the French noblesse addressed themselves to the pope to defend themselves from the authority of the bishops. In their petitions against the misrule of the bishops, the barons and great lords concluded in these terms:—"We supplicate your paternity (votre paternité), who knows that neither the king nor ourselves can longer suffer these grievous inflictions (talia gravamina)." It appears that St. Louis obtained from the pope a brief of personal exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishops. As the barons were not so fortunate, they assembled, and formed a "*ligue*." It is remarkable that this was

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was the first association in France which bore that name; for there were many combinations under that title previously to that one, which afterwards became so famous. In the *ligue* of the barons under St. Louis, which maintained a permanent committee and a complete organization, it was agreed, that ecclesiastical pretensions to temporal jurisdiction should be carefully opposed, and that no regard was to be paid to excommunications.

'This was a matter of consequence, for France was then overrun with the excommunicated; in one parish only there were four hundred, sometimes seven hundred. If this body had yielded in resipiscence, the fortunes of the clergy would have been materially increased; but the excommunicated regularly refused, and were obstinate in their refusal; and the clergy, being worsted in this conflict, were fain to carry their complaints to St. Louis.' pp. 63—67.

St. Louis, however, obeyed the dictates of his conscience, wrote repeatedly to Pope Alexander IV. to obtain some relaxation of ecclesiastical immunities, became sensible of the associations among his barons and lords, and himself promulgated the Pragmatic Sanction, the Charter of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. Among other passages in Joinville, wherein that excellent-hearted king is described as repulsing the demands of the ecclesiastical tyrants, is the following. It describes the proceedings of the Assembly of Prelates, who met to remonstrate with the king on the resistance which they witnessed among those under the ban of the church. It took place between A. D. 1247 and 1270.

'Je vy une journée que tous les Prelatz de France se trouverent a Paris pour parler au bon saint Loys, et lui faire une requeste. Et quant il le sceut, il se rendit au Palais pour la les oir de ce qu'ilz vouloient dire. Et quant tous furent assemblez, ce fust l'Evesque Guy d'Auseure qui fust fils de Monseigneur Guilleaume de Melot, qui commença a dire au Roy, par le congié & commun assentement de tous les autres Prelatz: Sire, sachez que tous ces Prelatz qui ci sont en vostre presence, me font dire que vous lessez perdre toute la Chrestienté, & qu'elle se pert entre vos mains. Adonc le bon Roy se signe de la Croiz & dist: Evesque, or me dittes commant il se fait & par quelle raison.

'Sire, fit l'Evesque, c'est pour ce qu'on ne tient plus compte des Excommuniez. Car aujourd'huy, un homme aymeroit mieulx mourir tout excommunié que de se faire absouldre, & ne veult nully faire satifaction a l'Eglise. Pourtant, Sire, ilz vous requierent tous a une vois pour Dieu, & pour ce que ainsy le devez faire, qu'il vous plaise commander a tous vos Baillifz, Prevotz & autres Administrateurs de Justice, que où il sera trouvé aucun en vostre Royaume, qui aura esté an & jour continuellement excommunié, qu'ilz le contraignent a se faire absouldre par la prinse de ses biens. Et le saint omme respondit que trez-voulontiers le commanderoit faire de ceulx qu'on trouveroit

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trouveroit estre torçonniers a l'Eglise & a son Presme. Et l'Evesque dist qu'il ne leur appartenoit a congnoistre de leurs causes. Et a ce respondit le bon Roy, que il ne le feroit autrement, & disoit que ce seroit contre Dieu & raison qu'il sist contraindre a soy faire absouldre ceulx a qui les Clercs feroient tort, & qu'ils ne fussent oiz en leur bon droit. Et de ce leur donna exemple du Conte de Bretaigne qui par sept ans a plaidoié contre les Prelatz de Bretaigne tout excommunié, & finablement a si bien conduite & menée sa cause que nostre Saint Pere le Pape les a condampnez envers iceluy Conte la de Bretaigne. Parquoy disoit que si dez la premiere année, il eust voulu contraindre iceluy Conte de Bretaigne a soy faire absouldre, il lui eust convenu laisser a iceulx Prelatz contre raison ce qu'ilz lui demandoient outre son vouloir: Et que en ce faisant il eust grandement meffait envers Dieu & envers ledit Conte de Bretaigne.' pp. 26—28.

The resistance against the papacy was most effectually made by the laic legists, to whom St. Louis had handed over the economy of the tribunals. These judges were fully aware of the nature and extravagance of priestly views, and they accordingly acted with corresponding resolution. Their wisdom and their reforming spirit were the origin of the Pragmatic Sanction, which Sismondi has thus given: (we give it in French, that it might not be said we had wilfully made any blunder in the translation.)

'Louis, par la grâce de Dieu, roi des Français: Pour assurer l'état tranquille et salutaire de l'église de notre royaume, pour augmenter le culte divin, pour le salut des âmes des fidèles du Christ, et pour obtenir nous-mêmes la grâce et le secours du Dieu tout puissant, à la domination et à la protection duquel notre royaume a toujours été soumis, ainsi que nous voulons qu'il le soit encore, nous statuons et ordonnons ce qui suit, par cet édit très-considéré, qui devra valoir à perpétuité:

'1°. Que les prélats, les patrons, les collateurs ordinaires de bénéfices dans les églises de notre royaume, jouissent pleinement de leurs droits, et que la juridiction de chacun soit en entier conservée.

'2°. Que les églises cathédrales et les autres de notre royaume, aient de libres élections avec leurs effets dans leur entier.

'3°. Nous voulons et nous ordonnons que le crime pestilentiel de la simonie, qui ébranle l'église, soit entièrement expulsé de notre royaume,

'4°. Nous voulons pareillement et nous ordonnons que les promotions, les collations, les provisions et les dispositions des prélatures, des dignités, et des bénéfices de quelque nature qu'ils soient, et des offices ecclésiastiques de notre royaume, se fassent selon la disposition, l'ordination, la détermination du droit commun, des conciles sacrés de l'église de Dieu, et des instituts antiques des saints pères.

'5°. Nous voulons qu'on ne lève en aucune manière et qu'on ne recueille

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recueille les exactions et les grièves levées d'argent, imposées par la cour Romaine aux églises de notre royaume, et par lesquelles notre royaume a été misérablement appauvri, ou celles qui seroient imposées à l'avenir, qu'autant que la cause en seroit raisonnable, pieuse, très urgente, d'une nécessité inévitable, et reconnue par notre consentement exprès et spontané, et celui de l'église de notre royaume.

'6°. Par les présentes, nous renouvelons, nous approuvons et nous confirmons les libertés, franchises, immunités, prérogatives, droits et priviléges accordés par les rois Français nos prédécesseurs, d'heureuse mémoire, et ensuite par nous, aux églises, monastères, lieux pies, religieux, et personnes ecclésiastiques de notre royaume.

'En conséquence, mandons à tous nos juges, officiers et sujets, d'observer soigneusement les présentes, etc.' vol. viii. pp. 104—6.

In this Pragmatic Sanction there is really nothing to strike us with wonder, or, *primâ facie*, account for the celebrity which it in after times attained. No new privilege is granted, or immunity created, or change effected in the economy of the Gallican Church. It merely recapitulates existing laws and liberties, and the course of canonical legislation. In the fifth clause, it most assuredly settles the long-contested point about papal exactions; but this was neither a new nor singular effort of resistance, since, not only in France, but in England and Germany, the same act of tyranny had been frequently exclaimed against, though ineffectually. If we, therefore, seek the cause of the celebrity of those ordinances comprised in the Pragmatic Sanction, we shall find it in the simple fact, that it brought, as it were into a nucleus, all the abominations of the Papal See and of the apostolicals in France; that the remedies too and the means of resistance were also brought into a nucleus, and so approximated to the simple understandings of the men of that day. Neither the Bishop of Rome, nor yet his partizans, could, by any contrivance, art, or jugglery, carry their schemes of abuse or exaction into execution; for when, as formerly, and in despite of particular laws of defence, bulls were made out, providing especially that such and such things were exacted by the High Father of the Church, *notwithstanding* such and such laws, now the embodied ordinances of the Pragmatic Sanction were a grand bulwark against the apostolical chamber, and all bulls of the pope were to be considered as contraband, and denied, under any plea whatsoever, admittance into the country.

But the ordinances of the Pragmatic Sanction had no lasting effect in the country, for where there is no constitutional liberty, the happiness of the people wants a sure and solid foundation. Wherever orders are so ill defined as in France, and the laws of the kingdom, notwithstanding the solitary cries of

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of widely divided reformers, are in the administration of an executive, who are the slaves of one man, the happiness or misery of the community will rest on the naked will and pleasure of that individual. Thus, every succeeding year brought a new change over the aspect of affairs; and, according to the temper, resolution, and capacity of the monarch, monachism was more or less triumphant, more or less diffused over the kingdom. Thus, not to mention the verbal polemics between Boniface VII. and Philip le Bel, in which many terms of abuse lost no iota of their proper application and force, we dwell for one moment on the name of Philip de Valois. This monarch was rather favourable to the claims of the popedom, yet was he obliged to yield to the force of public opinion. The Judges of the King's Court, (Juges Royaux,) whose interest and love of self, (supposing that every abstract notion of honesty and right-mindedness, or other noble impulse, were inoperative and unknown,) anxious to preserve the power with which they had been entrusted, found the encroachments of ecclesiastical cunning and rapacity too powerful to be opposed, and complained to Philip of the superincumbent abuses. They had themselves been banned and interdicted by the ecclesiastical judges and officers of the bishops. These acts of self-arrogated and impudent authority had even been extended to the Seignorial Justices, who joined in the complaint of the others. The consequence was, that the bishops were convoked, and Pierre de Cuignères, the king's advocate, drew up the laic griefs in a Memorial of sixty-six articles; feebly enough executed, says M. de Montlosier, but yet remarkable for being the first regular bill of complaint against the ecclesiastical order of the Gallican Church. He urged the necessity of keeping distinct, priestly power and temporal authority. Pierre Roger, Archbishop of Sens, answered him on the expiration of eight days, given him for making an effectual defence. He alleged, that both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction belonged of right to the church; and, in proof, he adduced the instance of St. Peter, who, when he cut off the servant's ear, was desired by our Saviour to replace the sword into the scabbard, but not to lay it aside! Notwithstanding that the king inclined towards Ultramontanism, he passed twelve articles against the usurpations of the priesthood.

The liberties of the Gallican Church, says M. de Montlosier, ought not to be regarded as the pretext for the plots or chicanery invented by the Parliament, as M. de Maistre has wished to represent them, but for the Church of France, whether ecclesiastic or laic, as a body of established laws.

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The author adduces the persecution of the Jansenists in support of his argument.

'I have spoken,' he says, 'of the trouble occasioned in France on the subject of the bull of canonization of Gregory VII. The parliament in vain proscribed it, the faculty of Paris in vain condemned it, the clergy were resolute in maintaining it. They regarded the speech of the President du Harlai as an attempt against Catholicism. A bishop had the insolence to say to the king, that his kingdom was founded on Catholicism, and could not stand, save on that foundation.....Shortly after arose the famous controversy relative to the writings and the doctrines of Jansenius, and in consequence of the famous bull *Unigenitus*. This bull, which a series of intrigues had obtained from the court of Rome, not having been unanimously adopted in France, even by the bishops, thence sprung, on the part of the bishops friendly to the bull, new intrigues and new persecutions; and thence issued the letters of Clement II., known under the name of *pastorales officii*. The letters declared those bishops, and others who had not accepted the bull Unigenitus, separated from the communion of Rome. The parliament suppressed these letters, the Procureur-General treated them as an abuse. There were, in this respect, judgment upon judgment; in one year only they counted ten. The Inquisition of Rome, desiring to interfere in the dispute and to condemn a Pastoral Letter of Cardinal *Bouillon*, an *arrêt* suppressed that decree.' p. 97.

The course of the bitter and fatal disputes between the leaders of the French Hierarchy, consequent on the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, may be seen in *L'Histoire des cinq Propositions* of Dumas. To go into the examination of those disputes would take up more space and time than we are, at this moment, competent to spare, though a future opportunity will offer itself for that task. The 'moral of the tale,' however, is simply this: that wherever a hierarchy is allowed a free control of action, wherever their body is kept distinct and aloof from the other orders of society, wherever they are not a component part (and in subordination) of the state, wherever they are not, even, an 'imperium in imperio,' but an 'imperium SUPRA imperium,' the same evils, the same animosities, the same rancorous hatred, the same licentiousness, the same mad extravagance, the same abominable outrages, the same evil influence over society, will be brought to counteract the progress and improvement of mankind, as all this has been, and still continues, in most woful operation in unhappy France. Unless the worship of God be regulated according to law, that is, as far as the formation of ostensible sectarian bodies are concerned, and unless the regular priesthood are kept subject to fixed and constitutional

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tional regulations, and take an inferior rank to king and ministers, better would it be to have no fixed rule for religion, as is the case in the United States of America: for, in the latter instance, the social orders *may* take a right tendency, as has actually happened in the general adoption there of Protestantism; whereas, in the former, as Mind is actuated and guided by others, it will pursue the path of their shewing; and if they be vicious, or interested in self-aggrandisement, Mind will act as a slave for effectuating the poisonous purposes of such corrupted guardians. Another mischief is, that the Pope of Rome and the Apostolical Chamber have had, time out of mind, the fullest power of promulgating ordinances, according to the influence of momentary caprice or self-interest; and these decrees, though prohibited by law in other countries, are nevertheless accepted and acted upon by the timorous and weak-minded—they being fearful of the pains of purgatory and papal anathemas. Whatever depends on the will of one man may, for a time, be regulated by wisdom, but the day and hour will at length come, when it will terminate in corruption.

The matters, on which we have been dealing, are capable of appliance to our own time and our own country.

It is a most lamentable thing for a country, when ministers are theoretical and little practical: yet such has been the case in respect to the late Emancipation Bill in Ireland. Whether we are friendly or inimical to that measure is not here the question; our observations being altogether directed towards the efficiency of the guarantees and safeguards provided in that bill: and we beg to say, most unreservedly, that those guarantees and safeguards are merely nominal, having not the slightest shadow of pretension to reality. Ministers in this, we say it in all due respect, have yielded to the force of a vulgar error. They have, *in toto*, considered the force of law, they have wholly disregarded the force of circumstance and the weakness of human nature. The vulgar error to which we have alluded has been of old manifested in the criminal law of this country; which has been a code of vindication and punishment, vying in severity with that of Draco's institutes; and not a code of conciliation, of pardon, and of prevention, like the golden rules for action contained in the New Testament. A trifling penalty is to be enforced against bishops of the Irish Roman Church, for the assumption of the title and the paraphernalia of their dignity. This, of course, they will not incur, if they wish to accomplish good, (the word here must be taken according to the English, and not Jesuitical or Romish sense,) for every act, having the moral good of the people in view, is easy of accomplishment,

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accomplishment, without noise or ostentation; but if evil is to be achieved, (the 'evil' of the English is goodness, according to the papistical acceptation,) will the paltry penalty of a few pounds be a bar or hindrance to the bishops and priests of Ireland? In the first place, they will consider whether the abstracted force of the ministry of Great Britain is sufficiently strong to levy the penalty and to punish the delinquents; next, whether it will be wise policy on their part to institute proceedings against men who have a thorough command over their numerous ignorant flocks in Ireland, and whom they may mould to any purpose, and propel to any act of daring. Even if these should be likely matters to be carried against them, they may reckon that they, or most of their number, will go without punishment, since the ministers may be unwilling to institute proceedings, from the fear of incurring prejudice and hatred, and so be driven by stronger interests from their places; or that, though they may select one or two cases for public proceedings, still that they cannot be everlastingly instituting public proceedings and punishing. The force of the Act of Parliament in question has been already tried, and it was found wanting, *immediately* after it passed into a law; it was contravened and set at nought by the public proceedings of Irish bishops themselves. It would seem that our ministers could have known very little of the history of France, or had profited very little from that knowledge, when they drew up their grand bill of emancipation. They have been more compliant to the Pope than even were the Kings of France on the subject of investiture; and yet, in France, when was the kingdom wholly free from popish influence? The fact is, there is no dealing against self-interest and cases of conscience. While the Pope holds the distribution of benefices, honours, and rank, and has the power of nominating cardinals; while the bishopric of Rome itself remains attainable by the most active, or clever, or influential member in its ranks, from the simplest soldier in the church to the highest veteran in its service; the eyes of every worldly-minded Roman Catholic priest will be directed towards his general to do his slightest bidding—'to go' and 'to come,' in order to administer to his will, though he should thereby incur a slight punishment; for that may be the forerunner of a worldly preferment and 'a great good.' If this man would do thus much for the mean advantages of life, the fanatic and the bigot would do infinitely more on the score of a case of conscience. If this feeling begins once to operate, no man can say what limit will be given to its wide-spreading influence; for human punishment, even of the most cruel kind, is held by such men in utter contempt,

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contempt, looking forward, as they always are, to the enthralling joys of another and a glorious world: no law, nor barrier is sufficient to stay the footsteps of beings so constituted—they are above fear. Will the bloody fates of Clement, Ravaillac, Felton, or Bellingham, prevent, in coming years, murders of like atrocity with those which the above most desperate villains accomplished? We defy Kings, Lords, and Commons to devise any bill or any punishment that shall do so. The case of conscience in one case is the case of conscience in the other. The private individual murders his fellow-man, in obedience to the law of God, as expounded by his wicked ghostly adviser; the ghostly adviser expounds whatever (however daring) is expounded to him as the law of God by his superior; and the act is, in the individual mind, sanctified by being considered as 'a case of conscience.' These consequences are inevitable in a religion like the Roman Catholic, where the head of the church resides in a foreign land, and is a temporal prince in his own right; whereas they are not possible in a religion like the Protestant, which has a self-efficient hierarchy, which is excellently supported by the monarch and the constitution. In the former case, the head of the church and his ministers are out of the pale of public opinion and punishment if they do evil; in the latter, punishment will follow crime, and public opinion holds such sway, that the highest in the land will be made to crouch in subjection.

The Count dal Pozzo, in his work, 'De la Nécessité très Urgente de soumettre le Catholicisme Romain en Irlande,' has very ably considered the subject, whether civil authority ought to interfere in matters of religion? The Abbé de Pradt, in his 'Du Concordat du Mexique avec la Cour de Rome,' is for the negative of the proposition. Dr. Villanueva, in his 'Juicio de la obra del Señor Arzobisbo de Pradt, intitulada Concordato de Méjico con Roma,' is for the contrary opinion, and adduces good and sufficient authority for his side of the question. Count dal Pozzo has come to a similar opinion with Dr. Villanueva; and we can with confidence refer our readers to the learned work of this nobleman for a mass of incontestible evidence. One short passage, however, we shall extract.

'It may be established as a general rule, that the number of restrictions to religious liberty ought to be in a direct proportion to the pretensions manifested by each religion to intermeddle with civil affairs, and the influence which it exercises in that respect. The English Church most certainly has greater pretensions and influence than the Unitarians or the Presbyterians, or other sects of like nature: therefore the legislator will take care to restrict the former more than the others; and, for the same

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same reason, he should restrict the Catholic Church more severely than any other, because none other has manifested such extravagant pretensions, none has exercised greater influence, and none is so anxious, in the present day, either to exercise that influence which it possesses, or to extend it by every means in its power.'—p. 168.

The Count dal Pozzo exposes sufficiently the system of Catholicism in Austria, which, with all its evils in government, has acted wisely in making the church secondary to the state, and in prohibiting disputes, such as those between the *Jansenists* and *Molinists*. It has thereby avoided the manifold mischiefs which have been induced into France by the spirit of *her* Catholicism. 'We may say in one word,' repeats the Count, 'that the ecclesiastical law has been entirely remodelled in Austria by the laws of the civil authority, and that these have almost entirely put into disuse the ancient canonical authority.' —p. 178.

M. de Montlosier says, with great truth, that the pretensions of (what Mr. Coleridge has, in his excellent, though diffuse, book on the church and state, called) the clerisy in France are unabated; refuting, by manifold proofs, the idle notion that their past abuses cannot, by possibility of circumstance, exist in the present day. Individuals so arguing are, indeed, casuists, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Certain it is that the human mind is improving, and that humanity is, in every succeeding age, approximating more closely to perfection; but let us not forget that there is an original curse sticking fast by man which time wastes not, and of which many circumstances of life only increase the virulence. Woe to him who cannot resist temptation; and, alas for our kind! there are few of the multitudinous congregation of the earth who have strength sufficient for the deadly encounter. Avarice, in the present day, is as powerful as the Satan of Holy Writ; and if the maxim of the poet be true, that '*crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops*,' what can counteract the tendency of lust of possession when the power of supply remains in the agent's possession?—As long as the priests in France shall be thus circumstanced, so long will their body be as a baleful and death-dealing engine.

'They,' says the Count, 'who pretend that the disorders of the ancient clergy will never again be renewed in the present day, rely, 1st, on the difference of times. Those ages, when the disorders enumerated were prevalent, were, say they, times of ignorance and barbarity; the present times, on the contrary, are remarkable for intellectual cultivation.—2nd, In times past, the people were, by the force of faith, naturally carried towards religion; it was then possible to exaggerate matters, and lead, in this respect, to extravagance:

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gance: the present times, on the contrary, are those of philosophy and impiety.—3d, In times past, the clergy only had the advantages of instruction, and had, moreover, a firm support in their influence over grand fiefs, and in their enormous wealth: in times present, there are neither fiefs nor land, and the clergy are entirely at the mercy of the society by whom they are paid.' pp. 117, 18.

What we have first to say in reply will, we think, lay the axe effectually at the root of the three grand *pro-clerisy* arguments—viz., the advocates proceed on self-conceded postulates, and not on unimpeachable axioms. They have assumed that priests trafficked in matters indifferent to men—and not in consciences, which are the most tender parts and parcels of men. The facts, too, as they have been visible of late in France, manifestly contradict the assumption that society has arrived at superior light, and therefore despises the priesthood. The more men become enlightened, the more sensible they are made of the necessity of a national church, temperately administered. No thanks, however, to the priesthood, that the enlightenment and intellectual advance has come upon the people; for, so far as they have been able to guide the current of education, they have directed its waters through a channel fuming with pestilential vapours. They have, until very lately, had the education of youth in their custody; and did they endeavour to induce on mind a vigorous growth? Let our readers only turn to the little *History of France*, published by the *Society of Jesus* for the use of seminaries, and they will be surprised at the atrocious misrepresentations therein contained; while a free field is offered for the mal-practices of the priesthood, inasmuch as they can, if they please, make of obedience a case of conscience: disobeying the laws of their own king, and following the ordinances of St. Peter's vicar on earth, they will cast an evil influence over the rising generation, stunt the growth of intellect, and, by an odd enough inverse ratio, feel their individual and collective power increased, according to the increasing density of the surrounding darkness of ignorance and superstition. Thus viewed, the three pro-clerical arguments, indeed, crumble to dust; for, if the priesthood can force men to retrograde, and cherish superstition, in order to increase and confirm their personal influence, they will not fail, very duly, to obtain laic wealth and fiefs, in order to do away with their stipendiary condition, and fill their coffers, and feed the craving maw of their ever-watchful, ever-craving avarice. M. de Montlosier settles the whole question in a strong antithetic sentence; and the whole train of his arguments are such as our own observations. 'Le plan de la faction ecclésiastique s'exécute, en général, sous deux directions.

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Les uns s'occupant d'asservir les peuples par les rois, les autres d'asservir les rois par les peuples.' The Jesuits have, most assuredly, been banished in appearance from all power, but they are still allowed to hold possessions and congregations in France. The snake, then, has been only scotched: it should have been trodden under foot and slain. To show that the clergy, notwithstanding their boasted poverty, and their dependent state, are still, by their constitution, powerful, we will enter into a slight examination of their order.

France, by the last concordat with the pope (1801), is divided into diocesses, and these are again parcelled out under archiepiscopal jurisdictions. The law of 1821, strengthened by the bull of 1822, gives *nearly* a bishop to each department, whose power is delegated to a vicar-general of the bishop's own choice, though subject to approval by government. Chapters are established in the episcopal churches, the members of which, again, are nominated by the bishop, and are irremovable. On the death or dismissal of the bishop, the canons nominate a capitular vicar to regulate the affairs of the church. Under the bishops are the parish priests. Of these there are two classes: the curé, properly so called; and succursalists, or assistants. The first, placed in the chief parishes of the canton, are irremovable —the title of the others is revocable, and both are nominated by the bishop; the appointment of the first, however, is subject to approbation by the king.

Here, it will be observed, that the vicar-general is of the bishop's nomination—subject, indeed, to royal approbation; but in what time and in what place has such ever failed to be given? The king's veto, in this particular, is like rusty armour, which, though at the outset well adapted for defence, from long disuse becomes incapable of that end. The royal prerogative slumbers so long that it is forgotten and proscribed. But, even supposing that the king were desirous of rejecting the vicar, with what front would he dare to do so in a country like France, so intimately in communion with foreign interests; and at the expense of stirring up against himself the whole body of the hierarchy—who, unless the king, so opposing, were sure of his men, would most assuredly make common cause against him, on the ground that it was the spiritual intent which they were advocating, which was threatened to be insulted by the temporal power. This, in nine cases out of ten, would be the probable result in France, or in any Catholic country where the priesthood had a likelihood of success, from the sway which they have immeasurably exercised over the people, and for the purpose of upholding their own temporal dignity, under the persuasion that an

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an attempt at the disgrace of one would terminate in the effort to subjugate the whole order. Thus, then, the chances are against the efficiency of the king's veto. The bishops, however, will be seen to possess the same influence over every graduating rank. The chapters are entirely under his control, for the canons will scarcely be wanting in the desire to uphold the dignity of their respective suffragans; and the canons, being independent of king and minister, have the fullest power to act upon that desire. The parish priests, too, are under the bidding of the bishop; who, to make assurance doubly sure, takes care to fill the vacant curés with *succursalists* only, they being removeable at his individual caprice; for they are not accountable for so doing to any power. Finally, *the oath taken by the ecclesiastical body only enjoins fidelity to the king, and not to the constitutional charter.*

In company with the *curé* or *succursalist* is the chamber of the *Fabrique*, or parochial fiscal department. This is presided over by the prefect of the place, and may or may not be useful to the bishop; if inimical, however, it is little to the purpose, since he and his clergy are fed by the government and dotations.

Next may be mentioned the diocessan seminaries, where sacerdotal aspirants are taught theology and philosophy, by masters of the bishops' own uncontrolled nomination. The teachers are paid by government, and the charges for supporting these institutions are, in part, taken from the public treasure; but the institutions are competent to possess property of any kind, by either gift, bequest and devise, or purchase. Here, we need scarcely point out the direct subjection in which these establishments are held by the bishops. Their independence of property makes them independent in spirit, as far as kings and ministers are concerned; whilst the masters, being the instruments of the bishops, do the work of making the seminaries subservient to the views of their own patrons. The numbers of the pupils are likely to be increased, from the circumstance that they are exempted from the law of conscription whilst they are members of such establishments; but if they quit them before ordination, they become amenable to military service.

There are, also, what are vulgarly termed the *Petits Seminaries*, being preparatory schools for the ecclesiastical order. Herein, education is so much cheaper than in the royal and communal colleges, that they are stocked with scholars. These schools are under the entire management of the bishops, who select the Jesuits as fitting and worthy teachers.

In the '*Tableau de la Constitution politique de la Monarchie*

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Française selon la Charte, &c. par A. Mahul ;'—a most valuable work for every Englishman—is the following account of the French clergy :—

'La clergé catholique Français se composait, avant la Révolution, de 136 archevêques et évêques ; 6800 chanoines et prêtres de baschœurs, attachés aux églises cathédrales et collégiales ; 44,000 *curés* ; 6400 succursalistes ; 18,000 vicaires ; 16,000 ecclésiastiques, avec ou sans bénéfices ; 600 chanoinesses ; 31,000 moines ; 27,000 religieuses ; 10,000 serviteurs d'église. Total, 159,936 individus. La population catholique de la France était alors de 25 millions d'âmes ; ainsi le clergé en formait la cent soixante-huitième partie. La fortune du clergé s'élevait en 1787, d'après les tableaux statistiques de M. César Moreau, à 121 millions de revenu.

'Voici maintenant un tableau du clergé de France, au commencement de 1828, d'après les documens authentiques recueilles par l'éditeur de l'*Almanach du Clergé* :—

'5 cardinaux, 20 pairs de France, 1 ministre à département, 4 membres du Conseil privé du Roi, 14 archevêques, 66 évêques, 5 cordons bleus de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit, 468 vicaires-généraux, 684 chanoines titulaires, 1788 chanoines honoraires, 3083 curés, 22,475 desservans, 5765 vicaires, 439 chapelains, 839 aumôniers, 1076 prêtres habitués des paroisses, ou autorisés pour la prédication ou la confession, 1044 prêtres directeurs et professeurs des séminaires.

'Le nombre des prêtres jugés nécessaires par MM. les évêques s'élève à 52,457 (ce qui, d'après la population actuelle de la France, et déduction faite des cultes dissidens, donnerait un prêtre par 550 âmes.)

'Le total des prêtres en activité de service est de 36,649. (Ce nombre n'était évalué qu'à 30,443 en 1824.)

'Il s'en faut, par conséquent, de 15,808 que le nombre des prêtres réclamés par les chefs du clergé soit au complet.

'Ou compte 13,493 prêtres employés qui ont plus de 60 ans d'âge, et 2328 que leur âge et leurs infirmités empêchent d'être employés.

'Le nombre des prêtres qui sont morts, en 1827, dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions, est de 1149.

'Les ordinations se sont élevées en 1827 :—

Pour la prêtrise, à . .	1852	5260 ordinations.
Pour le diaconat, à . .	1584	
Pour le sous-diaconat, à .	1824	

'Le nombre des élèves ecclésiastiques est de 44,244, dont 9285 théologiens, 3725 philosophes, 21,118 dans les séminaires, 7761 dans les colléges, 2355 chez les curés.

'Voici de calcul des frais du culte catholique, présenté par M. Charles Dupin, le 21 juin 1828, à la Chambre des Députés :—

'Dépenses du ministère des affaires ecclésiastiques pour l'année 1829 . . . . . 33,675,000*f.*

Pensions

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Pensions ecclésiastiques	6,200,000f.
Dépenses des communes pour le culte .	4,000,000
Dépenses départementales, y compris la ville de Paris	4,500,000
Dépense pour la valeur locative de 14 archevêchés, 66 évêchés, 29,922 presbytères . .	4,000,000
Edifices religieux entretenus et construits par le ministre de l'intérieur	670,000
Aumôniers et chapelains de la guerre, de la marine, et des affaires étrangères . .	300,000
Munificences de la liste civile pour le clergé	1,000,000
	54,345,000f.
A quoi il faut ajouter le revenu d'environ 10 millions de donations faites à l'Eglise depuis 1814	2,500,000
Plus, le casuel ordinaire de 30,000 églises, et le casuel extraordinaire de 80 évêchés et archevêchés	6,000,000
En tout, pour le culte catholique . .	62,845,000f.

pp. 86, 87.

In case of complaint against the priesthood, petitions were presented to the parliament; and this being the best bulwark of national liberty which the nation at that time possessed; and the members being proud of their trust, bitter against the aristocracy, and anxious to stand highly in the estimation of the people, redress was more easily attainable than in the present day, when such appeals lie before the council of state; the members of which, being influenced by the feelings of the monarch, and having no community of interest with the people, very little redress is to be expected upon principle; for should any chance-loving advocate stand up for injured poverty, his advocacy of any complaint would, *nolente* the king or minister, be considered an indication of contumacy, and forthwith would that individual get his dismissal from the council-seat.

In respect to church burial, the priests have exercised a capricious accordance. The nineteenth article of the decree of the 12th June, 1804, authorises the *maire* not only to proceed to inhumation, but to nominate some one, in place of the appointed curé, to perform the service. This, however, he cannot now do; though he can accompany the body to the place of burial, and see the ceremony of inhumation effected. Burial, therefore, is essentially a *civil* ceremony in France; and the priests can, if they please, on any occasion, and without the adduction of any reasons, deny the assistance of religious sanction. But, in the existing state of things in France, held in subjection as they are by ecclesiastical domination, the *maire* would

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would not dare, being a selfish and worldly-minded man, to contravene the wishes of the priesthood; for the maire holds his office, *dum se bene gesserit*, and removable at the will of the monarch—he will, then, in the present time, take heed how he offend against that order, which keeps the purposes of the monarch in such complete subjection. The consequence is this, that the priests in the departments know their power, and tyrannise over the people, who, instead of their spiritual guides and pastors, regard them as their worst enemies, and curse them in their hearts. Hence arise the numerous disputes between the country priests and their flocks, of which we read so many shocking instances; hence the daily increasing ranks of infidelity and seceders from Catholicism, with whom France is at this moment overrun, carrying their hatred from the priesthood to the supreme power by which the order is upholden; hence the deadly hatred of the people to the reigning family of the Bourbons.

With respect to religious associations, there is the fullest power in France. The 291st article in the code certainly forbids any assembly of persons beyond the number of twenty; yet there is an exception in favour of religious houses. M. Mahul has given us the number of establishments for females.

'En 1828, suivant l'*Almanach du Clergé*, le total des religieuses en France était de 19,340, parmi lesquelles on comptait les Sœurs de la Croix, les Religieuses du Saint-Sacrement, les Sœurs de la Présentation, les Sœurs de Sainte-Claire, les Sœurs de Notre-Dame, les Sœurs des Sacrés-Cœurs de Jésus et de Marie, les Sœurs de Sainte-Marie de Fontevrault, les Annonciades, les Bénédictines de l'Adoration-Perpétuelle, les Clarisses, les Hospitalières, les Bénédictines de Notre-Dame-du-Calvaire, les Filles de la Retraite, dites de la Société de Sainte-Marie; les Sœurs de Saint-Joseph, les Augustines, les Ursulines, les Sœurs de Saint-Dominique, les Hospitalières de Saint-Augustin, les Religieuses du Bon-Sauveur, les Sœurs de Marie-Thérèse, ou Servantes de Jésus-Christ; les Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny, les Sœurs du Saint-Enfant-Jésus, dites de Saint-Maur; les Sœurs de Sainte-Claire, les Sœurs de la Visitation, les Sœurs de Sainte-Agnes, les Pénitentes, les anciennes Religieuses de Flines, les Franciscaines, les Sœurs de la Paix-de-Jésus, les Dames de la Providence de Sainte-Thérèse, les Carmélites, les Bernardines, les Dames de la Providence du bon Pasteur, les Dames de la Miséricorde, les Dames de Nazareth, les Sœurs des écoles chrétiennes de l'immaculée Conception, les Sœurs de la Sainte-Famille, les Sœurs de Notre-Dame auxiliatrice, celles de la Sainte-Trinité, les Dames Chartreuses, les Sœurs du Verbe incarné, de la Nativité, les Filles de la Croix, les Sœurs de l'Union chrétienne, de Saint-Charles, les Dames de Port-Royal, les Filles de la Croix de Saint-André, les Sœurs de Saint-Dominique, du Tiers-ordre de Saint-Dominique, les Filles de la

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la Retraite, les Dames de la Société de Marie, les Sœurs de l'Enfance de Jésus et de Marie, les Sœurs du Saint Nom de Jésus, les Sœurs maîtresses d'école, etc.

'De droit ou de fait, il existait 3024 établissemens de religieuses, savoir : 1983 autorisés définitivement, et 1041 en expectative.' p. 113.

The number of jesuitical houses of education is also given.

'Mont-Rouge (Diocèse de Paris), Montmorillon (Poitiers), Sainte-Anne d'Auray (Vannes), Bordeaux (Bordeaux), Forcalquier (Digne), l'Arc à Dôle (Saint-Claude), Saint-Acheul (Amiens), Aix (diocèse d'Aix), Billom (Clermont-Ferrand). Il existe encore en France un petit nombre de maisons religieuses d'hommes, savoir : un maison de Chartreux à la grande Chartreuse, près Grenoble, et trois maisons de Trappistes : l'une à la Trappe, près Laval, qui est la maison chez d'ordre ; une autre à Meilleraye, près Nantes ; la troisième près Montélimart, département de la Drôme. Une maison de Capucins, qui s'était formée à Marseille, a été fermée en 1829.' p. 114.

Of the houses of other orders this author says nothing, and we have not the *Almanach du Clergé* to refer to ; but no state can be safe where the fullest liberty is allowed to such institutions, where wealth may be locked up in mortmain, and associations, powerful enough to overwhelm all civil bulwarks, may be secretly brought into life and nourished, till ripened into strength sufficient for action.

That matters in France are drawing towards a crisis who can doubt, who knows anything respecting the condition of the people, not through *exparte* statements and partial journals, but from actual observation. The root of every mischief has been the predominance of the Catholic priesthood : that body has subjugated prince, nobility, and people. The higher orders of the people, however, who really represent the wealth of the country, have long since emancipated themselves from sacerdotal control ; but the complete victory over that hydra-headed order still remains to be achieved. The probability of such a consummation is indicated by every change of the shifting elements of public opinion. The tyranny of Catholicism is observable in every country where the incubus has had an existence, save in Austria, where the monster was long chained and confined, until it had lost its ferocity, and then only was it let loose to run its frolics, and dance for the amusement of the idle public, like other well-beaten, humanized bears of its size and colour. In this respect, no other country in which Catholicism has existence is on a similar footing with the dominions of the house of Hapsburg. Prussia is a Protestant country ; Russia has a separate and distinct church, which is under a severe subordination to the civil power. Austria, in its formation, being an autocracy of the most

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most absolute construction, is enabled so to hem in her priesthood with municipal regulations and laws of exclusion, that intercourse with the other countries of the papal religion is entirely denied to that priesthood, and its members are thereby made to live in abject slavery to the one governing power. But Ireland is open to all the evils to which France has been so long subjected, and under the infliction of which she is now sinking, a miserable and consumptive victim; and, the restrictions against Catholicism being now removed, those evils have a free course for circulation and agency in once happy England herself.

The Bourbons have been a priest-ridden family, and they are rejected by the men of France. It is to the interest of priestcraft to preserve the orders of society as distinct as possible. The wealth and the spirit of the commonalty of France are against such invidious distinctions; and as the Bourbons have upholden its organs, this family is rejected by the commonalty. The lowest class, or, as the French themselves term it, the *basse classe*, always follow the commonalty; and by those, also, are the Bourbons rejected. The Chamber of Deputies is liberal, the spirit of the people is liberal; the Bourbons are detested by the nation, save by the courtier nobility who surround the throne. The ministers who have ruled the fortunes of France have been charlatans, ignorant or incapacitated; and these again are, in the present day, succeeded by a man who, being of the old nobility of France, and a Jesuit at heart, wishes to carry into extravagant bearing the exclusive, suicidal pretensions of his class, and is eager to establish, in their fulness of poisonous effulgence, Jesuitism and priestcraft. It may, perhaps, satisfy curiosity to give a list of the ministers of France, (see pp. 488 and 489,) that our readers may, by an examination of the names, be made aware of the justice of our charge. We extract it from the 'Statistique de la Chambre des Députés, 1829.'

To dwell on the individual acts of those ministers would require much more space than we are able to spare; suffice it to say, that, at the moment when a vigorous man, and a mutual friend of liberals and royalists was required to stand between those conflicting parties, and, chasing away all their animosity, to amalgamate them into one firm body of patriots, active for the good of the country,—an administration, held in abomination by the majority of the nation, was placed in power, and they have acted in direct opposition to the wishes of the people. A general fermentation was the consequence. Woful is that day when such an indication of a nation's state of feeling is indicated. Whilst parties of state are drawn forth in array against each other it is well, for it will be beneficial to the common

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mon interest; but when one party preponderates, which is composed of the subordinate orders of the people, there is mischief most assuredly floating in the air. In this condition does France at this moment appear to be. To accelerate this mischief, political clubs are beginning to be formed throughout the country; and ill-timed and arbitrary actions for libel have been commenced against the two most distinguished journals of the liberal party—the *National* and the *Globe*.

To increase the party of the liberals, Paris has, since the revolution, become the one city of concourse in the realms of France, whilst the departments have been enabled to find within their own circumference fitting men to represent their order in the national council. We cannot do better than conclude with the following extract from the *National*:—

'Depuis quelque temps Paris est attaqué avec amertume, et on cherche à exciter les départemens contre son influence, comme si elle était oppressive pour eux. Le parti qui l'attaque a raison de ne point aimer cette ville, qui devance les sentimens des autres plus qu'elle ne les dirige. Sur douze députés nommés par elle dans les dernières élections, ce parti, tout maître du pouvoir qu'il était, n'a pas pu faire passer un seul de ses candidats, et, sur les 7540 électeurs qui ont été appelés à signaler leurs vœux par leurs choix, 6332 se sont prononcés contre son système. Aussi lui a-t-il témoigné ses sentimens dans les rues Saint-Denis et Saint-Martin en novembre 1827.

'Paris a agi, jusqu'à présent, et comme ville isolée et comme capitale de l'opinion. Les services qu'il a rendus à la France, à ce dernier titre, sont immenses et forment autant de griefs auprès de la faction qui donne le nom de *comité-directeur* à son influence. Cette faction n'a pas cessé, depuis quelques mois, de reprocher aux départemens de se laisser communiquer leurs sentimens, prescire leurs idées, imposer leurs choix par Paris, et de rester sous sa tyrannie. On conçoit sa petite tactique: auprès des départemens, elle s'est appitoyée sur leur prétendue dépendance; auprès de la cour, elle a tonné contre se fantastique comité-directeur, dont on se sert encore comme du Croquemitaine des grands enfans politiques.

'Quant à ce comité-directeur, puisque M. Mangin a eu cinq mois pour le trouver, et ne l'a pas découvert, au moment où ce comité agissait le plus, au moment où sa perversité bien connue lui fesait inventer les coups-d'états auxquels l'innocence des ministres ne pensait point; au moment où, de jour en jour, et quelquefois d'heure en heure, il s'assemblait pour répandre ses bruits sinistres dans Paris, et envoyer ses ordres provocateurs dans les départemens; puisque M. Mangin ne l'a pas découvert alors, nous sommes réduits, jusqu'à ce qu'il nous ait fait connaître son existence par un réquisitoire, à ne voir que Paris dans le comité-directeur, et l'unanimité des sentimens de la France dans l'exécution ne ses mots d'ordre.

Tableau,

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Tableau, par ordre chronologique, des Ministres qui se sont

	Présidénce.	*Justice.*	*Intérieur.*
Derniers ministres de l'Empire, au 1er avril 1814	.....	Molé	Montalivet....
1re restauration. Du 2 avril au 31 décembre 1814	.....	Henrion de Pensey.. Dambray	Beugnot ..... deMontesquiou
1re restauration. Du 1er janvier au 20 mars 1815	.....	Dambray	deMontesquiou
100 jours, du 21 mars au 7 juillet 1815	.....	Cambacérès..... Boulay de la Meurthe	Carnot ..... Carnot-Feulins
2e restauration, du 8 juillet au 31 décembre 1815	Talleyrand.. Richelieu ..	Pasquier ..... Barbé-Marbois	Barante ..... Vaublanc ....
1816	Richelieu	Barbé-Marbois .... Dambray	Vaublanc .... Lainé .....
1817	Richelieu	Dambray ..... Pasquier	Lainé .....
1818	Richelieu .. Dessolles ..	Pasquier ..... De Serre	Lainé ..... Decazes .....
1819	Dessolles Decazes ..	De Serre	Decazes .....
1820	Decazes .... Richelieu ..	De Serre	Decazes ..... Siméon .....
1821	Richelieu	De Serre ..... Peyronnet	Siméon ..... Corbière.....
1822	..... Villèle....	Peyronnet	Corbière.....
1823	Villèle.....	Peyronnet	Corbière.....
1824	Villèle.....	Peyronnet	Corbière.....
De 1825 à 1827	Villèle.....	Peyronnet	Corbière.....
1828	Villèle.....	Peyronnet ..... Portalis.....	Corbière..... Martignac ....
1829	.....	Portalis.....	Martignac ....
	6 mutations.	12 mutations.	12 mutations.

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ccédé depuis les derniers de l'Empire jusqu'à ceux de 1829.

Guerre.	*Marine.*	*Finances.*	*Relations Extérieures.*	*Police Générale.*
Clarcke	Decrès.....	Gaudin ..	Caulincourt	Savary.
Dupont de l'Etang....	Malouet	Louis ..	Talleyrand	Anglès.
Soult	Beugnot.....		Jaucourt.....	Beugnot. D'André.
Soult	Beugnot.....	Louis	Jaucourt.....	D'André.
Clarcke				
Davoust	Decrès.....	Gaudin	Caulincourt	Fouché.
			Bignon	Pelet de la Lozère.
Gouvion Saint-Cyr ..	Jaucourt.....	Louis	Talleyrand.....	Fouché.
Clarcke	Dubouchage	Corvetto..	Richelieu	Decazes.
Clarcke	Dubouchage	Corvetto..	Richelieu	Decazes.
Clarcke	Dubouchage	Corvetto..	Richelieu	Decazes.
Gouvion Saint-Cyr	Gouvion Saint-Cyr			
	Molé			
Gouvion Saint-Cyr	Molé	Corvetto	Richelieu	Decazes.
	Portal.....	Roy....	Dessolles.....	
		Louis ..		
Gouvion Saint-Cyr	Portal.....	Louis	Dessolles.....	Ministère réuni à celui de l'Intérieur.
Latour-Maubourg		Roy.....	Pasquier.....	
Latour-Maubourg ..	Portal.....	Roy.. ...	Pasquier	
Latour-Maubourg ..	Portal.....	Roy.....	Pasquier	
Victor.....	Clermont-Tonnerre..	Villèle....	Montmorency ..	
Victor..... ..	Clermont-Tonnerre..	Villèle..	Montmorency ..	
			Châteaubriand	
Victor.....	Clermont-Tonnerre..	Villèle....	Châteaubriand	
Digeon				
Victor.....				
Damas.....				
Damas.....	Clermont-Tonnerre	Villèle..	Châteaubriand ..	
Clermont-Tonnerre..	Chabrol de Crouzol		Damas.....	
Clermont-Tonnerre..	Chabrol de Crouzol..	Villèle....	Damas.....	Créé le 4 janvier 1828.
Decaux	Hyde de Neuville.. ..	Roy	La Ferronays..	Saint-Cricq.
Decaux	Hyde de Neuville....	Roy.....	La Ferronays....	Saint-Cricq.
15 mutations.	12 mutations.	10 mutat.	13 mutations	

NOTA.

Les Ministères de la Maison du Roi, des Affaires ecclésiastiques et de l'Instruction publique n'ayant point une influence si directe sur les affaires de l'État, n'ont pas été compris sur ce tableau.

Commerce.

‘ Rappelons

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'Rappelons au juste ce qu'a été Paris pour les départemens depuis l'ère de notre émancipation, et ce qu'il est encore aujourd'hui.

'Sans refuser aux départemens le mérite d'un concours réel au grand changement politique qui nous a faits ce que nous sommes, on peut dire qu'ils doivent en grande partie à Paris leur salut pendant la révolution, et leur éducation constitutionnelle depuis 1814. La centralisation ne date pas de l'empire. Elle ne fut point, comme on le dit, l'*œuvre du despotisme qui organisa tout au profit d'un seul homme et d'une seule ville.* Elle remonte bien avant dans l'ancien régime, et elle est le principal bienfait de la monarchie absolue, qui, en rendant la France homogène, la prépara à être librement et fortement constituée. Un territoire plus compact, un *état social* plus uniforme que ceux de quelque nation Européenne que ce soit, ont conduit notre pays, par un communauté rare d'intérêts et de lumières, à l'émancipation la plus générale et la plus glorieuse. Le patriotisme, qui avait été exclusivement provincial pendant plusieurs siècles, était national en 1789, au moyen de cette heureuse fusion; et les Picards, les Normands, les Dauphinois, les Provençaux, les Bourguignons, etc., devenus tous Français à cette époque, n'avaient plus qu'a se rendre libres.

'Mais, lorsqu'en se rendant libres, ils firent crouler la monarchie absolue, lien de la France ancienne qu'elle avait défendu contre l'Europe dans les guerres de territoire, qui servit de noyau à la nouvelle France? qui délivra les provinces des restes embarrassans du moyen âge? qui centralisa la défense de la révolution, que les départemens voulaient isoler, et la rendit ainsi victorieuse? qui établit l'uniformité des poids et mesures dans les localités encore attachées à leurs usages routiniers? enfin, pour parler de services encore plus rapprochés de nous, qui, depuis 1814, a fait l'instruction politique de la France, fondé la presse périodique par des journaux, la jurisprudence constitutionnelle par des arrêts interprétatifs, des questions litigieuses, arrêts auxquels nous devons la séparation nette du ministère d'avec le roi, l'extension de la liberté des cultes jusqu'à la liberté philosophique? en un mot, qui a commencé l'attaque contre tous les abus, et, par la constance de ses efforts, a préparé la condamnation de beaucoup d'entre eux, et rendu leur retour impossible? C'est Paris. Sa position centrale et ses lumières plus avancées l'ont mis à la tête de la France, dont il a pu diriger la lutte contre l'Europe ou contre ses propres gouvernemens, améliorer l'état matériel, régler la conduite par ses prompts avertissemens et par ses exemples, et défendre les intérêts par la vigueur de son opposition. Du reste, pendant tout se temps, Paris n'a pas été seulement la capitale de la France, il en a été la colonie. Les départemens ont envoyé leurs hommes les plus éminens à Paris, qui par là n'a plus représenté une seule ville, mais tout le pays. Il était naturel que la pensée publique se concentrât, durant la révolution, là où s'exerçait l'action nationale, et que, sous le régime représentatif, le gouvernement de l'opinion établît son siége là où l'administration politique avait le sien.

'Cette

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'Cette influence centrale a eu les meilleurs effets : elle a répandu avec rapidité, dans les départemens, des lumières qui y seraient venues et des mœurs politiques qui s'y seraient faites beaucoup plus lentement. Notre nation est aujourd'hui un grand corps, dans lequel le même pouls bat au cœur et à l'extrémité des membres. Un événement produit la même impression, un besoin inspire les mêmes paroles, un danger provoque la même défense, d'un bout de la France à l'autre. C'est ce qui a tant effrayé la faction contraire à nos libertés. Aussi, dans les derniers temps, a-t-elle pris cette uniformité de sentimens pour une conspiration organisée, et a-t-elle attribué la rapidité spontanée de leur expression aux mots d'ordre d'un comité-directeur. Elle n'a pas vu que l'heureuse unité de la France lui permettait maintenant de sentir avec cette promptitude, de penser et de vouloir avec cet accord, et de se protéger contre elle avec cette énergique sagesse.

'Mais l'influence de Paris, tout en demeurant considérable sur les départemens, est devenue moins exclusive. Au niveau de la capitale, sur beaucoup de points, les localités ont senti le légitime besoin de leur affranchissement. Sans contester l'utilité de ses exemples, elles se sont graduellement soustraites à sa direction. Les départemens n'avaient pas de journaux il y a quelques années ; ils en ont aujourd'hui plus de cent. Ils se faisaient désigner par Paris les députés qu'ils dévaient élire ; il les cherchent maintenant eux-mêmes. Ils n'apprenaient la législation politique, dans ses parties controversées, que par les débats judiciaires des tribunaux de Paris ; ils s'en instruisent à présent par les discussions particulières qu'ils ont à soutenir devant leurs propres tribunaux. Ainsi la presse périodique, la cadidature électorale, et les procès politiques, qui complètent la législation par la jurisprudence, se sont *décentralisés* depuis quelques années, et sont allés de Paris dans les départemens, ce qui y rendra les esprits plus exercés, les électeurs plus indépendans, et les magistrats aussi versés dans la législation constitutionnelle que dans la législation civile. Nous regardons ce changement comme une amélioration considérable. Tout en croyant à l'influence éternellement avantageuse de la capitale sur les provinces, parce que sa position lui permettra toujours d'être éclairée plus tôt qu'elles, nous souhaitons que cette influence s'arrête aux choses générales, et que, même dans les choses générales, elle devienne de plus en plus limitée. Sa diminution sera toujours le signe d'un progrès de la France.

'Mais cette révolution, pour devenir complète, a besoin d'être aussi opérée dans l'ordre administratif. Les provinces ont un intérêt, pour le moins aussi direct, à la gestion de leurs affaires particulières, qu'à la conduite des affaires publiques. Il importe donc de les affranchir de la dépendance absolue où elles sont du gouvernement central, et de localiser l'administration départementale et municipale. Le parti qui s'intéresse aussi vivement à elles a une belle occasion de leur témoigner sa sollicitude, en recommandant leur émancipation à ses patrons. Qu'ils les affranchissent, elles

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elles ne demandant pas mieux. Depuis quinze ans, elles soupirent après une organisation plus indépendante. Mais cette organisation meilleure, qu'elles ont été sur le point d'obtenir, c'est par la funeste influence de ce parti qu'elles en ont été privées. Il n'a jamais varié, du reste, dans le désir de leur asservissement. Lorsqu'il était vaincu, il disait que les lois destinées à rendre les départemens un peu plus libres, étaient le triomphe et la constitution de la démocratie; et aujourd'hui, qu'il est au pouvoir, il dit encore : *L'administration est le besoin du pays, beaucoup plus que ces théories d'émancipation, nées de l'esprit de parti, et qui brisent tous les liens de la subordination.* Pourquoi donc paraissent-ils défendre si chaudement contre Paris la cause des départemens, ces écrivains qui les ont livrés constamment, avec si peu de réserve, à l'administration? Leur intérêt est, en vérité, trop visible, et leur tactique trop grossière. Ils voudraient les isoler, dans l'espoir d'en avoir meilleur compte, ou d'éprouver, de leur part, moins d'opposition, parce qu'ils attribuent leurs hostilités à l'influence de Paris. Qu'ils se détrompent! Ce sont les vues étroites et anti-nationales de leur parti, ses passions incorrigibles, l'improbité politique, l'astuce et l'administration *déplorable* de ses anciens chefs, la violence ou l'incapacité présomptueuse des nouveaux, qui le rendent l'objet de la réprobation universelle. Pauvres gens! qui croient que la France les repousse parce qu'un comité-directeur l'a dit à Paris, et Paris aux départemens, et qui ne voient pas qu'elle les repousse parce qu'elle les connaît!' No. 22.

Those who have followed us through this article, and agree with our arguments, must be sensible that France is on the eve of a great change in her government, unless, which can hardly be expected at this eleventh hour, the monarch changes his course and policy, his councils and his bigotry. Many there doubtless are who will treat our observations in supercilious contempt: to these self-conceited gentlemen we say, 'tarry awhile, and time and the hour will wear out the day, and bring the mighty issue to pass.'

SHORT

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SHORT REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Deutsche Grammatik von Dr. J. Grimm. Gotting. 1822—26, 8vo.
Der Danske Norske og Svenske Sprogs Historie af N. M. Peterson. Copenhagen, 1829, 8vo.

THE continental nations, especially the Germans and Danes, have been for a long time very industriously, and we think successfully, engaged in illustrating their ancient languages and remnants of literature. It is a curious observation, that so small a nation as the Danes should take the lead in researches of such interest to every people, aspiring to the honour of a continuity of literature and mental cultivation. This, however, seems in reality to have been the case in the north of Europe; for though we have no wish to depreciate the labours of Peringschöld, Hadoroph, &c. in Sweden; of Palthen, Schilter, Scherz in Germany; nor of our own justly celebrated Hicker, Wilkins, &c. &c. yet their labours were not only comparatively imperfect, but even discontinued, and in all probability, would never have been resumed with such ardour and success, but for the emulation excited by the learned men of Denmark. Even to the elder literary labourers above mentioned, the Danes may confidently compare their Resen and Vormius, Runolph Johnson and Gudmund Andreæ; but, omitting those celebrated authors, whose works, in spite of their renown, have been antiquated by time and the progress of science, we think we may with truth affirm that it was the great Danish historiographer Suhm, together with the royal Arna-magnean Institution for publishing the ancient Scandinavian or Icelandic manuscripts, who gave the first impulse to the labour, now carried on so eagerly both in the north and south of Gothic Europe. Mr. Suhm published several 'Icelandic Sagas,' with Latin translations, at his own expense, and part of his historical works were translated into German by the learned professor D. Fr. Græter of Ulm, who also in numerous original works made his countrymen acquainted with the mythology of the North, and many other branches of Northern and Teutonic antiquity. Kofod-Ancher, a friend of Suhm, and a celebrated lawyer, published two 'Provincial Laws' in old Danish. Another friend of his, Langebek, collected the 'Scriptores rerum Danicarum,' which were continued till the 7th vol. in folio, by Suhm himself. Besides this the late professor Nyerup, private librarian to Suhm, published at his own expense, 'Symbolæ ad Literaturam Teutonicam,' in quarto, and afterwards a collection of 'Old Danish Ballads and Songs,' in five small octavo volumes; and he also continued with great zeal the publication of Suhm's 'History of Denmark,' as far as his manuscript went, viz. till about the year 1400. In the mean time, the Arna-magnean Institution published 'The poetical Edda,' vol. i. and a number of 'Icelandic Sagas,' all of them with Latin translations and very valuable vocabularies. The large Copenhagen edition of the chief Icelandic historian, Snorre Sturlæson, appeared by the munificence of the late hereditary prince of Denmark; it has since been continued with some succeeding Icelandic histories, of Norwegian kings, and is now finished in six volumes in folio. The late professor Thorkelin gave a 'Diplomatarium Norvagicum,' several fragments of 'Icelandic and Norwegian laws,' and the first edition of the 'Anglo-Saxon Poem on Beowulf.'

From these materials professor Rask compiled his 'Icelandic Grammar,' printed at Copenhagen in 1811, which appears to have given a fresh impulse to these studies even in Germany. Another edition, much improved, was published by the author at Stockholm in 1818, after his return from Iceland; as also the first complete edition of the *prose* Edda and Scalda in the original text,

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text, one vol. 8vo. The first entire edition of the *poetical* Edda was published at Stockholm by a friend of his, the Reverend Mr. Afzelius, in another vol. 8vo. and Swedish translations of both Eddas appeared in two separate octavo volumes. In the same year appeared at Copenhagen a very curious treatise by Mr. Rask, 'On the origin of the ancient Scandinavian or Icelandic tongue,' in which he traces the affinity of that most remarkable idiom to the other European languages, especially to the Latin and Greek, and establishes a new distribution of words into declensions and conjugations, nay even a new order of the cases of nouns, of which system we have given a specimen in a former volume of our Journal, where we have spoken of his 'Anglo-Saxon Grammar,' published at Stockholm in 1817, a very remarkable production in this branch of literature.

Shortly after, a very laborious work of this kind appeared in *Germany*, viz. the first edition of the first volume of the German grammar mentioned at the head of this article, compiled by the learned Dr. Jacob Grimm, librarian at Cassel, and printed at Gottingen in 1819. Previously this author had evinced his great erudition and profound knowledge of the ancient Gothic languages by publishing the songs of the Edda, connected with the German poems of the middle ages, called Niebelungen-Lied. In his grammar he not only treats of the different ancient and modern dialects of Germany, but such is his patriotism, that he comprehends Anglo-Saxon and modern English, nay even Icelandic and Swedish under the name of German (*Deutsch*). Of all these and more languages, belonging to the Gothic stock, he gives the system of inflection in this volume, which makes more than 700 pages. *Another* enlarged and much improved edition, making 1100 pages, appeared *in* 1822, to which the second volume of nearly the same size, on *derivation* and composition of words, was published in 1826. It is of these volumes we are about to treat in the present article. Many curious pieces of ancient Teutonic poetry, laws, and glosses have also been published lately by the same author, by Von der Hagen, Graff, and others, whom we shall not attempt to enumerate, our intention being merely to point out the general course taken by this branch of literature. It appears that in the last decennium that course has been unaltered. Assisted by the truly royal munificence of his Danish majesty, Kolderup-Rosenvinge, professor of law in the university of Copenhagen, has published three volumes in quarto of 'Old Danish Laws and Statutes,' from the middle ages, partly with Danish translation and partly with illustrations of difficult words and phrases. Professor Molbech published a very old medicinal work, and part of the first Danish translation of the Bible. In imitation of this, it seems that the Swedes began to republish their old laws, of which one quarto volume appeared in 1827, containing the 'Codex juris Vestrogothici,' with a very valuable Glossary by the learned editors Dr. H. S. Collin and Dr. C. J. Schlyter. In Germany, Dr. Grimm published an elaborate work, 'Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer,' (German Antiquities of Law or Judicature,) comprehending again, under the term of German, what belongs to the Anglo-Saxons and all the tribes and countries of the North. His brother Mr. Wm Grimm, who had beforehand translated the Danish ballads into German, wrote a curious treatise on German Runics, meaning especially Anglo-Saxon Runics as they have hitherto commonly been called, and lately an additional paper on the same subject in the learned Journal of Vienna.

But it appears that the proceedings of the Royal Arna-magnean Institution were deemed slow; for a new society was formed at Copenhagen in 1824-25, for publishing the old Icelandic Sagas in the original text, as well as Latin and Danish translations in separate volumes. Of these transactions, we shall have occasion to speak in a succeeding paper. For the further encouragement of Danish literature a new society was formed at Copenhagen in 1827, of which the

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the other learned work mentioned at the head of this article appears to be the first fruit, it having obtained the premium, proposed by the society. This work, in some measure, corresponds with the German grammar of Dr Grimm, though confined as yet entirely to the Danish language, and perhaps on that very account much more readable and useful.

In order to obtain a clear view of this matter, the reader must be aware, that in old times, till about the year 1100, the Gothic languages of both branches, the Teutonic as well as Scandinavian, bore a very different aspect from that which they now present. Nay, they have not only changed in appearance, but the old ones have fallen entirely into disuse, and several new ones have sprung up in their stead. Thus, before the period just mentioned, there was no such thing as a German language in existence; but there was the old Saxon tongue in the north of Germany, and the Frankish and Alemannic dialects in the south. The Dutch did not exist, but the Frisian prevailed in the northern countries of the Netherlands, and a Saxon or Franco-Saxon dialect in the southern. In the Scandinavian North the same occurred: the Danish and Swedish languages were not as yet formed and distinguished, but the ancient Scandinavian tongue*, now commonly called the Icelandic, was spoken with very little difference throughout all the Scandinavian kingdoms and colonies. All these ancient languages, like the Anglo-Saxon, had a complex structure and an accurate grammar, resembling that of the Greek and Latin; they had three genders in the nouns, four or five cases in each of the two numbers, and many declensions and conjugations, whereas the modern dialects have simplified that old structure immensely, and worn off, as it were, the ancient terminations for cases and persons, instead of which they have introduced prepositions and pronouns, nearly as our modern English. These new and now living Gothic languages, German and Dutch as well as English of the Teutonic branch, and Danish and Swedish of the Scandinavian, may be dated from the time of the Reformation, or from about the year 1500, as you will scarcely be able to read any thing beyond this epoch in any of them, even with the best knowledge of the dialect now spoken and written in the same country. In this manner, about four hundred years, more or less, in the different states, have elapsed between the dissolution of the ancient languages and the organization of the modern ones. This period may be styled the middle age of the Gothic languages, all of them being at that time in a state of fermentation, or confusion, the old inflections being now observed and now neglected, and the expressions and phrases being, in some instances, indigenous and proper, in others foreign and barbarous. Now, to trace the origin of the modern languages, through these dark ages, to their true and pure sources in remote antiquity; to describe their state at different times, on their passage through this purgation; to point out the changes they have undergone, and to investigate the causes of those transformations, is the subject of the history of any of these dialects, and such was the task imposed on our Danish author by the question he had to resolve. This task he has performed with no small degree of skill and industry, so as to have happily avoided the two most dangerous rocks in his course—the too nice and abstruse reasoning about letters and terminations, and on the other hand the passing over the substantial matter of such an inquiry, or the proofs of the facts established. On the former of these rocks we fear Dr. Grimm has touched, treating, in 595 very closely-printed pages of small type, of letters and accents in all Gothic dialects, so

* This is indeed sometimes denominated *the Danish tongue* by the ancient authors, but must not be confounded with modern Danish. Thus king Ælfred and the other Anglo-Saxon writers constantly called their language *Englise*, though very different from our present mother tongue.

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that we much doubt if any one besides himself has perused his learned work, or will ever be able so to do. On the other rock a good many authors have been shipwrecked, who found it too tiresome to study the ancient idioms grammatically, by which study nevertheless almost all difficulties occurring in the monuments of the middle periods are to be resolved; or they shrunk from the toil of wading through numbers of old deeds and chronicles, observing and deciding on their strange words, inflections, and phrases, without which toil, however, there is no reasoning at all about this matter; for all that genius or classic erudition might suggest would be vague and untenable, for want of the proper foundation thus to be obtained. Mr. Petersen has very happily kept the middle road, and thus produced an excellent work on the history and formation of his mother-tongue, scarcely equalled by any thing in our own literature, or in the Dutch and German. He evinces a profound knowledge of the parent Icelandic, yet does not unnecessarily detain the reader about the letters and accents of that old dialect. He has made a most diligent and careful research of the Danish monuments of the middle period, and avoids the difficulties and perplexities of that study, through which, no doubt, he himself has passed. He has developed indisputable results, and thus cleared the way for succeeding scholars, and presented them with a clue that may guide them safely through the labyrinths which formerly at every step frustrated their efforts, or obstructed their passage through the wild and barbarous landscape. The middle period is not, however, entirely devoid of rule and taste and interest. At certain times, some great accident seemed destined to fix the public attention, to unite the jarring elements in the state, and to settle the uncertain sounds in the language; or some genius arose, and formed a sort of order and consistency amidst the wilderness, only wanting stability to merit the name of language. Of this Dr. Grimm has been well aware, introducing between the ancient and modern four intermediate Teutonic languages, which he styles middle high Dutch, middle nether Dutch (meaning low Dutch), middle Netherlandish (*i. e.* Dutch), and middle English. In this arrangement, however, there is a strange inconsistency or defect, the author omitting all the intermediate forms of speech in the North, though fully as striking and remarkable as those of Germany; even pretty accessible in printed editions of the old provincial laws and deeds and chronicles of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, of which several have been mentioned here above. The provincial laws of Sweden especially appear to be very interesting; there is also a curious treatise, called 'Konunga-styrilse' (the Institution of Kings and Princes), which might serve to form a middle Swedish grammar, and a middle Danish one might certainly be abstracted from the laws, treatises, and chronicles cited by Mr. Petersen. Thus Dr. Grimm's representation of the Gothic languages can only be looked upon as tolerably complete as far as belongs to the Teutonic branch; whereas the picture he has drawn of the Scandinavian branch cannot but be deficient and incoherent, having a chasm of 400 years at least, of which he scarcely utters a single syllable. Moreover we fear that even his representation of the Teutonic family, on a closer examination, may be found objectionable; for, to the best of our knowledge, there did not exist any permanent and settled form of language, in any of the German provinces, during the middle period; but every country, or rather every author or transcriber, had a dialect of his own. If this be true, that fluctuating period ought not, we think, to be represented as a grammatical system of a language, properly so called, but rather described in an historical sketch of the successive state of the language. Besides, such a sketch seems to have but a very loose connection with the grammar of the modern settled and refined language, and still less with that of the ancient regular tongue, which is difficult enough in itself, and seems to require the whole attention of the student. Thus the description of the

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the middle period should not, we think, be inserted between the grammar of the old and that of the modern language, nor be treated at all in the same volume or in the same manner. Who would like, in his French grammar, to have inserted a grammar also of Latin and of the Troubadour, or Languedoc language. Nevertheless this would be a trifling mismanagement compared with the plan of Dr. Grimm; for as he begins his German grammar with the Mœsogothic, so our French grammar certainly ought to begin with the Greek. Moreover Dr. Grimm does not treat of one language at a time, but mingles them all together in one immense mass; a fault of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. In both respects our Danish author appears to have the preference; for, in the first place, he does not pretend to establish a middle Danish language or grammar, but very judiciously and learnedly proposes a subdivision in four shorter periods, founded on the most prominent features in the state of the languages. In the first of these (1200—1350) the diphthongs were all lost and changed to simple vowels; in the second (1350—1400) the terminations in declining and conjugating the words were thrown away, or their sonorous vowels changed to *e*; the third (1400—1580) was all confusion, through an overwhelming influence of German dialects, especially the pure mutes were changed to impure ones, and many German words introduced; the fourth (1530—1660) was the settling period, during which the modern tongue emerged again to refinement, and assumed its present shape. On the other hand, Mr. Petersen does not present us with any Icelandic grammar at the head of his work, nor any Danish at the end of it; which would in fact be as irreconcilable to the description of the middle period, as such a description to a well-executed grammar. He begins with a short introduction on the changes of languages, and the causes of such changes in general. In the first section he then treats of the old Scandinavian tongue, its extent and denomination, character when still spoken on the continent, and relation to the other surrounding idioms, as also of the state of the northern kingdoms during that period. In the second section, which makes the body of the work, he describes the language during the middle period, proposing first of all the subdivision already mentioned, and then giving a view of the language on the Runic monuments, which on the eldest of them still preserves the ancient Icelandic inflections. In treating of the four periods, to each of which he has allotted a separate chapter of considerable extent, he always begins with a historical sketch of the state of the country at that time, next to which he gives a view of the monuments of literature, and concludes with a short grammatical description of the pronunciation and inflections, derivations and syntactical construction of the language, preserving the grammatical arrangement and terminations of professor Rask, which facilitates the comparison with the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon very considerably. We regret that Dr. Grimm in his great grammar has left this system so far as to change the whole subdivision and order of the classes of nouns and verbs, as also the arrangement of genders and cases; this difference in form between the two chief authors on such dry subjects being exceedingly perplexing to the student. We shall not presume to decide the contested points between the two learned grammarians, nor do we intend to introduce our readers to those grammatical niceties; but we cannot help observing that the system of the Danish professor seems to have the preference for clearness and simplicity, whereas the subdivisions of the German author are exceedingly minute and intricate, so that, for instance, in Anglo-Saxon and the other old idioms he universally adopts fourteen or fifteen conjugations of verbs, Mr. Rask admitting but nine classes in his Icelandic grammar. Supposing this system to be true and universally known, Mr. Petersen shows how it was changed gradually, until it assumed its present very simple form; so that in these two volumes, each of about 300 pages, the Danes have now a very excellent account, a clear and

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distinct view, of their language and the various changes it has undergone from its earliest dawn to the present age, much superior to any of the accounts of the progress of our own language hitherto existing. We have several Anglo-Saxon grammars indeed, as also several historical views of the fate of our language in its middle age, but scarcely any grammatical sketch or sketches of it during that whole period; the authors present us with specimens enough, even valuable remarks on these specimens, but they leave to the reader the most essential and difficult part of their task, to extract the grammar of those specimens, or to exhibit the system of inflection and construction used at each particular time. For want of such grammatical sketches, or of due attention to the grammar of the middle period, we suppose it is that our old songs and other monuments have been so often misunderstood, or even misinterpreted. As a proof of this fact we proceed to quote a passage from an old song in praise of the cuckoo, written about the end of the reign of Henry *III.* together with the translation of it given by the Reverend Mr. J. Bosworth in his Anglo-Saxon grammar, p. 16, note 20. It runs thus:

Sumer is icumen in;	Summer is come in;
Lhude sing cuccu:	Loud sings the cuckoo,
Groweþ sed, & bloweþ med,	Now the seed grows and the mead blows,
And springþ þe wde nu,	And the wood springs.
Sing cuccu, &c.	The cuckoo sings, &c.

This translation we cannot admit to be correct, for if the verb *sing* were to be understood in the third person of the present, it would have been written *singþ* analogously with *springþ* and the two other verbs in this passage: we take it in both places to be the imperative, and understand the passage as an apostrophe, thus: 'Summer is come in, sing loud (then), cuckoo! the seed grows and the mead blows and the wood springs now; (*therefore*) *sing*, cuckoo!' Such stumbling-blocks would be removed, if we had a separate grammatical sketch of our language for each of the subordinate periods of its middle age. The representation which Dr. Grimm gives of what he calls middle English, is so very short and unsatisfactory, that he might almost as well have left it out altogether. As to the verbs, of which here is the question, he says, p. 981, 'The middle English verb I for this time omit,' &c. Besides, there is a strange disorder in the whole plan of Dr. Grimm's work, which, preventing in great measure the use of it, deserves especial censure, viz., that he does not treat of each language for itself, but mixes them all together in one enormous grammatical system, or rather one chaotic mass, so that he speaks first of the letters of them all fifteen, (viz., six of the ancient Gothic stock, four of the middle Teutonic branch, five modern ones of both branches,) and this treatise of mere letters has nearly the double size of Mr. Petersen's whole volume. Next the German author treats of the nouns substantive of them all, then of the adjectives, and so on; mostly, indeed, in separate paragraphs, but nevertheless, in masses of letters, declensions, conjugations, &c., which will be found perfectly bewildering to every adventurous reader who may attempt the perusal. Seeking there for instance, some information of our middle English, we find the treatise of letters, p. 506—517; that of the nouns, p. 694 and 695; the declension of adjectives, p. 751; the comparison, 759; of the pronouns and numerals, merely the third person noticed, p. 788; and of the verbs merely nine lines, p. 981; so that we must look at six different places for this very scanty account of the English tongue during three or four centuries, which after all is most copious for the letters and most deficient in the verbs—the very inverse of what the intelligent reader is likely to desire. Our Danish author has fortunately avoided this mistake, treating in his first volume only of the Danish in its different periods, though the question proposed by the society did not determine whether the three middle dialects of Scandinavia were to be treated separately,

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rately, or conjointly. Nor do we doubt, that in the next volume he will illustrate the Swedish and Norwegian separately and with equal learning and taste, and thus fill up the chasm left by our German author in his vast picture of the whole Gothic family of languages. It was the consideration of this relation between the two learned works before us, which led us to speak of them both in this article. We sincerely hope that some able Anglo-Saxon scholar (for this quality is an indispensable requisite) will present us with a work on the history and formation of the English, like the Danish work before us; and that Dr. Grimm himself, or some other learned German philologist, may recast, in a more convenient mould, the immense mass of valuable matter he has collected.

But we have still to notice the second volume of Dr. Grimm's grammar. It contains the theory of derivation and composition of words in all the Gothic tongues; and this part of grammar is very interesting, though much neglected in our usual school-books, even in those about Greek and Latin. Derivation is the chief source of copiousness in all these languages, and its proper management in grammar would greatly assist the learner's memory in laying in a store of useful and clear expressions, in seizing and penetrating the true sense of a vast number of words. The primitives are in most languages very few, so that with a knowledge of about five hundred, and of the theory of derivation and composition, one may read a whole book of an easy style without the assistance of a dictionary. Thus, there is a collection of Greek sentences, comprising, one way or another, all the Greek primitives, and this collection, together with the Latin translation, makes only eight leaves in Taylor's edition of Schreveli's Lexicon Græco-Latinum, to which it is annexed; consequently it would make only four leaves without the Latin; and from that small number of primitives has sprung the inexhaustible richness we admire in the writings of Demosthenes and Aristotle. It is therefore certainly worth while in our study of languages to pay a due attention to this part of grammar, but unfortunately the ancient grammarians not treating much of this subject, the knowledge of it is for the greatest part left to be gathered by practice. The Germans are, perhaps, the first inventors of this branch of grammar, at least we find it in some tolerably old German grammars treated of in connection and at large. The late excellent, learned, and industrious librarian, J. P. Adelung, has a long section on this subject in his great German grammar. Mr. Rask also, in his Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon and Frisian grammars, has a section of considerable extent on the formation of words. Dr. K. F. Becker has written a separate volume in German on this matter; and we learn from the preface of Mr. Petersen's prize-essay, that even he has published a treatise on this head of Danish grammar, nor has he overlooked this subject in his work mentioned above. Dr. Grimm has written a volume of more than 1000 pages on this second part of grammar, of which however not twenty are readable, and scarcely one palatable to an Englishman, the whole consisting of an ocean of detached words and syllables, terminations, abbreviations, and quotations, and looking somewhat like the wide surface of a troubled sea. We do not doubt that it contains an immense mass of learning, but, we fear, also an immense mass of error, not to say nonsense or pedantry. As a specimen we shall only adduce pages 279, 280, where the Doctor is dividing the German and English words *ben-ch*, *dren-ch*, *stor-k*, *fol-k*, *than-k wor-k*, &c., declaring the *ch*, *k*, to be derivative affixes, but not considering at all whether *ben*, *dren*, *stor*, *fol*, &c. be real roots in any language, and of any meaning whatever, nor whether the *ch* and *k* be real forms of derivation, and, if such be the case, what peculiar determination of the sense they be intended to impart to the roots. Instead of this Dr. Grimm pursues the phantom in various shapes, (such as *ak*, *ik*, *uk*,) through all the different parts of speech, for instance, the adjective *dar-k* and the verb *thin-k*; so that, perhaps, *dark* should be derived from *dare*, and *think* from *thin*. We regret to say that

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that much erudition, sagacity, and diligence has been wasted in this volume to little or no purpose, or at least, that it seems much inferior in execution and utility to its predecessor.

Bibliothek der neusten Weltkunde. Von Malten. 8er. Theil.

This interesting periodical continues to merit the support which it has hitherto received, though the present number contains only one original article, the substance of which, we think, will interest our readers. It is entitled: 'The illness and last moments of the Emperor Alexander, at Taganrog; by an Ocular Witness.' On his return from the baths of Georgiewsk, where the writer had stayed some months for the benefit of his health, he stopped a few days at Taganrog, just as the emperor had arrived.

'The ostensible object of his majesty in this journey was to accompany his consort, who was unwell, to the milder climate of southern Russia. Her life was visibly declining. The emperor, who had long neglected his excellent consort, began now to treat her with unexpected tenderness. He became sensible of, and appreciated, the pure and devoted love of that angel in human shape. His anxious care and returning tenderness for her seemed to have prompted him to attend her on this journey, whilst he, in fact, was equally, if not more strongly, urged by other motives, to repair to Taganrog. These were of a nature purely political, and derived from the events of the moment. They, at the same time, afforded the autocrat an opportunity for visiting the southern provinces of his empire. He had intended there to introduce useful reforms, and, at the same time, desired to be absent from his residence whilst an important political concern was to be decided. The monarch had personally discovered symptoms of an alarming fermentation agitating a large number of enlightened and energetic young officers, who were fomenting hostile designs, not against his house, but against privileges which degraded a great majority of their fellow-subjects, in favour of a few powerful families. This plot had in some measure been formed for the purpose of effecting the very change the emperor intended to bring about. But, as these reforms could be effected only legally, it was impossible for the emperor to sanction the means by which they were to be introduced: he could not but oppose and condemn them. The time was fixed for crushing the conspiracy in its birth; and Alexander repaired to those distant parts of his empire, to avoid being present, when the conspirators were to be seized and committed to the avenging arm of justice. He arrived at Taganrog at the latter end of August, 1825. This town is situated in a sterile, sandy plain, on the shore of the sea of Azow. It is small, its harbour shallow, and large vessels are obliged to anchor at one hour and a half's distance from it. The trade of the place is confined to the exportation of grain, and of the produce of its fishery. The emperor soon grew fond of Taganrog. He resolved to enlarge and embellish it, and, for this purpose, designed with his own hand plans, which, if executed, would have rendered it equal, both in size and beauty, to the finest city in Europe. It is even now a pleasant place. Its streets are broad and rectangular. The houses are built of wood and brick, and the view of it from the land-side is extremely picturesque. It has a population of from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants. The mansion in which the emperor resided (the palace of the present governor) is situated on the sea-shore, over against the fortress of Azow.' Having premised this local description, the traveller proceeds to a concise account of the occurrences he witnessed there in November, 1825; after having previously given a few hints concerning the late emperor's character. They, probably, will serve to cast the requisite light on the interests he has detailed.

'Alexander,' he says, 'was a sincere favourer of mental enlightenment. Whenever

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ever circumstances required that he should render his subjects sensible of his absolute sway, he always intended to promote the public good, and to introduce what, to him, appeared useful improvements. His severest blows frequently were levelled at the higher classes, because they opposed most obstinately the execution of his humane designs. Yet he hesitatingly withdrew the hand of autocratic power, wherever he experienced greater resistance than he had apprehended, as it was guided rather by a feeling heart, than by the impressions of a grand design. The views which occupied the emperor's soul were more the effects of the excellent education he had received, and which corresponded in every respect with the demands of the age in which he lived, and of the prevailing spirit of the times as observed in France, England, and Germany, than the effusions of a superior mind. The views by which he was guided, were not the consequence of his own reflections, but rather of impressions he had received in his converse with distinguished and eminent men. Nevertheless, his mind was not a common one; neither did he want circumspection and penetration. His plans of reform, which long before had ceased being secrets, had irritated the ancient nobility, who were hostile to all changes, however beneficial, that threatened danger to their privileges. Alexander's perseverance had caused some disagreement even in the imperial family. The empress-mother, whose firmness had been experienced already on various occasions, and whose influence seemed to be growing, found herself, by her situation and disposition, at the head of the disaffected party.'.....' I frequently saw the emperor at Taganrog. He was wont to take a solitary walk every morning. At a later hour he was to be met walking arm in arm with his august consort, entirely unattended. On these walks the imperial couple were extremely condescending to every one. The emperor endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the wishes and wants of all inhabitants, who approached him with confidence and love.'.....' One morning I met his majesty in the public garden of Taganrog. He was by himself. Seeing him, I proceeded on my walk by a side-path. But he soon came near me, directing to me a few kind inquiries. He paid great attention to what I said, and, after a conversation on general topics, dismissed me very graciously. A few days after, I met him a second time, at the skirts of the town. He was just stepping out of a cottage, and kindly returned the salutations of the passers by. I was informed afterwards, that he had been carrying some cordials to a poor sick widow, and left 500 rubles on her table.'.....' His countenance was less serene than when I saw him the first time: some heavy sorrow seemed to depress him.—Whilst the empress was sojourning at Taganrog for the recovery of her health, the emperor made several excursions on the banks of the Don, stopped some time at Toherksk, and was just proceeding to Astrachan, when Count Woronzow, the governor-general of Odessa, whom Alexander honoured with his friendship and confidence, arrived, and by his communications put a sudden stop to it. After an audience of two hours, the emperor resolved to repair to the Crimea, in order to relieve personally the distress of the population of that province. This excursion was intended to be a long one. The emperor first visited the southern coast of the Crimea. On his arrival there he suddenly felt himself indisposed, which he ascribed to a slight cold; but being soon afterwards seized with a fever, he was obliged to stop at a castle belonging to Count Woronzow. His physician Wylie, a Scotchman, administered to him a potion, after which he grew considerably worse, and gave orders for his being carried back to Taganrog immediately. I saw him, when he arrived there. He was wrapped in a gray cloak. His countenance betrayed both bodily and mental suffering. The increasing danger of the emperor was kept secret in the beginning. It is rumoured that he was struck with a horrible suspicion, and obstinately refused to take any more medicine, though strongly entreated by the empress. Only once, he permitted the application

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cation of leeches. From this period the emperor's illness grew more alarming every day. Wylie now began to publish diurnal bulletins. The inhabitants besieged the mansion of their august protector and benefactor day and night. The emperor suffered the most excruciating pains, but still obstinately refused to take medicine. It was even reported, that he had driven his physician out of his apartment, because he had importuned him too much. He continually demanded of his attendants to be supplied with ice-water, declaring that alone afforded him relief, whilst Wylie's medicines burned his intestines. One day, when the emperor enjoyed a few moments of ease, he wrote a letter, and sealed it himself. The taper of which he had made use being left burning, he said to a servant, "Pray, extinguish that light, lest people should imagine that one of us has died." Wylie refused to admit the physicians of the empress to a consultation. *Strofrenne* alone was admitted once to the august patient, by the urgent desire of the empress. Alexander's illness lasted eleven days. A young *French physician*, who happened to be at Taganrog, had likewise requested the favour of being admitted to assist at a consultation; but his anxious solicitations were rejected. I met him on the day previous to the emperor's death, when he mysteriously hinted to me his suspicion. "The emperor," he said, "cannot be saved;" and Alexander actually died on the following day (December 13, 1825). He expired some minutes after ten o'clock in the forenoon. It was rumoured that he died the evening before. I saw the corpse some hours after the official publication of the emperor's decease. His countenance was strikingly altered. When the corpse, three days after, was publicly exposed, the face was covered with a veil. It had grown completely black. The corpse was publicly exhibited three days, when it was put into a coffin, and with great *solemnity* removed to the church. There it remained four days, and was then transported to Petersburg. A confidential servant of the late emperor, who had constantly been about his person for some years, attended his remains, which were guarded by two adjutants, who were seated on the hearse, and escorted by two squadrons of Cossacks.—When the corpse was opened, a gathering of water was found to have taken place on the brain. Two days after the autopsy, which was performed immediately on the emperor's decease, the whole body turned yellow —a circumstance the more striking, as the weather was extremely cold. Express orders had been given to the adjutants, not to suffer the coffin to be opened, on any pretext, before its arrival at Petersburg.—The unfortunate empress had nursed her august consort with the most exemplary solicitude to his last moment. Her frame was completely exhausted, though her soul had been animated by her care for her "angel," as she used to call him. When she had lost him, she insisted upon attending all the numerous prayers to be performed over the corpse, and faithfully acquitted herself of this painful duty, fainting, however, repeatedly during the performance of these melancholy rites. As to the few moments of earthly life remaining to her, she was completely indifferent: the world had no more charms for her. When the corpse of her departed lord had been removed into the church, she made his sick-chamber her residence, and when it was to be conveyed to Petersburg, she staggered to the church, to be present at the last ceremony, at which she assisted in an uninterrupted swoon. The loss of her consort seemed to have dissolved all the bonds that had connected her with this world; and after the expiration of four mournful months, she left Taganrog for the government of Kaluga, where a beautiful estate had been purchased for her. But she had scarcely finished one-third of the road, when she felt herself completely exhausted, and expired soon after at Below, a small town in the government of Kursk.—Wylie was deeply affected by the emperor's death, locking himself up in his apartment, and refusing to see any one. It was rumoured he was deranged, when, contrary to all expectation, he suddenly set out for Petersburg, having been appointed physician to the new emperor.'

Gemälde

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Gemälde von Ungarn, von Johann von Coaplovics. 2 Th. Pesth, bei C. A. Harleben, 1829.

This work, which is rendered particularly instructive by an ethnographic map, displays so much knowledge and frankness, and is so uncommonly copious, that we shall render our readers an acceptable service by extracting from it, as copiously as our limits allow, the more especially, as Hungary is still less known than many other countries, the knowledge of which is by far less interesting. The author has attempted to furnish in this work a statistical ethnography of Hungary, in which he has succeeded extremely well. His style is original, his language candid and impartial, frequently rather blunt in vindicating his country against the partial and biassed observations of several foreign writers, whilst many of his individual descriptions are highly animated and striking. The work is divided into the following eight sections: I. Hungary, Europe in miniature. II. Division into comitates, districts, towns, market-towns, &c. III. Population. IV. Religion. V. Literature, scientific enlightenment, arts. VI. Industry. VII. Hungary considered as a state. VIII. National customs, manners, and festivals. In the first section the author has drawn a most interesting comparison of Hungary and other European countries with regard to climate, soil, natural produce, and men; for in this charming country we actually find united all that is found dispersed in other European countries. Whilst an almost uninterrupted winter is prevailing in the Carpathian highlands, where oats scarcely ripen, and the inhabitants derive a scanty subsistence from meal and potatoes, winter prevails in the lowlands scarcely two months, the Bannate yields abundance of rice, cotton, and silk-worms, the inhabitants are in the enjoyment of the most nutritious wheaten bread and the most excellent wines, and their fields produce abundance of rice, sugar-cane, and water-melons, without much labour. Lakes, rivers, cold and hot mineral springs of all kinds, are everywhere to be found. Hungary also produces a great quantity of tin and semimetals, as well as a variety of precious stones; and thus is to the Austrian monarchy not only a granary, but also what Peru and Mexico formerly were to Spain. According to Beuldart's calculation, Hungary produces about half as much gold as all Europe taken together, and rather more than one-third of silver. 'Neusohl is encompassed with copper, Chemnitz with silver, and Kremnitz with golden walls,' is an old saying. Tellurium and the precious opal are exclusively the produce of Hungary, whose king might call himself the king of opals. Puzzolano is found in the Bannate, and Ferenzzy, a Hungarian sculptor, lately discovered in the comitate of Krassö, a kind of marble equal to that of Carrara. All Europe might be supplied with the salt this country produces. Soda exudes spontaneously from the earth in great abundance in the comitates of Bahar and Wieselburg. Nature is equally prolific in plants and animals. The Hungarian plums are excellent, and of so large a size, as frequently to weigh four ounces each. In the comitate of Beragh there are fir-trees thirty-six fathoms high and six feet and a half in diameter, oak-trees straight and tapering nineteen fathoms high, ash-trees eighteen fathoms high, and from two to three feet in diameter, and maple-trees fourteen fathoms high and thirty-four feet in circumference. Of the river Theiss it is said 'that it contained a greater quantity of fishes than of water.' The delicious Fogas (*Perca lucioperia*), which is to be met with only in the Nile and in Siberia, is found in the Balalon. Sturgeons, of 100 pounds weight are carried from the Black Sea by the Danube, as far as Komorn, and by the Theiss, as far as Lucz, whilst the finest salmon are smuggled from the Baltic as far as the comitate of Zips by the Pobrad river. The abundance and great variety of generous wines is well deserving the huge tuns of Tata and Tyrnau, the former containing

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containing 1500 and the latter 2110 kilderkins of wine. The first stone tun was constructed of red marble, by Charles von Majerfly, at Ofen, in 1825. It contains 9000 gallons, is semicircular, and cemented together. Hungary boasts of a natural ice-cellar in the ice-cavern near Szilicze, in the comitate of Torna, which is highly remarkable, the air in it being tepid in winter, but icy cold in the burning heat of summer. The water, trickling down from the top, freezes the more rapidly, the more violent the heat of the external air is, and gradually fills the whole extent of the cavern with ice. The ice accumulates so astonishingly during the heat of the summer, that some thousands of waggons might be loaded with it. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood supply themselves, during the hottest season, with ice from this cavern, mixing it with their well-water, or suffering it to melt, and esteem it extremely salubrious, it being supposed to be of a diuretic and sudorific quality. In the beginning of winter this cavern is the resort of such animals and vermin as cannot well bear the severity of the season. A salt-pit at Szlatina in the comitate of Marmaro exhibits a most uncommon phenomenon; an inflammable gas issuing uninterruptedly from a shaft, which was sunk in it in search of a layer of mineral salt, and having been set on fire accidentally in 1826, has continued burning to the present day.

The inhabitants of Hungary are composed of 1. Magyars; 2. Slowacks, Szotaki, Ruthenians, (Russians), Bohemians, Poles, Vandals, Croats, Slavonians, Servians, Bulgarians; 3. Germans, viz. Saxons, Swabians, Franconians; of emigrants from the Alsace, Thüringia, the Tyrolese, Austria, &c. &c.; 4. Wlachians; 5. New Greeks, or Macedonians; 6. Macedo-Wlachians; 7. Arminians; 8. Elementines; 9. Frenchmen; 10. Italians; 11. Jews; 12. Portuguese and Spanish Jews; 13. Gipsies; 14. Turks. If we consider this medley, to which nearly all European countries have contributed their share, we cannot but agree, in this respect, with the author, when he declares Hungary to be *Europe in miniature*. It is most interesting to observe how strikingly the characters of the different inhabitants of Hungary distinguish themselves in the most varied relations of life. The author has described this generally by some slight though striking touches. We shall extract a few of them for the information of our readers: 'Slowacks, Ruthenians, Germans, Wlachians, Vandals, and partly Croats also, seem to be partial to cold, mountainous districts. The Magyar alone seems to be a downright equatorial creature, inasmuch as he is fond of champain-countries, of a warm climate, and a fertile soil. He occupies the most favoured part of the kingdom. The Arminian too is partial to a champain-country; as for the Jews, they are satisfied anywhere, whilst they are in the way of getting money. The Slowacks and Germans must be looked for in towns, the Magyars in market-towns, the Slowacks in large villages, the Wlachians and Ruthenians in small scattered hamlets. The Magyars, in general, are well fed, the Slowacks meagre, the Ruthenians, Servians, Wlachians, and Vandals rather lean, the Germans emaciated and of a livid complexion; all these latter tribes, inasmuch as they, in general, inhabit mountainous districts. The language of the Hungarians is bold, sharp, and lofty: and the Hungarian is proud. The language of the Servian, on the contrary, is peaceable, simple, calm, and gentle; and so is also his character. The Hungarian is more irritable, violent, and hasty; the Slavonian slower and more persevering. The Hungarian, therefore, would be more desirable as a lover, the Slavonian as a husband; the former more irresistible in a war of aggression; the latter in the defence of a fortified place. The Hungarian incontestably possesses the most fiery temper, and is completely qualified both for uncommonly good and bad actions. The Slowack is much cooler; and still more so the German; then follows the Wlachian and Servian, and last of all, the Ruthenian. The poor Jew is totally destitute

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destitute of courage, and may be frightened with an empty meal-sack beyond the Carpathian mountains. The Hungarian soon forgets injuries, the German later, but the Slowack and Wlachian never. The Ruthenian is continually quarrelling; the Jew is for ever involved in law-suits, but is ready to be reconciled, as soon as danger threatens his family or one of his nation. The Magyar is proud of being mounted on a fine horse; the Slowack, when he is permitted to converse rather familiarly with people of high rank; the German when he may carry a cane in his hand (as judge of his village); the Wlachian, when he can exhibit a shining hatchet, the Ruthenian, when he is admitted to the honour of clerical orders; the Jew, when he has got farmers on his rent-roll; and the gipsy, when he is dressed in scarlet breeches. The German ladies of Zips are extremely fond of flowers, whilst those of Oedenburgh are entirely indifferent to them. When the Magyar is in liquor, he is melancholy, nay even careless of his life; the Slowack pretends to be witty, the German is talkative and very tiresome, the Wlachian is quarrelsome, and ready to shed blood; and the Ruthenian mutters inwardly, is reserved and prone to revenge. When the Magyar or Slowack is going to cheat a person he praises him; the German offers him his services, the Wlachian protests to be his friend; the Ruthenian feigns to be stupid; the Servian is submissive; the Jew promises mountains of gold; the gipsy jokes. Whenever a quarrel arises, the German screams and threatens, the Croat swears and curses, the Ruthenian spits at his adversary, and seizes him by his hair; the Slowack makes use of his fists, and boxes his enemy; the Magyar cudgels him till blood begins to flow, the gipsy assails his face with his nails; the Wlachian strives to strike him dead, and the Jew screams and takes to his heels. When the Magyar swears he always takes God to witness, whilst the Slowack calls upon the devil to take him. The cursing Magyar, Wlachian, and Servian use an immense variety of abusive names; the Slowack hurls a thousand thunderbolts at his opponent, and the German ever calls the devil to his aid. The Magyar preferably appropriates to himself, without paying for it, (i. e. steals) cattle, especially horses, then oxen, the Slowack eatables, the Slavonian iron and leather utensils, the Wlachian money; the latter does not hesitate murdering a traveller for the sake of a few shining buttons, which he takes for gold, whilst the German without discrimination pilfers whatever he can get. When the Slowack abstains from stealing, he does it because he believes theft to be criminal; the Ruthenian from fear of punishment; the Magyar because he is not in the humour for it, and the German from want of an opportunity.

The Magyar by preference enters into the light-horse service, the Slowack also prefers serving in the cavalry, whilst the Ruthenian is afraid of horses, and you cannot terrify him more than by telling him that he is to be a hussar; the Wlachian and German seem to be born for serving in the artillery; the Jew, however, for the train-service, for he is very much afraid of fire-arms.

In latter times two epochs have had a considerable influence upon the private and public life of the Hungarians, upon their character, manner of thinking, and their morality, viz. the short reign of Joseph II., and the introduction of paper-money, which took place in 1800. These were two electrical shocks of an astonishing effect, differing, however, in several respects. The beneficial results of the former, and the fatal consequences of the latter, are demonstrated distinctly, but cannot be detailed in this place.

As for literature, the arts and sciences, they have not been cultivated hitherto in Hungary. In the two former the Germans have, proportionably, made the greater progress; after them the Magyars. The genuine national music is practised almost exclusively by the gipsies, who have a peculiar taste for music, and have produced several very eminent artists in this department. On this occasion, we must observe that Oeser, the celebrated painter, who in

1799

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1799 died at Leipsig, where he had been director of the academy of arts, was born at Presburg in 1717; and that G. MIND, the *Cat-Raphaël*, as he is called, who died at Bern in his forty-sixth year, likewise was a native of Hungary.

With regard to industry, the Hungarians distinguish themselves 1. by an understanding generally prevailing among them, leaving to their cattle whatever labour possibly can be performed by animals, in order to make themselves as easy and comfortable as circumstances will allow; 2. by commonly performing all labour with a lavish application of power; the farmer, for instance, yoking four or six heads of cattle to his plough, when two would have been sufficient.

As for the rest, the Slowack is fond of performing his labour with his feet, hands, and mouth; the Jew with his mouth and feet; the Ruthenian, Wlachian, and Slavonian rarely use one or the other, finding their greatest delight in the sweet *far niente*.

To the great national kitchen the Magyar contributes bread, meat, and wine, the Ruthenian and Wlachian, salt from the salt-pits of Marmorosh; the Slavonian bacon, for Slavonia furnishes the greater number of fattened pigs; the German, potatoes and vegetables; the Italian, rice; the Slowack, milk, cheese, and butter, table-linen and kitchen utensils, crockery-ware; the Jew supplies the Hungarians with money, and the Gipsy furnishes the national entertainment with music. These few specimens will enable our readers to judge how interesting and instructive this work of Mr. Coaplovics is, and that a translation of it would greatly enrich our ethnographical literature.

Gedanken und Urtheile Clemens XIV über die wichtigsten Gegenstände des Lebens &c. &c. von Schröder, Leipzig, bei Wienbrack, 1829.

AT a period in which the artifices and intrigues of the Jesuits and other obscurants are carried on so openly, and Rome is striving anew, to regain her lost supremacy and power, a reference to a pope, who was a decided lover of light and who abolished the order of Jesuits, cannot but be grateful to every unbiassed mind. Justice also requires that we should acknowledge what was praiseworthy in some of the popes, since we do not hesitate branding their memory for the manifold mischiefs on record, of which many unholy successors of St. Peter were the authors. Thus this book is both seasonable and honourable to our contemporaries. The editor in selecting the most remarkable sentiments and opinions of this Pope, has, upon the whole, shown great judgment in his choice. A man, as liberal in his sentiments, and as moderate as Clement XIV. was on the papal see, is a rare phenomenon, and worthy of consideration. The few brief extracts we shall make from this work, will enable our readers to judge what they may expect to find in it. Clement, amongst other passages, says, 'If we desire to check the progress of an evil, we must pursue it to its very source. All penances and absolution are insufficient for the suppression of a single prevailing moral defect; and this ought to be considered by all confessors of reigning princes.'. . .' Legends and mystical books ought not to be read at all.'. . .' The christian religion is like the firmament: the more diligently you search the latter, the more stars you will discover. It is like the ocean: the longer you regard it, the more immeasurable it will appear to you.'. . .' Open the books of our religion, and you will find that its language is no other than that of love, and that it pretends to no power, but that of persuasion. It was not religion, but an erroneous zeal, assuming its shape, that kindled the fire, and brandished the sword, to compel heretics to abjure their faith, and the Jews to turn christians,' &c. &c.

Brauns

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Brauns Mittheilungen aus Nord Amerika. 8vo. Braunschweig, 1829.

Dr. Braun, whose earlier intelligence from North America has communicated to his countrymen many very useful observations respecting the United States, to which they continue expatriating themselves, says: 'This publication is by no means intended to dazzle youthful and unexperienced minds by charming descriptions of the transatlantic countries, and to entice them to emigration, but rather to dissuade from it such as can earn a comfortable subsistence in their native country, and to furnish those who are irrevocably determined to settle there, with practical advice collected on the spot. For this purpose there are detailed in it several cases of unsuccessful German settlers in the United States, of a very melancholy and uninviting nature.' He farther observes: 'Germans, in particular, are least fit for cultivating a wild forest district, although they are extremely capable of *improving* settlements that are already in a state of incipient cultivation. Therefore, I dissuade all Germans from settling in the wildernesses of North America, advising them rather, if they be not in possession of as much money as is required to enable them to purchase a property already in a state of cultivation, to wait till they shall have acquired a capital equal to the purchase of such a parcel of land. In parts that are in a state of absolute wilderness, man must assume the colour of the country, and distinguish himself as little as possible from the savage native. Such steps retrograde from a civilized agricultural life into the savage courses of a hunter, and agree with very few Germans, who, in most instances, sink under the pressure of a mode of life, connected with sufferings and exertions totally novel to them. I must, however, observe here, that prudent Anglo-American parents are greatly inclined to marry their daughters to German settlers, and thereby to transplant into their families German industry and economy.' In another place the author observes: 'Many Europeans fancy North America to be an entirely uncultivated wild, inhabited by a population as savage as the country itself, or the seat of complete liberty and equality. Either notion is liable to the most fatal fallacies. The United States of North America contain at present a population of about twelve millions of souls, of whom there are at least two millions of coloured people; consequently one-fifth of the population are living in a state of bondage. Where, then, is liberty and equality? As long as the system of slavery shall continue in North America, the discord among the negroes themselves, the vigilance of their overseers, the fear of the whip, and the dreadful chastisements inflicted upon the refractory will prevent the blacks from plotting the destruction of their masters. Nevertheless, as Mr. Bristed informs us, Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, lately declared in a speech delivered in congress, at Washington, that in Virginia, when at night the alarm-bell was rung, to give notice of the breaking out of fire, all white people were seized with terror, and each mother anxiously pressed her infant in her arms, apprehending a general revolt of the negroes to have taken place. Thus the system of negro-slavery is a permanent, most conspicuous evil. It not only engenders an enormous accumulation of physical sufferings, and of a heavy moral guilt, whilst the negro is languishing in fetters; but, whilst the bodies of the blacks are abused worse than those of brutes, their understanding is darkened and their hearts corrupted; their incapability of ever being manumitted, and of making a proper use of the advantages of freedom is perpetuated and even increased. In the southern parts of the American union the blacks are rarely indulged with the benefit of a regular religious instruction. Their masters, who have acquired their bodies as an article of trade, are disposed to fancy that they also have purchased their souls into the bargain, and will not allow their wretched situation to be rendered less insupportable by the light and the consolations of religion. The free blacks roving about in the northern and middle states of the union, are, for the most part, an

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an idle, vicious, and abandoned set, almost totally incapable of being, by moral laws, withheld from lying, stealing, and other grosser crimes. A few years ago a parcel of free negroes at New York amused themselves, in winter, with setting fire to whole rows of houses, in order to get an opportunity for pilfering more freely, during the confusion occasioned by the conflagration. In the winter of 1816-1817, a negro was hanged for the perpetration of this crime. It is really melancholy to behold that in a nation whose laws are founded on the principle of equality, the negroes should still languish in slavery, and, what is worse, be treated with the most haughty contempt. What a lamentable contrast between this land of liberty and the absolute monarchies of Europe do we discover, when we consider the abject condition of this unfortunate class of rational beings! What still more aggravates their lamentable state, is, that the contempt with which these *Parias* of the new world are treated, would infallibly communicate itself to any one, that should dare to commiserate the distress of the unfortunate wretches. The disgrace which, in consequence of the most deplorable prejudice, is attached to their birth, seizes, like some contagious distemper, the compassionate man, who is not deaf to their complaints. Any person seen in familiar intercourse with a negro, would be dishonoured in the opinion of every respectable American; and if any one should forget himself so far, as to lend his arm to a negro-woman, however respectable, he could appear no more in genteel company, for he would be considered (especially by the ladies) as branded with indelible infamy. The vulgar have given to the negro race the mock denomination of "smoked-beef." How cruelly the negroes are treated in North America by the white population, appears from an occurrence related in a North American newspaper of 1820: "A FREE negro of New York, making a journey to the south, was thrown into prison at Washington, as is the case of every negro coming from distant parts to the south, until it should be ascertained that he was not a run-away slave. When the unfortunate traveller had satisfactorily proved that he was a FREE man, he was sold to defray the costs of his imprisonment and the subsequent investigation." The "National Intelligencer," of September 2, 1826, contains a long article, in which the legality of this proceeding is attempted to be demonstrated.'

C. M. Winterling; *Sonette.* Nürnberg, 1829.'

THESE sonnets by a poet of whose very name we were ignorant till now, indicate superior talents, and really deserve being recommended to all lovers of poetry. Fourteen of them are very successful, though rather free translations from Petrarch, Shakspeare, Garcilasso de Vega, and other eminent masters. The poet has displayed great skill in the management of his language, never offering the least violence to it, for the sake of rhyme, &c., &c. We subjoin the 105th sonnet, not because we think it the best, but because it celebrates an author highly esteemed in Germany, and honourably known to all lovers of German literature in this country:

On the interment of Jean Paul (Richter).

Yond' blazes high aloft the deep-red flame
Of numerous torches; to the halls of peace,
With tott'ring steps, a gloomy train proceeds.
Know ye, whose honour'd corpse the mourners bear?
Gay humour's hero now descends to earth.
He, whose renown is spread from pole to pole,
Who all-admir'd and deeply lov'd of all,
Now fills the breasts of all with hopeless grief.
Yet why? is he not gone to regions where
He oft was wont to dwell with ecstacy?

There

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There now he lives the life he used to sing;
Is basking there, in the eternal glow
Of heaven's brightness; there in bliss he lauds
What here below his noble muse extoll'd,
When the ecstatic glow illum'd his mind.
His dearest wish is granted—he has died.

Napoleon. Stimmen aus Norden und Süden, Gesammelt von Dr. G. Mohnike. Stralsund, bey Löffler, 1829.

These voices from the north and the south, as the editor calls them, comprehend the following poems: 1. 'Napoleon in Moscow,' by Nicander; in the Swedish and German languages. 2. 'The Hero,' by Tegner; Swedish and German. 3. 'Napoleon's Farewell,' by Lord Byron; in English and German. 4. 'Napoleon's Monologue,' by Nicander; Swedish and German. 5. 'The Fifth of May,' by Manzoni; Italian and German. This number might easily have been increased by the addition of several more poems very little inferior, if not equal, in poetical value to the best of this collection. As arranged by the editor, they, in a manner, form a series of a very tragical tenour. The catastrophe of the grand drama, acted by the Son of Fate, as Manzoni calls him, very properly stands at the head of the collection. These poems carry him from the flames of Moscow to the fields of battle, on which he was overcome, thence to Elba, and, finally, to the basaltic rock of St. Helena. The editor might, however, have gone back to a much earlier period, and, in that case, could not have given a more respectable protasis to this awful political drama, than the ode the Dane, Gens Baggesen, addressed in May, 1798, on the top of Mount St. Bernard, to Napoleon; and the poem entitled 'Napoleon,' addressed by him to Voss, two years after. The ode in question was composed by Baggesen, first in the Danish language, then translated by him into the French, and, four years later, into the German language, which was as familiar to him as his mother-tongue. The hope excited by the deeds performed already by Napoleon, who then was on his way to Egypt, emancipated from the oppression of the Directory, under which all France was groaning, and who, soon after, was to carry his victorious arms across that very mountain, on the summit of which this beautiful ode was composed, was the muse that inspired the poet, and his admiration is powerfully expressed in highly harmonious sapphics. Baggesen's poem, inscribed to Voss, is a poetical dream. The poet fancied to have discovered in Napoleon, then first consul, the all-inspiring hero of an epic poem, founded on a subject of modern times. This enthusiastic admiration had perceptibly cooled already, in 1805, and after 1815, it only gave way to pity; an epistle of condolence from the poet to his once adored hero of that period being actually extant, in which he scoffs at the poets who still continued panegyrizing their idol. We must, however, consider that it was the notion he had formed of his hero, that inspired his muse, and although it should not be realized, this ought not to depreciate in our estimation a poem really excellent. The external phenomena are merely the sparks eliciting the poetical genius, which is self-creating, and places the surrounding nature and world in a light different from that which really belongs to them. Hence, all poets panegyrize their hero, and Hector and Achilles, Diomedes and Odysseus, were not exactly the personages they are represented by the immortal Homer; neither were Pindar's triumphant victors the exact prototypes of those incomparable heroes, his glowing imagination has celebrated. Thus the above-mentioned poems of Baggesen lose nothing of their merit, because the poet, at a later period, found himself constrained to change his opinion of the greatness which his fiery imagination had made him admire in Napoleon. After Manzoni's serious and conciliatory words:

'Tu

'Tu dalle stanche ceneri
Sperdi ogni ria parola!'

the famous poem 'Buonaparte,' by the French poet Alphonse Lamartine, excellent as it is, could find no place in the collection before us.

Besides Lamartine, we must here mention a few more French poets to whom Napoleon furnished the subject of lyric and epic poems of acknowledged merit. These are Delavigne, P. J. de Beranger, and the poetical twin-brothers Barthélemy and Méry. Beranger's poem, which deserves being honourably mentioned in this place, very much resembles Manzoni's celebrated ode, and has the same inscription. In this poem the author introduces a French warrior returning from the Indies on board of a Spanish vessel, who, at the sight of St. Helena, bewails the fate of the banished hero; his lamentations are increased on beholding the black banner waving on the shore of the island. To this last class also belong the 'Couplets sur la Journée de Waterloo,' and the 'Souvenirs de Peuple,' the latter of which are uncommonly sweet.

The associated poets, Barthélemy and Méry, have very lately panegyrized the hero of their nation in an epic poem on the subject of the Egyptian campaign, the last song of which comprises a spirited epilogue, displaying the whole military and imperial career of Napoleon, from his departure from Egypt, to the last act of the drama of his life, on the rock of St. Helena.

Lord Byron's ode to Napoleon would not have suited this collection; for each line of it breathes hatred, nay profound contempt, of the conqueror.

Two more poems on the same subject, composed by Danish poets, though not in their vernacular, but in the Latin language, at the conclusion of the peace of Luneville, in 1801, are said to possess great poetical merit. These two poets are clergymen; one of them is Mr. Niels Blicher, rector of Randlev; and the other Mr. H. C. Bjerving, rector of Aastrup and Falster.

The Scandinavian peninsula never saw the insatiable conqueror, neither did its inhabitants ever experience the oppression which was the inseparable attendant on his banners. It was, therefore, easier for the Scandinavian poets to view the hero of the day only in the greatness of his enterprises; of the numerous human frailties in his character they were never made sensible; the splendour of his appearance, the magnificence of the grand drama in which he acted, and, for a long while, carried through with wonderful success, could not but fix their attention. It was natural that Napoleon, in the fulness of his glory, should have appeared to them some ideal being, separated from them by an extensive space; he was, and continued to them merely a grand historical phenomenon. We should, however, be greatly mistaken, were we to suppose that they had suffered themselves to be dazzled by the glory of the hero and the splendour of his deeds, and that the mental superiority of the man had made them blind to his defects. Far from it! They also were sensible of the dark side of his character; but they were not biassed by the hatred which the inhabitants of other countries naturally must entertain against the destroyer of their peace and prosperity, nor by that kind affection for him which, particularly in France, was coupled with national vanity. Of the muse of several of them it may justly be said, as Manzoni finely expresses it in the second verse of his ode,

'Unsullied both by servile praise,
And vile aspersion, she awoke
Beside his urn ——————.'

Their viewing Napoleon as a being of universal consequence to the whole world, and the impression his monstrous aspirings had made on them, prevail in the three Scandinavian poems contained in this collection, and give to them both their genuine poetical and philosophical signification; whilst the manner in which they have expressed their sentiments, will hand them down to posterity,

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posterity, along with the celebrated ode of Manzoni, which is composed in the same spirit.

Nicander, the author of Napoleon's monologue, in this collection, by introducing the Evil Spirit, whom he represents as having snatched the conqueror of Europe from the flames of Moscow, and afterwards, from the carnage at Waterloo, that he might die an ignoble death at St. Helena, betrays clearly enough the point of view in which he beheld the hero of our century, whose sun set in the conflagration of Moscow, and in the snow and sleet of a Russian winter, to rise no more. Great as were the deeds he achieved subsequently, though they may claim our admiration, yet we can view them only as the results of a desperate courage, opposed to the united forces of Europe. His star was extinguished—Heaven had judged him. What the poet of Napoleon's monologue at St. Helena puts into the mouth of his hero, contains not only poetical and psychological, but also historical truth; for who could doubt but that wishes, such as the banished man by him is made to utter, were really lurking in his heart? that such a complete disgust of life and bitter hatred of mankind, associated with the sense of his former, still unenfeebled, vigour, occupied his soul?

Speaking of the poems of these Scandinavians, we cannot pass over in silence a countryman of theirs, the philosopher and poet Thomas Thorild, the author of the 'Maximum, or Archimetry.' From him we possess some observations on Napoleon, at the time of the consulate, which, probably, are unknown to most of our readers, though well deserving of general circulation. This distinguished Swede did not overlook the greatness of the conqueror of Italy and Egypt; but he perceived already, at that period, that Napoleon was not blessed with those sacred principles of universal morality which alone can render greatness a blessing to mankind. Having dwelt upon the greatness of Alexander and Cæsar, 'who had afforded the world only a spectacle, without having established a single principle of humanity,' he proceeds: 'And Buonaparte? Is it possible? He too? Surely he should have known what WAR is: there is only *one* kind of war: the war of heaven against hell; that is, the war of *prosperity* against *misery* on earth. He that vigorously produces the largest quantity of prosperity, and removes the greatest load of *misery*—he is *at war*: every one else carrying it on, war rages. The sword is thrice blessed, and it is only by the perception of prosperity, that we perceive that the sword is directed by God. Buonaparte also should have known what France is; and then his oriental manifesto would have run thus: 'Buonaparte, the Son of Heaven, is coming, and where he lives, there not one individual is to be left unblest. Every mortal is a child of heaven and his brother, and he must be respected and instructed, for the advancement of virtue. We are carrying on war only against vice and misery; and the flash of our swords, and the thunder of our guns, only proclaim this supreme law of God—ALL SHALL BE HAPPY. Thus he seems to have no notion of the real nature of divine happiness, nor of infernal woe. For that brutish fancy which in a moment destroys the most exalted power, is a raging fury that can be appeased only by the cool justice of heaven. Rage, the more stormy it is, the more violent it grows. Even gloomy hate is a winter, which the fierce north wind renders more rigorous, whilst it is overcome by the congenial rays of the sun.' And a little farther: 'To them (the poets) I present once more the hero of our age. Behold! he is great enough for a *general*, but much too little for a *warrior*. He was not generous enough to be able to say to Cerachi: Thou speakest like a Roman; I know thy courage; tell me all. He had not soul enough to allow him to raise, in his constitution, each peasant to the dignity of a father, and each soldier to that of a son of the country. He was not honest enough to restore Rome and Greece.' This was the language of Thomas Thorild in the year 1800; his mind being inspired with the ideal of an hero, though not of one like Buonaparte. In this strain he proceeds;

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ceeds: 'Hark ye, all ye eminent poets! the *philosophical* century was too silly; let us commence the *poetical* age; though not one of the poetry of tradition, but that of truth; not one founded upon oracles, but upon nature. Let your poetical effusions be founded upon this theme: *divine* GREATNESS *in deeds and in the dispensation of blessings.* Sing! not ye juggling poetasters, but ye angels of heaven, sing: HAPPINESS TO ALL. Enrapture by the power of your heavenly lays, all great statesmen, all emperors and kings, until Greece, the Orient, and all mankind, shall be delivered from the disgrace of slavery, and we, at length, can view without blushing, and without being appalled, the light of heaven, and the flowers of the field.'

Having mentioned in a former place two modern Latin Danish poets, who made Buonaparte the subject of their lays, we may as well here, in a few words, introduce to the acquaintance of our readers a Swedish bard, who has composed many poems in the classic language of ancient Latium. This is D. J. Lundblad, professor at Lund, highly renowned in his country as a poet and orator. Among his poems, edited by his son, there are three referring to the subject in question. We shall copy the third of them, it being the shortest.

'Mars tua, NAPOLEON, miratus et arma viroque,
Hic meus est vindex, hic meus Hector, ait.
I, rerum dominos, Assur, cum Perside jacta;
Hellas, Roma, tuos effer ad astra duces:
Eripit hic palmam cunctis heroibus aevi,
Atque unus numen sistit in orbe meum.'

In his beautiful elegy on Moreau's death, this poet sings:

Ille potens, magnusque, suo generosior aevo est,
Quem lex, quem ratio, juraque fasque regunt,
Qui regni sit fixa salus, pomoeria fixa,
Quae natura dabat, non aliena petit.
Vincere se est major, quam scantia moenia, virtus:
Majus et imperium, dicere jura sibi.
Non leges migrare ratas aut foedera mundi:
Finibus est regnum se tenuisse suis,
Hic natura jubet: vult hoc Diis aequa potestas.
Non aliter terras pax habitare cupit.
VICTORI haec talis constabat regula morum,
Haec animi pietas, semita sancta ducum
Napoleon poterat: VICTOR sed maluit esse.
Hoc quoque Caesareum vicit honore decus.
Fortunae quantum detraxit livor in ILLO,
Tantum etiam famae gloria celsa dedit.

There is none of all the European countries that, since the days of Austerlitz and Auerstadt, has been made to groan more heavily beneath the iron footsteps of the insatiable conqueror than Germany. Many of her ancient monuments and institutions were destroyed, many of her dearest ties torn asunder; great part of her prosperity, in the palaces of princes and in the abodes of individuals, was mercilessly crushed; she beheld violence, and him that exercised it, in his terrific form so near, that her admiration of the greatness of the victor necessarily was superseded by hatred and complaints. Yet these too exercised an inspiring power in the hearts of her poets, who, however, did not dare to give utterance to the sentiments they produced. At an earlier period, when Napoleon fought his Italian battles, when his banners victoriously floated in Egypt, when he crossed Mount St. Bernard, and at Marengo humbled the pride of Austria; then he excited also in the hearts of several German bards sentiments congenial with those that inspired Baggesen's muse, when he composed the above-mentioned poems; but at a later period they became mute; and their songs were

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were heard again in a different strain, after all the world had obtained the persuasion that the improvement of Europe must be effected by means of a totally different nature. It would have been as becoming the gravity of the German nation, if its poets had been more sparing in their abuse of Napoleon after his fall. The Germans possess, however, one elegant piece of oratory respecting Napoleon, composed at the time when he had attained to the acme of his glory, by one of their most popular bards. We mean the discourse delivered by Kosegarten in the year 1809, on the birth-day of Napoleon; which, though a composition in prose, may properly be called a poem, it being, with regard to diction, one of the finest and most elaborate effusions of the genius of its author. It is notorious in Germany, how severely Kosegarten was censured both at home and abroad, on account of the tenour of this discourse, which with great propriety might be called a lyrical panegyric. Now that the inspired orator in the silent and protecting grave is inaccessible both to censure and to praise, every candid reader will readily do justice to this discourse, which contains many excellent and maturely weighed ideas, expressed in a masterly style, and gives ample evidence of a reflecting mind. Though the poet may be said to supersede, rather too strikingly, the orator in some passages; yet, if we make proper allowance for some singularities and a few exaggerations, the remainder will stand a fair chance of approbation at the tribunal of history. The second part of this discourse, in particular, is profoundly conceived and admirably expressed. We do not know of an author on the continent who, at that period, ventured to tell the then ruler of nearly all Europe, truths more severe than those our orator both uttered and published in print, whilst he was surrounded by the warriors of that powerful man. He says, amongst others: 'May, in the mean time, the great man, whose nativity is celebrating to day, not only by ourselves, but by the nations extending from the Ebro to the Vistula, in what remains of his career, justify the confidence placed in him by his admirers, and appease those, who, as yet, remain estranged from him! May he be indefatigable in healing, by the wisdom of his laws, the wounds mankind have received from his sword! May, along with the rising superiority of his station, his views be exalted, and his great mind be enlarged, so as to comprehend both the intellectual and the physical prosperity of the whole human race! May he be soon enabled to exchange the laurel, bought almost too dearly, for the palm of peace. May he save his heart under the load of cares that are crowding upon him, and out of the carnage of so many battles carry off his humanity, as the most valuable trophy. May he reverence the tribunal of history, and stand in awe of the scourge of Nemesis, and spare the dearest privilege of man, the privilege of a free press! May he bear in mind, that he is answerable to God, and never forget, that he too cannot escape the last fatal hour.'

These serious admonitions of the poet and orator remind us of the equally important words addressed to Napoleon at Lyons, in 1802, by the excellent *Ugo Foscolo*, the spokesman of the Cisalpine republic, when he, with Demosthenian energy thus harangued him:—'If many of these great men (he mentions here the names of Alexander, Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Marcus Aurelius, Alfred, Leo X., &c. &c.) did not keep themselves unstained by crimes, it must be considered, that they were mortals like yourself; and it was not the hope, or the awe of their contemporaries, but fearless posterity, that inscribed their sentence upon their tombs. Countless instances, known to all, have already sanctioned this saying of the ancient sages: 'No man is to be esteemed virtuous, previously to his death.' Passing over in silence your glorious deeds, I fearlessly purpose praising you for what you intend to do for the benefit of our republic. For could we be grateful to you for any thing else? And what else but prosperity could our country expect of you, in whose veins Italian blood is flowing. Glory and power, forsooth, are easily gained, if wrested from

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general cowardice; conquerors and tyrants are, however, neither happy nor scarce; nor were you intended to aim at *common* glory. You are still wanting the only laurel that never yet graced the head of a mortal—that of being the saviour of conquered nations.'....' Envious tyranny is hostile to all that is great, nay to all magnanimity and every spark of greatness; neither does it rest until all are extinguished. There is yet time given you for doing good. Do not commit the seed of happiness to the guardianship of men, but to that of the law; not to the generosity of nations, but to its inherent powers; lest you should expose the stability of your creation to the ingratitude of men, and to the caprices of fickle fortune.'....' Therefore strive to advance our prosperity, whilst you are providing for your own glory. Of this nature let your laws be; of this complexion your example.'....' Since you cannot live for us for ever, be, at least, the surety of our liberty, by not invading it yourself. And, my whole country agrees with me, when I declare, that our liberty consists in having no chief, (save Buonaparte,) who is not also our fellow-citizen. Although there should be *one* mortal possessing the most unblemished character, yet not being a citizen subject to our common laws, and invested with power over us under the title of general, or deputy, he would in a short time overturn all military regulations; nay, the state itself.—No! no! there is neither liberty nor property, nor life in any country whatever in which national independence is fettered, though it were in the possession of the freest form of government.'.... 'Should the French government retain any right over us (save that of demanding our gratitude), be it ever so little, or distant—ah!—with what a deluge of blood would our grandchildren see the Adige and the Po overflow their banks; especially, when the terror of your name should have left us along with your person, and the surrounding nations should rise again to dispute with us our fields, our garments, and the example of France prove the excitement to, and the pretence for future horrid wars. How? should your numerous wonderful deeds yield us nothing but misery, slaughter, and tears? And the hope of Italian glory, should it again be reduced to the certainty of unavoidable disgrace? Oh! what an inglorious night would cover your name, if, one day, the Cisalpine nation were compelled to exclaim, "Why did not you leave us prostrate in our accustomed drowsy slavery, instead of rousing us to the acquisition of a tempestuous and transient liberty?"' Passages of a like tenour also occur in the spirited 'Letters of Jacopo Orti,' by Ugo Foscolo. Among the voices of contemporaries referring to Napoleon, the words of Foscolo deserve being recorded, who dared to address those weighty words to Napoleon, and to remind him of the august names of Moreau and Massena, as patterns of imitation, and of their having been sharers in his success and triumphs.

Whoever reads the five poems contained in this collection, will readily allow, that each of them possesses high poetical merit, different as the views of the authors are of the man to whom they refer. The great value of Manzoni's ode has been acknowledged not only in Italy, but all over Europe, especially in Germany, whose most eminent poets, with Göthe at their head, have rivalled each other in translating it into their mother-tongue.

Don Juan und Faust. Eine Tragödie von Grabbe. Frankfurt am M., 1829. Hermannsche Buchhandlung.

WITHIN the last few years, the euphonious name of Grabbe has been considerably noised abroad in Germany. The 'Hallische Litteraturzeitung,' one of the most influential periodicals of that country, when reviewing this author's first production ('Dramatische Dichtungen,' 2 Bände, 1827), placed him above Byron, in point of power and reckless daring. As to foolhardiness and ridiculous rant, Mr. Grabbe is a match for any man living; as to power, the old gentlewoman of Halle may rank him above Byron and Shakspeare, and we wish him

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him joy of his elevation, knowing as we do that his tumbling time is nigh at hand. The 'Dichtungen' in question teem with extravagance, and were a very fitting preparative for the tragedy named at the head of this article.

The subject is sufficiently indicated by the title, and the poet has probably conceived that Göthe and Byron were liable to censure for making the gay gentleman and the learned gentleman distinct heroes, and in two distinct languages. Wherefore the bountiful-minded Grabbe hath made these two mad fellows subservient to his tragic designs, presenting us at once with the sensual Don Juan and the supersensual Faust. Donna Anna, the daughter of Don Guzman, is brought upon the moving scene, in order that both heroes may fall in love with her. This they do, and she, like a girl of discrimination, gives her heart to Juan, whom, from principle, she despises, and rejects Faust, who had conveyed her to a magic palace on Mont Blanc. The ruler of spirits kills the unrequiting object of his love, and immediately experiences the most cruel remorse for his own violence. Don Juan is more of a philosopher, comforting himself with the thought that there are a thousand beauties yet existing; he bears the account of the death of his mistress without even breaking up his banquet, to which he had recklessly invited the statue of Don Guzman, as in Mozart's celebrated opera. The career of the two heroes terminates as in the legend (i. e. they go to the devil), Don Juan's last exclamation being

'König und Ruhm und Vaterland und Liebe.'

Faust is a caricature of—what we need not say. Don Juan is, as he has ever been with playwrights and tale-tellers of all kinds, a witty, sensual villain. Leperello is the same merry fellow we have all met, and hope to meet again. Goosey Guzman is the worthy father of an unfortunate young woman, who died as we have observed, without destroying Don Juan's appetite for supper.

It is pleasing to see pretty stories, which have delighted so many juvenile readers and pantomime frequenters, thus coming forward in the still more queer and ticklish dress of tragic fustian. A genuflexion is due to this grave appearance,

'and shortly after
A most unoriental roar of laughter,'

will be found very appropriate and delectable.

Dramatiske Digte. Hauch; Copenhagen, 1829.

The author's name is already known to many of our readers, and he is well-deserving of the celebrity which he enjoys in his own country. His works display excellences rarely found united in the same person. He possesses a correct knowledge of ancient literature, as well as of the human heart and its passions; and his diction is vigorous, warm, and highly poetical. The two volumes before us contain four dramas: *Bajazet*, *Tiberius*, *Gregory VII.*, and *Don Juan*. In the first the characters of Bajazet and Tamerlane are very skilfully exhibited. In the second he has portrayed the gloomy tyrant, but, at the same time, delineated a picture of the Roman Colossus, as it was destroyed by the abomination and absurdity of its idolatry. To the powerful Hildebrand he has imparted that haughty vivacity, that energy of character, that persuasive eloquence, which gave to this impetuous pope such great power over the events of his time. The character of Don Juan has been portrayed more vigorously by our author than by some other poets who have treated the same subject. He is not represented by him, as by Moliere and others, as a giddy and licentious young man, but as a downright villain inured to the perpetration of crimes. Although these dramas were not intended for the stage, Tiberius has been acted with great applause at Copenhagen.

Skyggebilleder

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Skyggebilleder af Frederik Schaldemose. Kjöbenhavn, 1829.

Mr. Schaldemose has been long advantageously known as the author of several works, in verse and prose. In the work before us he has furnished a new collection of poems, under the title *Phantoms*, consisting of fables, lyrical pieces and sketches, and of the poem the *Jomsvikings*. The chief merit of this author consists in a style at once simple and interesting; but the great variety of subjects chosen for the Skyggebilleder, would seem to have prevented his giving any marked character to these productions of his muse. In the *Jomsvikings* he takes a more determined course, and one which we could wish to see him follow in his future productions. The work is inscribed to the Princess Royal, Carolina, in a dedication called the 'Sacrifice,' which is very beautifully written.

Digtninger af Christian Winther. Kjöbenhavn.

We, in a former number, took occasion to mention the poems of Mr. Winther, and we now have to announce those of an author, much resembling him in style and poetic tendency. Beauty and elegance of diction, and a pure and earnest spirit, distinguish the productions of both. In the collection before us we would direct attention to the pieces, 'When I was great,' written with reference to Baggesen's celebrated song, 'When I was little;' 'Where art thou?' addressed to the ideal of the bard; and 'The Prayer of the Childless Mother.'

Pamientniki Janezara. Warschau, 1829.

When Ladislaus III., having been absolved by the Pope from his oath that he would continue on terms of peace with the Turks, surprised them *in* 1444, and in the battle of Warna was slain, together with the flower of his people, a young nobleman, among many more noble Poles, was taken prisoner by the Turks, assumed the turban to save himself from slavery, and entered the ranks of the Janizaries. The above work contains his journal during the siege and taking of Constantinople. It details many interesting facts. Although these memoirs do not throw any considerable light upon the history of that period, yet they are remarkable as a monument of the *lingua vernacula* of the fifteenth century, when in Poland all writers made use only of the Latin language. The author did not stay long in Turkey, returning to his native country after the conclusion of peace. The editor of the manuscript has retained the antiquated orthography and language of the author, but with a modern translation of the text on the opposite page.

Fetaway Abdur-Rahim. Constantinople, Nov. 1821. 2 vols. Folio.

The history of printing at Constantinople is rather singular. The first press was established by Jews, who published only new editions of old Hebrew works. Greeks and Armenians soon followed their example. In 1720, when Mohamed-Effendi was sent to Paris as ambassador, he was accompanied by his son *Said*, and resided seven years in the capital of France. He visited manufactories, &c., but there was nothing that interested him more strongly than the operations of the press. After his return to Constantinople, the Sultan gave him leave to erect this wonderful machine, and to print several books. The principal of these were vocabularies, grammars, travels, and historical works. There exists a work on America, printed by him, which, in spite of the prohibition of the Koran, is ornamented with prints. The latest work that has issued from the Turkish press, is a justification of the innovations attempted by the present Sultan, by whose command it was printed. It is entitled *The ground pillar of victory*. Its contents are calculated to recommend the reforms of the monarch to the people, and to represent them as ordinances of the Prophet. The Fetwas of Abdur-Rahim are nothing else than specimens of Turkish jurisprudence. They contain

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contain a collection of sentences by the celebrated Mufti, or Sheik Ulisbam (chief of the elect), whose proper name was Mentish Fadeh Abdur-Rahim Effendi. He was a long time chief justice of the east, and died in 1717. The present collection is divided into 944 sections, and contains about 20,000 Fetwas, mostly in questions and answers.

Parallèle du Christianisme et du Rationalisme sous le rapport dogmatique. Par J. Tissot. Paris, 1829.

THE theologies of mere reason are here brought into comparison with that of Christianity, and the coincidences pointed out, though rather sparingly, and with but a scanty knowledge of the heathen philosophies. The author is a good deal more copious on their points of difference, in other words, on the errors of Rationalism. To unaided reason, he opposes reason improved and enlightened by Christianity; but reason still,—reason against itself—the butterfly against the caterpillar. We have here, however, far more than the title promises; not only comparison, but argument. M. Tissot cannot compare without a preference; and, either with the loquacity of his countrymen, or according to the custom of philosophers, he cannot prefer, without rendering a reason. So reason we have in abundance. The points on which the comparison is instituted are the nature of the first cause, the attributes of the Deity, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and future punishments, with other divergent doctrines, such as those of Providence, Purgatory, a Good and Evil Principle, &c. We are not aware, however, that there is any novelty in the views of M. Tissot on any one point of the comparison. His merit is that of an able *redacteur*, who has brought into one treatise the whole matter of his subject already prepared to his hand, and displayed it in his own manner clearly, concisely, and completely. This work, indeed, is somewhat ostentatiously argumentative; but while the argument is convincing, we are not much disposed to quarrel with any singularities in the manner. It has, throughout, one other claim to respect, which every reader will acknowledge,—and that is, the laudable ambition of the author to do a service to revealed religion, at the utmost stretch of his abilities.

The topics, as we have said, are all very trite; and, perhaps, the reader could very well dispense with even the most summary allusion to them.

The first remarkable thing in the Pagan theologies is, that in none of them do we find the doctrine of God having created the world out of nothing; he is only conceived to have organized it out of chaos, which preceded all intelligence. Even the immortality of the gods was disputed by the most enlightened. They were not immortal by their own natures, said the Epicureans, but they became so by attaining, after a long course of experience, to a knowledge of the means of self-preservation. Probably the author of 'Political Justice' had this precedent in view, when he ventured to predict an immortality to men even in the present life.

It is certain that the attribute of immutability was taught by Plato and his disciples; that of infinity by Socrates, and a hundred besides. But the unity of the Deity was recognized somewhat equivocally by the ancients, many being of opinion that all before the era of Christianity were polytheists, except the Hebrews.

The cosmogonies of the ancients were extremely capricious, as they behoved to be, while the fundamental ideas of Deity and matter were unsettled. Sometimes the Creator was a presiding intelligence; sometimes an innate faculty in matter: fire, water, air, and chance, each had its turn of divinity. The world was a machine self-constituted, a vegetable, an intelligent animal without liberty, a fiery horse impatient of the reins. And how were organized bodies informed with life, and occupied by intelligent souls? Pythagoras represented the

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the process amusingly: he described the souls of men quitting their primal habitations in the skies, gliding along the zodiac in the space betwixt Cancer and Capricorn, descending to the earth like meteors, and lodging in mortal bodies. All these phantasms are here well contrasted with the simple theology of Revelation.

The immortality of the soul was admitted by Pythagoras and Plato, and by many of inferior note, by the Indians, Egyptians, Germans, and Gauls; the latter sometimes lending money, on condition of its repayment in the other world. How has this sublime faith declined in the money-markets of modern times!

M. Tissot observes, that all the punishments in a future state were, in the Pagan theologies, little more than the mere negation of enjoyment, the pain only of simple ennui. What then is his interpretation of the wheel of Ixion, the thirst of Tantalus, and many other of their fables? The whole scheme of future retribution was no doubt with the ancients a work of pure, but not unmeaning, imagination; and, if it be the genius of fiction, as critics maintain, to throw a veil over physical agonies, or to reject them altogether, the remark of M. Tissot ought to be correct. It is certain, indeed, that the Greeks and Romans indulged far more in fancying the future recompense of virtue, than the punishments of vice.

M. Tissot goes through the whole drudgery of the parallel most conscientiously. '*Quae desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinquas,*' is not one of his rules. The oddest phantoms of heathen superstition he sallies forth to combat as in duty bound, and with a Quixotic solemnity; and after dispatching them with a thousand strokes, he never fails to submit them deliberately to a process of comparative anatomy. Witness his treatment of the foolish old fashions of apotheosis and canonizing. Their entire unreasonableness is demonstrated by many a sober syllogism. If the heathens really believed the souls of men immortal, how could they pretend to know like the gods, what individuals were worthy of being deified; and how could any just man countenance an apotheosis of himself, which he knew to be a deception on his race? This reasoning of M. Tissot is undeniably sound; and yet it is perfectly decisive of the feebleness of his understanding. That other harmless fancy of the Epicureans, that the gods enjoy a state of endless repose, has not escaped his inexorable logic. To enjoy repose implies a previous sensation of fatigue; but fatigue can only be the result of exercising the bodily organs,—while the gods are only of pure intelligence, and have no incumbrance of bodies at all: ergo, the gods can neither feel fatigue, nor enjoy repose. Q. E. D!

The best part of the parallel is unquestionably that which refutes the ancient and modern doctrines of Pantheism. Spinoza's Absolute Being was neither pure intelligence, nor extension, but a being of which these were the attributes. Then, says M. Tissot, this Absolute Being is a mere abstraction, and can, therefore, be no proper foundation for a system of cosmogony.

This book, on the whole, falls very far short of what we could have wished for, on such a spacious and momentous subject. An extensive acquaintance with the philosophies of the ancients—a just appreciation of those parts of them which are essentially consonant, or essentially at variance with revealed religion,—a candid abasement of reason to the mysteries of faith,—a comparison, in short, either more profoundly conducted, or with less dialectic formality,—these are desiderata in such an undertaking as this; and we look for them in vain in the work of M. Tissot.

Mélanges de Littérature et de Politique. Par Mons. Benjamin Constant. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1829.

This work is to be regarded as only a relaxation from the graver duties of M. B. Constant, and as such, is highly creditable to him. In the 'Mélanges' a few pages

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pages are devoted by the author to an eulogium on the universally admitted merits of Mad. de Staël. This celebrated woman, gifted with the most brilliant talents and a masculine energy of character, shed lustre on the literature of her country, and, indeed, of all Europe; and by her undaunted spirit amid the turmoil of revolution, and under the severest personal trials, formed her faith in that moral and political creed, which she so eloquently preached to others. We fully coincide with M. Constant in his denunciation of the petty policy adopted by Napoleon towards this distinguished woman—distinguished by a genius greater, and a patriotism far purer than his own. But his power for evil has passed away, while hers for good remains, and must remain in the immortal works for which she suffered, and which she left, 'a legacy of love,' to France and to the world.

'Corinne' and 'Les Considérations sur la Révolution Française,' are the works which M. Constant conceives to be the most imperishable monuments of the mental glory of de Staël. With 'Corinne' all readers are well acquainted—all have felt and eulogized the beauties in which it abounds. The 'Considérations sur la Révolution' are less generally known, yet are they the strongest proofs of the all-comprehensive mind of the authoress. From this work M. Constant gives copious and judicious extracts, accompanied by enlightened commentaries, which want of space obliges us to pass over.

The philosophical opinions of M. B. Constant are advocated with earnestness and sincerity, and his arguments are of the most liberal. His political opinions are sometimes distinguished by that kind of liberality which hath a leaning all one way: and hence he puts forth assertions—very liberal no doubt—which we will not require him to verify upon oath. For instance, the following: 'The English aristocracy,' he says, 'had never till our times proved itself the enemy of the people. Family bonds united it almost with the democracy, and it was, not rarely, found in the ranks of opposition. Now-a-days matters are altered. ..... It is evidently a remnant of feudalism which is falling, and which must give rise to a new state of things.' This palpable nonsense may be left to itself; as the diurnals write, 'comment is superfluous.' M. Constant thinks that Europe suffered by the ministry of Pitt, because that statesman was more English than cosmopolitan. In the Utopia of the author there may be a *corps de reserve* of cosmopolitan ministers, and, without undervaluing them, we must say that the more *English* our ministers have been, the more have they 'done the state good service,' and ameliorated the condition of mankind at large.

From politics M. B. Constant proceeds to poetry, and bears testimony to the great merits of the literary men in Germany. It is not the least of triumphs achieved by those indefatigable labourers, that France herself—France, who had treated the Germans with unceasing levity and scorn—now acknowledges their superior and vast attainments. In the following passage we fully coincide, and with it conclude our notice on the 'Mélanges.'

'Stationary minds may declare, as they will, that innovations corrupt the taste of the public. Public taste becomes not corrupted—it approves what is natural and true—it rejects what outrages truth, or departs from nature by exaggeration. The public has an instinct truly admirable, one which has already traced the necessary limits for reconciling order with liberty in political exigencies. This instinct labours, and succeeds, in placing religion in its proper sphere between incredulity and fanaticism, and it will succeed in influencing literature, and restraining the writer, without fettering him.'

Essai sur les Anciennes Assemblées Nationales de la Savoie et du Piémont, &c. Par le C. G. dal Pozzo. Vol. I. Paris, 1829. 8vo.

This is a valuable volume, full of critical knowledge and information on a subject scarcely never honestly inquired into. It is an important addition to the political

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political history of Italy during the middle ages, and necessary for any one who wishes to know what was the political state of Upper Italy before the times of Charles V., the sovereign whom the Italians ought to detest more than any other; for it is from him that the decline of the Peninsula has its date, and it is owing to his accursed bigotry and despotism, that the nation has been reduced to the deplorable political condition under which it at present groans. It is, moreover, a book possessing the great quality of being *à propos*, since it comes to show that no one acquainted with these matters can honestly say that Piedmont and Savoy were always a despotic government. This absurd and wicked thesis has been lately supported by a certain Count Napione di Coccinato, a man with great pretences to erudition, and a still greater degree of court adulation and jesuitical gloss about him. He, the keeper of the royal archives in Piedmont, has given us to understand that the *Etats Généraux* of Piedmont were nothing but insignificant meetings of persons, very humbly petitioning the sovereign, who might entirely and without any difficulty reject their addresses. This noble writer thought, perhaps, that history could not be studied out of the Piedmontese archives, when he tried to pass off such a wilful and unworthy perversion of facts. But wherever men exist who have paid any attention to the subject, they all are found to agree that the governments of the middle ages, throughout Europe, were as far from being despotic as Count Napione is from being a candid author and a learned critic, although he may be believed to be both where his nonsense about the importance of the *Etats-Généraux du Piémont* is taken for sterling gold.

We are greatly indebted to the author of the little *Essai* at the head of this notice, for his clever and unanswerable exposition of Napione's bad faith, as well as for his gentlemanly manner in giving it. We, indeed, can more admire than imitate his temper; for though we can behave mildly to writers concerning *opinions*, the *wilful perversion of facts* by historians, who affect such hypocritical veneration for truth, makes our very blood boil. Count dal Pozzo has with great patience collected from authentic documents abundant proofs that the *Etats Généraux* in Piedmont were, as nearly as possible, like all other political assemblies of the same age. He has shown whence it comes to pass that it is so difficult to collect evidence of this fact, and has given a general importance to his work by proving in what manner the liberties of the country of which he speaks have been annihilated. It must, moreover, be of interest for his countrymen, and it is not without some for ourselves, to remark the way in which a rebellion of the nobility in Savoy, about the middle of the fifteenth century, was at length settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. The rebels, who had been condemned, were recalled, their estates were restored to them, and all party dissensions were for ever buried in oblivion; in consequence of which, the issue rendered the state more firm and powerful than it was before the explosion. This conduct of the then sovereign certainly forms a strong contrast with that of the present Piedmontese government. But in those days men of a more patriotic mind were at the helm of the affairs. The real service of their sovereign was what the ministers had most at heart, and the treacherous and wily councils of a rival power, like the Austrian, whose interests are the very reverse of those of Piedmont, were not listened to, as they are at present by the Cabinet of Turin. Now the advisers of his Sardinian Majesty play the game of Prince Metternich, betraying their trust and their country, and persecuting their fellow-citizens, to please a foreign tyrant. But if the fruit of misgovernment fall on the nation, the disgrace does not fail to attend the name of the Piedmontese administration, which has misgoverned that country from 1821 to our own days.

We shall for the present take leave of the book before us, strongly encouraging the author to pursue his useful and praiseworthy labours. We purpose to

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to speak somewhat at length of the work, when completed, and to lay before our readers an abridgement of the important information, which we expect it will contain, judging from the able manner in which the subject is handled in this first volume.

La Musique mise à la Portée de tout le monde. Par M. Fetis, Redacteur de la Revue Musicale. Paris, 1830. 1 vol. 8vo.

It is sometimes asked whether the just perception of harmonious effect be the result of study only. M. Fetis thus replies to the question. 'If,' he says, 'I were to speak *en artiste*, I should answer in the affirmative, and I should say with pride that, for me, there are certain delights in music, which will never be the portion of men of the world; I would maintain that these delights were the liveliest of all, in order to show more forcibly the kind of superiority, which a special knowledge gives me. But it is not with this view that I have written my book. My object is to indicate the means for increasing enjoyment, and directing the judgment, without the necessity of submitting to a novitiate which few have time, or inclination to perform.'

M. Fetis continues in the same spirit of plain speaking throughout the work, which, after some introductory remarks on the object, origin, and power of music, initiates the reader in the mysteries of intonation, vocalization, &c. Then follow the author's notices of melody and harmony, and on the employment of the voice, which latter closes this part of the work.

M. Fetis has furnished some highly curious details on the subject of instrumental music. Each instrument is the subject of a separate dissertation, in which its origin, history, object, resources, and effects, are accurately given; to all which are added biographical notices of the artists who have contributed to the improvements and success of particular instruments. His reflections on instrumental execution, will be read with advantage both by amateurs and artists.

The work concludes with remarks on the prejudices of the learned and unlearned in musical matters; and here M. Fetis is very happy in his criticisms.

In style this volume is a gratifying exception to the generality of works on music. M. Fetis is evidently an erudite scholar, a liberal critic, and learned professor of his art; and we doubt not that his work will be extensively circulated, possessing, as it does, every quality which can recommend it to enlightened patronage.

Préjugés des Réputations. Par J. B. Salgues. Paris, 1829.

This is a work full of satirical power. Vanity, hypocrisy, and political quackery are 'shown up' in their native beauties. But the author is equally ready to acknowledge the claims of genuine ability, wherever he finds it. He is a friend to genius, to plain speaking, and plain dealing, and of course a foe to pretension, to intrigue, to all the damnable practices which constitute the *sçavoir vivre* of these unrivalled days. One extract we shall make from the work to show that the author 'loves women much, but truth more,' as Madame de Genlis will acknowledge with less than her ordinary equanimity.

'I know,' says M. Salgues, 'all that can be said by men known in France by the name of *Frondeurs*. They will contend that Madame la comtesse de Genlis, with some talent and very little knowledge, has given herself up to such an excess of self-love, that she has become perfectly ridiculous; that she has perceived no greater merit than her own; that she has simply believed herself one of the towers of the social order; a pattern of the church militant; a fortunate rival of the celebrated magpie, which maintains a thesis *de omni re scibile*—

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scibile—that is, on all that can be known; that, in attacking all reputations, in meddling with all kinds of interests, she has justly drawn upon herself the most pointed reprisals; that, like the mountain in labour, she pretended to call the attention of all Europe to her parturition of trifles; that of the hundred volumes from her pen, scarcely eight or ten will descend to posterity; that her style is habitually easy and flowing, but that it is also deficient in splendour and power; that her verse is still weaker than her prose; and that by giving herself such abundant praise, she has prevented others from giving her any. That her pretensions to piety, that the war which she has declared against philosophy have filled up the measure of ridicule; because piety without charity, and the practice of the evangelical virtues, is generally nothing but quackery, to which hypocrisy and vice have recourse to conceal their deformity, and because sincere piety is humble, gentle, affectionate, and tolerant, while Madame de Genlis is constantly vain, jealous, full of hatred, meddling, intolerant,' &c.

Several others are disposed of in an equally merciful manner; and we would observe, that though, in many instances, the severity has been well deserved, yet occasionally it falls on follies which are harmless, and on faults that must be more leniently judged, or verily, few men will be justified in the eyes of Mr. Salgues.

L'Espagne sous les Rois de la Maison de Bourbon, ou Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de cette Nation depuis l'Avénement de Philip V. en 700, *jusqu'à la Mort de Charles en* 1788. Ecrits en Anglais sur des documens originaux, inédits, par W. Coxe, Auteur de l'Histoire de la Maison d'Autriche, traduits en Français avec des notes et des additions par Don Andres Muriel. 6 vols. 8vo. Paris.

This is a work which will reward the attention of those interested in the Spanish history, during the eighteenth century. Senhor Muriel is a Spanish ecclesiastic long resident in Paris, but in the improvement and completion of Coxe's work, he has evinced no party spirit, nor any other distinctive quality than those belonging to him, as a learned and judicious Spaniard. Without altering the text of his original, he corrects in some cases by notes, in others by supplementary remarks, all that calls for such animadversion in the British author, who, though conscientious and candid, has, perhaps, taken a somewhat partial view of the diplomatic transactions between England, France, and Spain, during the eighteenth century. The views of Senhor Muriel on the present state of Spain, and on the effects of the Bourbon dynasty, are sound and well digested. It is manifest that the writer must have made his subject the study of years, and that he has consulted those well acquainted with the events of the reign of Carlos III., an important epoch in the modern history of Spain, as pointing out the means to be pursued for restoring that misgoverned country to that state, for which its great resources so eminently qualify it. The minute designation of the practical steps to be taken towards this end, given by Senhor Muriel, is worthy of serious attention from all patriotic Spaniards of what party soever. The opinions of the writer as to points of literature are not so unexceptionable. Nor will many Spaniards agree with him on the subject of the Spanish expeditions, and the efforts made for the re-establishment of Spanish influence in Italy. But these slight matters form no essential drawback on the general merit of the work, which is fully deserving of the appreciation which it has met with from the government in Spain—the author having been rewarded with the decoration of the royal order of Carlos III.

Essai

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Essai de Statistique générale de la Russie. Par M. J H. Schweitzler. Paris et Strasbourg, 1829.

THE want of a good geographical and political manual of the present state of Russia has been long sensibly felt. The works of Leclerc and Tooke make us very imperfectly acquainted with the actual state of that country under the reign of Catherine II.; and those of Raymond and Lesur, composed at the period of the French invasion, and, according to all appearance, by order of Napoleon, have not only a slight tint of that colouring, but are besides not very exact, and are formed of materials of the date of Paul I. The description given of Russia in the geography of Malte-Brun was more satisfactory as regards its geology, agronomique, and the comparative study of languages; but the topographical information was not always exact, nor did the author draw a picture applicable to the general character of the empire. A similar work, by M. A. Babbi, is executed with more care; but its form (that of one large sheet) does not admit of the insertion of a number of indispensable details, and has beside the effect of rendering the use of it extremely difficult to all, who are not fortunate enough to possess the eyes of a lynx.

A residence of four years in the country, and a perfect knowledge of the language, have enabled M. Schweitzler to gain possession of a multitude of documents inaccessible to most of our geographical writers; and these he has carefully compared with those published by the most celebrated statiscians of Germany, and has composed an excellent work, which, under the modest title of an 'Essay on Statistics,' contains not only a good geographical and statistic account of Russia, but a well-digested view of the actual state and history of that immense empire. The plan of his book is well chosen, and the reader will find in it a multitude of ideas, and information, which he would vainly search for elsewhere.

With regard to the surface of the country, Schweitzler has adopted the calculations of M. Hassel as approaching nearest to truth; and it appears that this empire consists, exclusively of Poland, of 372,636 square miles, of fifteen to the degree, and 54,323,507 inhabitants, of whom 45,000,000 are slaves! So that there are in Russia 145 inhabitants to the square mile. The sum total of the *known* revenue amounts to 312,197,000 roubles in paper, about 11½d. each English money, of which 90,000,000 are produced by the monopoly of brandy alone; and it is sad to see that almost a third of the receipts of government is founded upon encouragement given to the disgusting vice of drunkenness. The annual expenses of Russia amount to about 300,000,000 of roubles, consequently the state would be in continual pecuniary embarrassments, if it did not possess other secret revenues, which are indeed hinted at in M. Schweitzler's book.

The national debt bearing interest amounted, in the year 1824, to 847,341,010 francs. A commission, instituted in 1817, laboured at the gradual reduction of this debt, and also the abolition of paper money, the amount of which in circulation was about 600 millions of francs, a sum which made just double the value of all other sorts put in circulation during a century, viz. from 1718 to 1818.

The absolute sum total of the forces is 650,300 men, to which must be added about 20,000 officers of all ranks. The fleet is composed of 34 vessels of the line, 19 frigates, 9 corvettes, and as many brigs.

In Russia, as is well known, all power emanates from the sovereign, whose authority is without participation or control, and which no charter or capitulation has ever attempted to moderate. Formerly, however, the great lords or 'Boyards' were not without influence at the court of the czars, and their ordonnances

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ordonnances commenced by this form, 'The Grand Duke has ordered,—the Boyards have approved, &c.' At all times, however, this voice was rather nominal than real, and Peter the Great had little trouble in suppressing it altogether. This reforming monarch rid himself likewise of another trammel more embarrassing, that of the patriarchal chair; and since his time the imperial power has been truly unlimited, and the Russian monarchy the most despotic and absolute in Europe, although the determinations of the monarch may sometimes be influenced by traditions and ancient usages. Far from being hurtful to the liberal developement of the nation, this absence of all restriction to the sovereign will may be regarded as a benefit in Russia, without which the aristocracy would press more heavily than they do upon the mass of the population. Unity and power are there, as they once were in France, the only condition of the possible emancipation of the people. In a country where there is no other fundamental law than the will or caprice *of him* who governs, there will naturally occur many and great abuses of power—less, certainly, under an enlightened prince than others, yet nothing can entirely prevent them; and where despotism is so deeply rooted in the administration, the best intentions of the monarch remain often without effect. In 1814, Alexander astounded his allied brethren by loudly proclaiming the principle that law is stronger than the sovereign; but it is impossible to believe with M. Schweitzler that since then justice has taken the place of despotism in Russia: indeed he is obliged to confess himself that it not unfrequently strikes even the ministers and courtiers.

The nobility were always numerous in Russia, being generally in possession of the various offices of the state. They formed also the base and the *principal* element of the armies of the grand dukes. Although bending under the weight of a despotic sceptre, and always humble in the presence of the czar, never was a nobility more urgent or presuming on their birth or acquired rights; from which continually resulted, amongst the most illustrious families, the most serious disputes and rivalries. Before taking office or entering any service, every nobleman examined most particularly what were the pretensions of those from whom he was to take orders, comparing those of his future chief with his own. This was a state of things which gave rise to disputes and discussions to which there was no end.

Feodor, in 1681, put a stop to these disorders, by declaring that merit alone was eligible to honours and employments, and he caused all the old documents relating to the ancient nobility of the empire *to be burnt*. Peter the Great finding his nobility unmanageable, and opposed to his system of reform, set himself the task of subduing them by competition. He created, therefore, a second order of nobility, besides the counts and barons of the empire, to which merit and services only could gain access, and which he raised even above the old hereditary nobility. A new hierarchy of rank was also introduced in 1721, and all officers, civil and military, were included in fourteen classes, of which the first eight conferred hereditary, and the others personal nobility. This important measure is at the present moment in full force, with some slight modifications made by Catherine II. It was excellent for the times of Peter; but offers now several serious inconveniences, and visibly hurts the progress of civilization. It increases, in the first place, the nobility almost to infinity, and strips the middle class of all its most distinguished members, or rather prevents entirely the existence of it, by taking from the arts and industry men who would have contributed to their success, were they not thus forced to support a rank which has generally no accordance whatever with their fortune.

The central point of all administration in Russia is the monarch himself, and it is to his sanction that all measures of importance must be submitted.

Three other bodies, however, take also a leading part in the administration, and these

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these are, the council of the empire, the senate, and the holy synod. To the first every affair of consequence connected with internal policy is referred, and to it the Emperor himself refers those things which he does not choose to decide upon. The senate is usually considered as the first body of the state; and, although it has in fact lost much of its influence, its ordonnances have the force of law, and only the emperor has the power to arrest their effects. It would exercise an authority much more salutary, however, if the formalities were simplified, and if, instead of a pretended gratuitous procedure, it was permitted to put an end to the gross corruption of the inferior judges. The holy synod is the supreme authority of the Greco-Russian church; the executive power, nevertheless, is, like all other, in the hands of the sovereign, and by him confided to his secretaries of state, the union of whom forms a sort of fourth body, but subordinate to the great bodies of whom we have just spoken. At all times the authority of ministers is special and individual; and certain measures only are submitted by them to the discussion of the committee. They make their reports to the emperor, who forwards them, as well as the annual accounts, immediately to the senate, one of whose attributes is to control the ministers.

The local administration is confided to governors, general and civil. The first, amounting to the number of fourteen, comprehend three or four governments, and are generally held by military officers of the rank of at least lieutenant-generals, who command at the same time all the troops stationed in their different districts. Besides being endowed with great power, these governors-general enjoy exclusive rights. The senate may demand an account of their actions; but the emperor alone can reprimand them, or inflict on them any punishment. Russia contains fifty-one of these governments. In its original extent one government comprised 300,000 or 400,000 miles; but at present this rule admits of numerous exceptions, there being a variety of subdivisions, created or altered according to circumstances.

Histoire de Philippe Auguste. Par Monsieur Capefigue. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1829.

Mr. Capefigue is truly a man of talent. It is no easy matter now-a-days to conciliate critical favour. The claimants are too numerous and the journalist too much occupied—his pages or columns too crowded—and sometimes (rarely of course) His Sublimity himself too indolent for the favourable notice of any but ready-made reputations, and such rising ones, as advance under the sheltering wing of 'a very particular friend of mine.' Mr. Capefigue, however, had no sooner published the work under consideration, than the critical among his countrymen were loud in their praises of the depth of his historical views and the elegance of his style.

'I have been reproached,' says the author in a note, p. 185 of the third volume, 'with having too frequently quoted the poet-biographer of the king. This observation argues an ignorance of the historical importance of the poem. Guillaume le Breton is full of details of great value concerning the events which he narrates. He followed the king, and was present in all the wars undertaken,' &c. But what are these so precious details? Sometimes they tell us how the moon rises, at others how the sun sets, with all the pomp of poetic description; now the humid earth evaporates; now the barons, embarked for Palestine, cast their riches into the sea to escape from shipwreck; here the Count of St. Paul, like to the sparrow-hawk which disperses the affrighted canary-birds—there a Homeric battle, in which the reader is regaled with the complimentary salutations addressed to each other by the combatants.

If we follow the historian in his description of the plunder to which the warriors

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warriors of the time were addicted, we are astonished and not a little fatigued with the paintings of Guillaume le Breton. It will perhaps be more interesting to take a view of the history of Enguivrand, whose shoulders were lofty like towers :—

'From the size of his shoulders it is evident that he was of gigantic stature: listen to his sad and pitiable case. He assisted at the siege of a town—I do not know which; and, like a true Goliah as he was, he had the temerity to insult the besieged on the ramparts. Great was the rage of the enemy; but a large buckler, borne before him by a man at arms, defended him against the arrows of the archers, and the poor townsmen were fain to take his injuries in patience. Then a very short dwarf took it into his head to play him a trick in his way. He ge's possession, by means of a strong cord and a stone-bow, of the buckler, and bears it off. The giant is left exposed, and *falls* under the darts of the enemy.'

This twaddle is, as Shylock saith, 'sufficient.'

The historian, who discharges his duty properly, will surround himself by all the documents relative to the period of which he writes. Possessing these indispensable originals, he makes them the subject of long and severe study. By careful examination and collation, he separates the true from the false, the certain from the doubtful; and at length, after having long reflected on men and things, he proceeds to make known his results and decisions. No obscure chronicler, from whom he has shaken off the dust of ages, can rise against him, and exclaim, 'Give me back my own!'

Such is not the course pursued by Mr. Capefigue. Guillaume le Breton, Matthew Paris, the chronicle of St. Denis, and some other annalists of that period, have been subject to his historic shears, and the harlequin dress of his own work,

'A work of shreds and patches,'

is made up of pasted pilfering.

It is true that a reader, who seeks only for amusement and instruction, will trouble himself but little how these have been procured, so that they be in the book which he peruses. But Mr. Capefigue has evinced no taste in his larcenies—they are petty enough, but extremely clumsy, and manifest to every eye. So ridiculous and extravagant are some of the useless details which he has borrowed to make up his volumes, that we are astonished at the mental constitution of him who could have put them forth at this time of day. What amusement or instruction is obtainable from a perusal of such lucubrations? Is it indispensable, when writing the history of the eleventh century, to adopt the barbarous style and pitiful philosophy of that dark period—looking on the events of the time with the narrowest views of the contemporaneous mind? Assuredly not.

We do not deny that Mr. Capefigue occasionally frees himself from the trammels of chroniclers—nay, in some instances, he displays a talent capable of attaining the true historical dignity;—but a culpable negligence pervades the principal portion of his work. The most important episode of the period, and that deserving of the most careful treatment, is the sanguinary crusade directed against the Albigenses. Mr. Capefigue has been particularly careless on this subject. Not content with according the epithet *pious* to the cruel and bloodthirsty fanatic who was the prime mover of this crusade, he collects, seemingly with delight, all the ridiculous accusations brought forward by the clergy in order to kindle the pile of intolerant and murderous bigotry. 'These new puritans,' says the author, without being aware of the anachronism, 'maintained an equalization of property, and laid it down as an article of faith that every man who believed himself inspired might *speak the word* of heaven and teach the faith of Christ.'

'It

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'It was at length discovered that the wives of the perfect, when pregnant, destroyed their children, to avoid procreation.'

'At this period the Albigenses had a superior clergy—and a supreme pontiff of heresy was even talked of.'

'I have drawn all these details from the register of the Inquisition at Toulouse.'

A rare authority, truly, this—the Dominicans! And Mr. Capefigue, thus supported, comes forward to palliate the barbarity of those hooded butchers.

It is somewhat remarkable that Mr. Capefigue, in describing the ceremony which consecrated the usurpation of Simon de Montfort, has not a word of indignation against that feudal brigand whose ferocity strewed the fairest, and before his time the happiest, provinces of France with the bones of the slain. He coldly recounts the treachery to which the noble Vicomte de Beziers fell a victim. The Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers had refused the investiture of the vanquished provinces. 'We will not have them,' they said, 'for we can by no means rob a man of noble race, so treacherously.' And when in the army of the Croises a man is found base enough to accept what was so nobly refused by others, the only reflection it elicits from Mr. Capefigue is, that 'Every one remarked his stately appearance under the ducal coronet and robes; he was very tall; with fair and flowing hair, which proved his Franc origin; and his body graceful, active, and firm in all its movements.' Verily these be rare qualifications for a viscount—or a life-guardsman.

We need make no comment on this preposterous passage. The contemptible views of the writer in all matters relative to religious and political freedom, are every way worthy of his indolence, unblushing negligence, and bungling attempts at the now fully matured art of book-making.

Rome, Londres, et Paris. Par M. de Saint Maurice. 1 vol. 8vo. 1830.

This title would seem to announce a work, descriptive and comparative of the state of the three capitals. Nothing, however, can be further from the wish of the lively author than to weary the joyous public with statistical speculations. His book contains a gallery of portraits, of which the originals cannot be doubted: and these being no less than the actual ministers, the said portraits are circumstantially very important. The author takes, as he has a right to do, the station of showman to his own gallery, and, *selon les règles*, he thus addresses the curious:—'Walk in, ladies! walk in, gentlemen! and see these wonderful and interesting creatures, all alive: they speak, for all the world, like natural persons; they have teeth and they have hands, with which they do most surprising things! Some of them can read and write. They are of all countries—English, Italian, French, and Portuguese. The collection is complete, and is specially deserving the attention of connoisseurs by its singular variety.'

Although the author has occasionally borrowed from the journals, he is not liable to a charge of plagiarism on that account. The personages of whom he writes being public men, it was necessary that he should look at the daily sources of political information. The two first pieces, Rome and London, are but a preface in dialogue to the third—a prelude to the late ministerial changes in France. As to the unity of design, the author gives himself but little trouble about it. His purpose being to 'show up certain noble contemporaries, he brings them on the scene just as it suits him, and leaves them to speak for themselves.

At Rome we are introduced to a deliberative assembly of Jesuits, who are engaged in discussing the merits of Prince Polignac. In London the said Prince gives a promise of unqualified submission to our own Premier; and in Paris we are present at the ministerial enthronement of Polignac. This is all very cleverly managed; but we think that giving detached passages from certain scenes would scarcely be doing the author justice. We therefore prefer giving one entire, in which the Duke of Wellington and Prince Polignac are the acting characters.

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SCENE IX.

Cabinet of the Duke of WELLINGTON.

WELLINGTON. *(sitting at a table, and looking at the clock)*—No Polignac yet! this is strange. My invitation was laconic, and no less pressing on that account—Napoleon's style. But the moments are precious; as I am accountable to posterity for every minute, for every second. These Frenchmen are so thoughtless, so giddy! Well, let me see—I will prepare the lesson and draw up the instructions, to be given to my friend Polignac. He is not a diplomatist of the first class—I must therefore be very simple and clear, that he may understand me, and not go blundering on in his own way. But somebody comes—this is doubtless my man. I've a devilish good mind to scold him——

(Servant enters, announcing Prince POLIGNAC.*)*

Show him in.

PRINCE POLIGNAC. *(entering)*—Good morning.

WEL. Let us speak French, my dear President.

POL. *(aside.)* My dear President!—If you desire it, my Lord Duke, I will speak French; but I confess to you that I thus make a great sacrifice to your Excellency.

WEL. And I am sensible of it, my dear President.

POL. President!—I President! This is the delicate pleasantry of an amiable disposition, which can descend from the heights of genius—

WEL. I speak most seriously.

POL. Might I presume then to enquire of your Excellency—

WEL. Oh let us lay aside the protocol of diplomatic politeness—the repertory of sickening etiquette. Your hand, my dear friend, your hand *(extending his own)*. Come, let vain ceremoniousness no longer raise a barrier between us. You are a Frenchman, and I also—I am French; or at *least I*—

POL. How, my Lord Duke!

WEL. Oh, let alone my dukedom.

POL. Well, Lord Wellington—

WEL. Plain Wellington, understand me.

POL. May I know what entitles me to so much kindness—to these expressions of friendship, which at once honour and surprise me?

WEL. My dear Polignac, your character pleases me—it has always pleased me. The first time I saw you I said to myself, 'There is a brave, an honest man, whose physiognomy is of the happiest—the type of a chivalrous loyalty—the worthy representative of French nobility.'

POL. In truth, my Lord Duke—no, no—my dear Duke—Lord Wellington—alas! I know not what I say—pardon me this confusion—this embarrassment——

WEL. Don't be so frightened—come, let us be seated—*(he draws a chair, and Prince* POLIGNAC *sits down)*—but I beg of you, my dear friend, not to interrupt me. You will make me lose the train of my ideas—I no longer remember where I was.

POL. You were doing me the distinguished honour of regarding me as the representative of the nobility of France. It is true that my nobility *is of* very ancient date: I am a true French gentleman—being descended in a direct line from a Roman family.....

WEL. Ha! I remember now.—When I had heard you speak, and had been enabled to appreciate your profound skill, your surprising sagacity, I said to myself, 'How is it that a man of such rare merit is banished in the ordinary station of an embassy—how is it that they deprive themselves of the support of a talent, which would throw so much splendour round a government—which would give to the ancient monarchy its old preponderance?' I impatiently awaited an opportunity for bringing you forward on the theatre of the world—that opportunity this day presents itself.

POL.

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POL. I had no idea that I had fixed the attention of a great man. My merits are very limited. To serve religion—to serve the—

WEL. We have nothing to do with religion now, my dear Prince—you wander from the question. You have long, I believe, had a wish to try your hand as a minister—you desire a *portefeuille?*

POL. Why 'tis true I should have no objection—but only for the good of religion, which is quotidianly outraged, to defend the monarchy, and stifle anarchy—not for my interests—

WEL. Oh leave such considerations to your *Quotidienne*, to your *Gazette*. For heaven's sake, leave off these repetitions, which savour too much of 1815. Confess to me frankly that you wish to be minister.

POL. Well, my dear Duke, a *portefeuille* is the object of my most ardent wishes—ah, if I had it!—But I have no longer any hope—for I have made a dozen journies to Paris, and to no purpose. Always to return empty-handed, and exposed to the taunts of the Parisian and London papers—all this begins to make me despair of the monarchy.

WEL. And you alone can save it—is't not so? The country is always in danger, when one wishes to be minister. I said as much myself, when I aspired to Canning's place. But supposing that you were minister to-morrow—or even to-day—

POL. Or even to-day!

WEL. Or to-morrow, or next day—a few days more or less don't alter the business. But to be brief—supposing that I should procure for you this so much desired ministry—if, by my influence, *I* should raise you to the Presidency of the Council—

POL. A *portefeuille* for me! I should expire with delight—I should die content!

WEL. Living—not dying—is the question here. Supposing, as I had the honour of saying to you, that you became First Minister in France—would you be grateful?

POL. My gratitude should finish but with my life. I would esteem you my guardian angel.

WEL. Oh, I don't require so much as that—I ask but little of you—very little.

POL. Speak, my Lord Duke, speak—or, rather, say nothing; for I should never think I had done enough to evince my gratitude to you.

WEL. This language pleases me, my dear Jules—but I exact no impossibility. I prescribe limits to your gratitude; for it would afflict me were you to carry your acknowledgments too far. You know how much I love France—all that I have done for her—my intentions have been calumniated.

POL. Envy always pursues merit—the shadow following the body—

WEL. Pray, my good friend, a truce to these common places. I tell you I love France, and wish to give her a proof of my affection. For example, they talk a great deal of economy in the discussion of your budget—now, I have a way of enriching your treasury by a hundred millions. If I were minister, I know what I would do. I have a sure receipt—yes, I've discovered the philosopher's stone.

POL. It would, of course, be indiscreet to request of you the communication of so important a secret.

WEL. Indiscreet! you indiscreet, Polignac.—Oh, my friend, listen to my plan. You have a navy, the maintenance of which absorbs an enormous capital. Now what do you want with such a considerable navy? Have you a war to support? No.—Well then, set aside some twenty vessels of the line and a dozen frigates.....

POL. What a happy idea—what a ray of light! 'Tis true—to what purpose so many ships of war? A few brigs are sufficient convoy for merchant

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vessels. And then, should a war break out, we might soon refit the dismantled ships—'tis the work of a week.

WEL. Good, very good, my dear Jules—I see you understand the matter perfectly.—Now tell me what you think of the war between Russia and Turkey.

POL. I confess to you that this question somewhat confuses me. I know well enough that these two powers are now at war; but I have not troubled myself much about it—'tis so far off.

WEL. But do you think that France gains much by the aggrandisement of the Russian empire?

POL. True—I had not thought of that.

WEL. Then France should desire—it is her interest to desire—that Mahmoud should continue at Constantinople. Now, my dear Prince, give me your profession of faith relatively to the battle of Navarino.

POL. It was a glorious battle for Christendom—another battle of Lepanto.

WEL. What mean you by that? Don't you see that the victory in question is not only a political crime, but a stupid blunder?

POL. Your pardon, my Lord Duke—I did not think of that.

WEL. Can you, who are a good Christian and a faithful catholic—can you mention Christianity with reference to the battle of Navarino, when the French fought in conjunction with English heretics and Greek schismatics?

POL. I'faith, that's true. I had not thought of that—I feel confident that no one in France has thought of that.

WEL. You abjure then that impious glory?—good! Now, my dear Jules, I must let you know my mind. The Russians threaten Constantinople—we must keep them out of it—and nothing but a close alliance between *England*, France, and Austria, can prevent the impending misfortune! The French ministry is weak—shrinking before the noisy Liberals—and will never dare to meet the question fairly. 'Tis you who must decide it. Go to Paris—every thing is prepared and ripe for your elevation—the chair of ministerial precedency awaits you: you will fill it worthily. The star of Choiseul, of Vergennes, will grow pale before you.

POL. I go—I go, my Lord Duke. I will justify your choice and your confidence. But, a word—I shall stand in need of fresh instructions—I can do nothing without instructions.

WEL. You're right—I will enlighten your inexperience by my counsels. My friendship will watch over you at Paris.

POL. Excellent! Thus, then, I can set off?

WEL. Immediately—there's no time to be lost.—The Russians have passed the Balkan.

POL. The Balkan—good God!—they have passed the Balkan! Who is he?

WEL. 'Tis a chain of mountains—but you can consult the map of Turkey in Europe.

POL. Yes, my dear Duke;—and as the Russians have crossed the Balkan, I am going to cross the Channel.

WEL. Good, good—but quick!—set off for Paris.

POL. But I'm not in the habit of travelling——I may at least take a turn to the embassy?

WEL. Be it so. I give you an hour—no more—for your preparations.

POL. Thank you, my dear Duke. But remember you promised me your instructions—your advice;—without them I shall be in utter confusion.

WEL. By Waterloo! I'll keep my promise.

POL. Adieu, then, my dear Duke.

(They shake hands affectionately, and Prince POLIGNAC *retires, testifying his gratification.)*

WEL. *(alone)* Now there's just the man I wanted. He was right enough in asking me for instructions. Were I to let him go alone, he'd make fine work of

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of it! He has at least one merit—simplicity. Yes! I will assist him, be his Mentor, his preceptor;—but woe to the new Telemachus, if he disobey his English Minerva.

This political sally we have chosen, not more as a specimen of the author's style than as a tolerable evidence of the state of feeling in France with regard to the men and the measures of her present ministry.

CONTINENTAL LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Denmark.

A NEW Dictionary of Danish Synonyms has just appeared, by Messrs. Sporon, Heiberg, Smidth, and Müller.

Messrs. O. Thornson and Thomas Erslen, are about to give a Supplement to the Dictionary of Danish Literature, by Kraft and Ugeruss.

Mr. P. A. Heiberg is occupied with 'Sketches of his Life in France,' which will appear at Christiania.

The celebrated philologist Thorlacius, professor of eloquence at the University, died lately. He is succeeded by Mr. Madvig.

Mr. Arnesen is engaged with a Greek and Danish Dictionary, the first of the kind in Denmark.

A Dictionary of the Frisian language, by Mr. Fritzen, is in the press. It will be published at the expense of the Society of Belles Lettres.

Mr. Malling, Minister of State, and author of the celebrated work called 'Great and Good Actions of Danes and Norwegians,' which was translated into English and French, has departed this life.

Bröndsted and Villoison.—In vol. xii. of 'Hermes,' a German journal, edited by Dr. K. E. Schmid, an article appeared with the following title, 'Villoison and Bröndsted; a Supplement to the History of Plagiarism.' It is worthy of attention, as it treats of a work equally known to the English, French, and German scholar, and of a man sufficiently celebrated throughout Europe to justify a suspicion *à priori* against the critic. This is Dr. P. O. Bröndsted, agent of his majesty the king of Denmark at the papal see; and his work is, 'Voyages and Researches in Greece, published in German, French, and English, and dedicated to his majesty the King of Denmark.'

Before we enter on a minute examination of the critique in question, we will say a word of Mr. Bröndsted. Having in 1806 obtained the degree of master of arts in the university of Copenhagen, he, at the close of the same year, undertook a journey to France, intending to proceed afterwards to Greece. He spent two years in Paris, where the imperial library was open to him, and in 1809 repaired to Italy, whence he proceeded to Greece in the following year. Here, in company with many celebrated men, as Linckh, Haller, Cockerell, Foster, &c., he entered on researches, the fruits of which are contained in the work above-mentioned. In 1813 he returned to his native country; from which, seven years later, he again set out to revisit the Ionian isles, and having spent a year there, came home. He begins his work with these isles, the first volume containing a description of the isle of Ceos.

The criticism to which we would direct attention begins thus:—'This work is a plagiarism from the notices of Mr. Villoison*, written on the margin of the

* D'Ausse de Villoison visited the island of Ziaceos in 1785. After his death, in 1805, the imperial library became possessed of his papers, which are of the utmost importance.

edition

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edition of Tournefort, and from his manuscripts, which form more than twelve quarto volumes.....From what Villoison says of Ceos, Bröndsted has taken, without acknowledgment, his citations, conjectures, opinions, results, and even his faults of style and effaced passages. He quotes him thrice—once concerning another island, and the two remaining times in a note and in a supplement, in a manner designedly perverse and mutilated. We have inquired among men most calculated to form a judgment, and, according to them, it is more than probable that Mr. Bröndsted employed the papers of Mr. Villoison, even before he set out: after his return, he made extracts from them, during several months, in the royal library.'

Such are the general accusations of the critic; and it must be admitted that, had they even verisimilitude, they would be sufficient to eclipse for ever the reputation of a man who enjoys so wide a celebrity. But Mr. Bröndsted has not been without defenders; and we will compare their statements with the charges brought against him, in order to arrive at a just conclusion between the author and his critic.

The first defence of Bröndsted appeared in a Danish journal, called 'Dansk Litteraturtidende,' edited by Professor P. E. Müller. But this defence, written in the mild tone which distinguishes the journal, is rather an excuse than a justification. Next was published a pamphlet, by Mr. Hage, entitled 'Bröndsted and Villoison,' in which the writer, following the critic step by step, not only proves that Mr. Bröndsted is not guilty of the charge of plagiarism, but further adds that the critic is a base calumniator (niederträchtiges verläumder).

Without blindly following either party, we will proceed to notice the accusations of the critic, and the replications of Messrs. Müller and Hage.

The critic begins by a general assertion that Mr. Bröndsted has copied from Mr. Villoison his quotations from the ancient authors, concerning the topography and history of the isle of Ceos; and this he attempts to prove, by comparing several of the quotations. But, is it not absolutely necessary that two men tending towards the same point, when studying the ancient authors, should meet with and quote the same passages in numerous instances; or is it a fault in Mr. Bröndsted, that he saw the light some thirty years later than Mr. Villoison?

As to the geography, the principal result is, that the ruins called 'Taas Polaes,' which are found at Ceos, are not those of Iulis but of Carthæa. Tournefort had believed that they were the ruins of Iulis; but Bröndsted proves that they are those of Carthæa. The critic supposes that this idea was borrowed from Villoison, who quotes the passage from Strabo (x. 486) which had misled Tournefort. But why should this be so? Bröndsted proves by inscriptions, &c., in the clearest manner, what was before only slightly conjectured, and has not confined his illustrations to this particular part of the island. He has also explained the site of Coressus, &c, &c.

'The chief result in the archæological part of this first book,' says the critic, 'is that the worship of Aristæos all over this island was joined with the worship of Apollo, and not with that of Jove;' and he believes that this opinion of Mr. Bröndsted is taken from two lines of Æneas de Gaza, quoted by Villoison. But the critic is wrong: the chief result is the explanation of the worship of Aristæos at Ceos, and the critic omits what Bröndsted has said on the worship of Jove, &c. which strengthens his opinions. The critic will have it that Bröndsted has stolen even the nymphs of Ceos from Villoison, because both writers cite the same passage from Heraclitus Pontius: and he proves this charge as he does all the rest.

'With regard to the notices of Mr. Villoison on the fine arts,' says the critic, 'Bröndsted has thought them so excellent, that he has not given an abridgement,

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abridgement, but has copied them at length.' In proof of this, he quotes the passage of Villoison: 'There is a large and enormous block of stone, carved as a lion, in the garden of Mr. N. Pangolo.' Bröndsted gives a more detailed account; and why should he be forbidden to write what he himself has seen? The critic then continues, 'All that Bröndsted has said, concerning the name of Ceos has been drawn from the manuscripts of Villoison. The long note, pp. 56, 57, and 58, is specially devoted to this subject. In the second part of it he copies entire passages from Villoison, and sneers at the author; in the first he even copies what was erased in the original.' But how has Bröndsted sneered at Villoison? Bröndsted says, 'On the name only of this island, which has been confounded with those of Kos, Chios, &c. one might write a dissertation, learned enough, but not very fruitful.' Villoison has already furnished matter for such a dissertation—ergo, Bröndsted sneers at Villoison. There is the logic of the critic.

Finally, the critic says; 'When Villoison is in doubt, Bröndsted says "perhaps;" but his emendations, whether confidently expressed or not, always belong to Villoison. It is unpardonable that Mr. Bröndsted will never give this author the credit of his conjectures.' There is in fact so great a resemblance between one part of the conjectures of Bröndsted and those of Villoison, that, though it is impossible to prove it, we think it not improbable that the former has, in this instance, copied from the latter. We admit, therefore, that Bröndsted ought to have mentioned his authority; and this, we think to be the 'head and front' of his offending. But to bully a distinguished man, as this critic has done, is below the dignity of literary disputation. Still we cannot agree with Mr. Hage in the opinion that a malicious intention alone guided the pen of the critic. No: and we will go further, and contend that Mr. Hage cannot possibly prove, by any thing in this criticism, the serious invective put forward against the writer, when he calls him a *base slanderer*. What we do, however, reproach the critic with is this—that he dazzles his readers by throwing an odious light on Bröndsted, when he brings together quotations which are spread throughout the work, but which the reader is thus led to believe form a continuous whole.

The criticism concludes pathetically enough. 'By his "Travels and Researches in Greece,"' observes the critic, 'a work which deserves the first rank among plagiarisms, Dr. P. O. Bröndsted has unworthily deceived the most distinguished scholars in Europe—above all, the *Académie des Inscriptions*, the journals, and honourable editors, of Germany, France, and England—he has abused the good fortune which made the papers of Villoison known to him. As to his sovereign, he has not deceived him; for he tells him in his preface that "a lucky accident rather than his own merit," has produced these numerous elucidations on the subject of Greece.—We could in fewer words have done justice to Villoison and unveiled the plagiary, had it not been necessary to make an example which perhaps will not be without its good effects for the knowledge of antiquity and for scientific truth.'

Oh, that the critic had never departed from scientific truth!

France.

From the statistic tables for the year 1826, published by the prefect of the department of the Seine, it appears that amongst a million of inhabitants there were 824 persons arraigned for different crimes; of whom 297 were acquitted, and 527 condemned.

It is doubtless interesting to the mental philosopher and the divine to remark the different ages of the accused; as shewing the periods of man's life when, from various causes, he is most or least liable to commit crime. Of the accused we find—

Those

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					No.
Those under	16	years of age,			12
„	16	„	to 21		175
„	21	„	25		150
„	25	„	30		179
„	30	„	35		101
„	35	„	40		72
„	40	„	45		54
„	45	„	50		33
„	50	„	55		17
„	55	„	60		13
„	60	„	and above		18
				Total,	824

Of 527 persons condemned for the more heavy offences, there were 424 men and 103 women. Of these 527 criminals, 494 had simply stolen property, whilst 33 only had attacked the person. Upon this favourable proportion the French journals have wittily remarked, that the generality of their criminals seem to be more of *financiers* than men-killers, and that they are consequently fifteen times fonder of the money than the existence of their fellow-creatures.

Of 435 thefts, 145 were domestic ones; that is to say, committed in the houses where the offenders were engaged as servants, or otherwise trusted. The French remark with reason that this number is not by any means alarming or extraordinary, when we recollect the immense number of servants who, in the different capacities of coachmen, cooks, valets-de-chambre, house-maids, nurse-maids,—to say nothing of occasional assistants, which latter are admitted into private houses on very slight credentials. Of these there are in Paris more than 40,000, nearly the whole of whom are supposed to be acquainted with the places where their employers keep the keys of their secretaries, &c., and with the valuables that may be contained in their drawers, wardrobes, and closets. Under these circumstances, it is certainly highly creditable to the body of persons so trusted that the number of their offences is not considerably larger.

Eight criminals were condemned for murder, and eight for that species of it which comes under the term assassination, or premeditated murder. Of these, six were perpetrated with knives; seven with swords, daggers, or other cutting or thrusting weapons; two by violent kicking and striking; and one with pistol shot.

As far as we have been able to collect from good authority, we do not hear that, since 1826, there has been any great increase of crime, notwithstanding there has been a progressive increase of population. We shall take an early opportunity of referring to these reports, the state of which at present we have not been able to ascertain with accuracy.

University of France.—The lectures at the Sorbonne and the College de France recommenced in November. Those of M. Guizot and M. Villemain are interesting from the subjects they have chosen. The former delivers his present course on the history of the state of France during the middle ages. The latter is developing the state of the French language and literature during the same eventful period, including an account of the poetry and romantic exploits of the Troubadours. These two professors have the satisfaction of finding their theatres more crowded, if possible, than ever; and we are happy to remark that the other lecture-rooms are continually attended by a numerous and attentive audience.

Travels in Arabia Petræa.—Of the work entitled 'Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée, par MM. Leon de La Borde et Linaut,' we have just seen the prospectus, and first *livraison* of plates, which were published at Paris about the

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the middle of last month (January). It is well known that curiosity has long been excited respecting the situation and remains of ancient Petra, once the capital of a great province, called by European geographers Arabia Petræa, but which, notwithstanding its celebrity in the sacred scripture, is yet almost unknown to us. The travellers who visited this region had no other object than the illustration of certain passages in the Old Testament, or the performance of a religious pilgrimage; they proceeded, therefore, no further than Mount Sinai. Three, however, more adventurous, taking their departure from Egypt, arrived at the fortress of Acaba, near the extremity of the Elanitic Gulf; but they soon retraced their steps, leaving unexplored the most interesting, and, it must be acknowledged, the most dangerous portions of this country. At length some travellers, coming from the north, were more successful, and we owe to them the discovery of those ruins in the *Wadi Mousa*, or Valley of Moses, which are recognized as the remains of the ancient city of Petra.

That *patriarche des voyageurs* Burckhardt, whom, under the Musselman name of Sheikh Ibrahim, every Arab esteemed for his amiable qualities and his intrepidity, was the first who penetrated so far as Petra; but various circumstances in his manner of travelling, prevented him from giving a full or satisfactory account of its remains. Some years after Burckhardt, Mr. Banks, accompanied by several Englishmen, forced his way, it may be said, to this spot; but as he was frequently obliged to act on the defensive, many difficulties opposed him in collecting materials for description, at least if we may judge from the documents furnished in the work of his companions, Messrs. Mangles and Irby. Finally, Mr. Anson and another gentleman visited the ruins of Petra, but it appears that they only passed through them.

More fortunate than their predecessors, and perhaps more favoured by circumstances, M. Leon de La Borde and M. Linaut succeeded not only in exploring the ruined city and its environs, but in delineating, for the first time, every monument, with all its details. Thus occupied, they spent among the ruins eight entire days, and prosecuted their researches towards the south of Wadi Mousa, over a space of twenty square leagues, which had not been previously visited by any European. Here they discovered the remains of a city, exhibiting a naumachia still in a state of good preservation; another city with an aqueduct three leagues in length; and various sites extremely interesting from their coincidence with the statements left by ancient writers. M. Leon de LaBorde, after M. Linaut had left him, travelled alone over the mountains of Sinai, and his account of this last journey, and the drawings with which it furnished him, will be found eminently serviceable in illustrating the Old Testament.

To the work here announced, M. Linaut has contributed several drawings and plans of monuments. In this gentleman the African Association of London have found a worthy successor of the celebrated Burckhardt, and on their account he is now continuing his researches in Africa.

The 'Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée' will form ten numbers, or *livraisons*, each consisting of five plates, representing the monuments of Petra, and the most interesting scenes in the peninsula of Mount Sinai. The work also will comprise a general plan of Petra on a great scale, and a very detailed map of Arabia Petræa. M. Leon de La Borde has employed in executing the plates many artists of the first reputation for lithographic skill, and others, equally eminent, will evince their powers in the maps and plans. We have already mentioned that one number was published last month; the other nine portions are to follow in monthly succession. Of each the price is fixed at twenty francs; and an octavo volume of letter-press, with vignettes and an atlas of maps, will serve to explain the fifty plates. The price of this volume to be twenty francs.

The five plates which we have inspected are of a very large folio size, and beautifully

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beautifully executed. One represents an extraordinary tomb, hollowed into the rock at Petra; it is of enormous dimensions, and in complete preservation. Burckhardt does not seem to have had any knowledge of this remarkable monument; and even Mr. Banks and his fellow-travellers were content with viewing it from a distance of half a league by means of a telescope. Another plate represents the fortress of Accaba (or Akabah), at the north of the Elanitic Gulf on the Red Sea: near this fortress were situated the cities of Eziongaber and Elath, mentioned in the Bible. This view having been taken at the moment when a caravan arrived, displays the costume of various nations in well combined and pleasing groups. The third plate exhibits the interior of Saint Catherine's convent, at the foot of Mount Horeb; and the fourth, in one compartment, represents an insulated column which once formed part of a basilica; also the valley of Moses, enclosed on the right by lofty rocks, pierced with thousands of excavations, which served as sepulchres to the inhabitants of Petra. The fourth plate, in its second compartment, exhibits two tombs, detached from the rock, and of a singular style. The last plate is a general plan of the city of Petra, executed on a very large scale, and, as we have reason to believe, with much accuracy.

On a reference to Burckhardt's account of the Wadi Mousa, (see his Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 421,) we find that he regrets the circumstances which prevented him from examining and describing the numerous antiquities of Moses's Valley as completely as he wished; he was unprotected and surrounded with dangers, 'in the midst of a desert, where no traveller had ever before been seen:' and he prophetically adds, what will give considerable interest to the French publication which we have announced, 'Future travellers may visit the spot under the protection of an armed force; the inhabitants will become more accustomed to the researches of strangers; and the antiquities of Wadi Mousa will then be found to rank among the most curious remains of ancient art.'

Germany.

Amelioration of the condition of Prisoners.—The society for the moral and civil amelioration of the prisoners in the provinces of the Rhine and Westphalia, have published a report of their labours. The society have neglected nothing to accomplish their end. They have kept a register of the names, ages, crimes, and conduct of the prisoners, and a committee is appointed to visit the different prisons, which gives every month a detailed account of their actual state. The prisoners are arranged in four classes; viz. 1st class, consisting of the best conducted criminals; 2dly, the tolerably good; 3dly, those who are inclined to behave ill; and 4thly, the worst. The society endeavours especially to recall the younger portion to virtuous inclination, and on the expiration of their punishments endeavours to place them in a creditable position.

A statistic table is annexed to their report, which presents the following results. The thirteen districts which compose the Province Rhénane, of which the chief is Dusseldorf, had, at the close of the year 1828, a population of 684,581 inhabitants, amongst whom there appeared to be one birth in 28 people, one death in 42, and one marriage in 122; one primary school for every 953, and one scholar for every 8.

On the 1st March, 1829, there were in the prisons of Dusseldorf, Hamm, and Cleves, 183 men and 83 women; and in the house of correction at Brauweiler also 183 men and 83 women. The quota of prisoners is one in 915 inhabitants, and one convict in 1787. Amongst the latter there were 260 Catholics, 119 Protestants, and 4 Jews; making, according to the population of each, one convict in 1601 Catholics, one in 2197 Protestants, and one in 1201 Jews. Of 100 convicts, 48 were for theft, 19 for maltreatment, 5 for wounding with intent to kill, 2 for murder, 1 for infanticide, and 3 for debauchery.

Russia.

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Russia.

ORIENTAL literature is advancing in Russia with rapid strides; nor need this be wondered at in a country where a man like Mr. Councillor Frähn directs the study, and where government is lending a willing ear to his proposals with regard to the same. He is at present occupied with a plan which, if executed, will, with regard to extent, be unparalleled in its kind. This is the erection of a faculty, or section, for oriental languages at the university of St. Petersburg, intended not only as a place for the instruction of professors, interpreters, and diplomatic agents, but as the means for promoting a more extended study of oriental literature in general. With this view there is to appear an Asiatic periodical, containing the results of learned Asiatic researches in Russian, Latin, and French, also literary intelligence of all kinds; and a yearly sum of 10,000 rubles has for the beginning been assigned for this purpose. It is also part of the plan to found a library of oriental printed and manuscript works, an Asiatic museum, and a complete Asiatic printing-office. Of regular professors there are to be eleven, with an indefinite number of assistants, as Chodshos, Mullas, &c. the first for theoretical, the latter for practical instruction. The following are the different subjects they are to treat in their lessons: the Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Tartar, Chinese, Mandshu, Sanskrit, Tibetian, Mongolian, Kalmuck, Grusinian, and Armenian languages, together with the geography, statistics, and the sacred and profane history of Asia; there will further be lessons in the modern Greek and Italian languages, and opportunity will be offered to the students of hearing lectures on mercantile and national law, and on the Latin, French, and English languages.

This section will again be divided into four divisions. In the first division will be taught the Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Tartar, modern Greek, and Italian languages; the history of the various Mahometan dynasties in Asia, Africa, and Europe; geography; Mahometan legislature; literature of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks; and oriental, chiefly Mahometan, archæology. The disciples, who are obliged to make a stay of five years in the division they have chosen for themselves, after the expiration of that term are from this division sent to Constantinople, Teheran, or Tauris, in order to complete their studies. The second division comprehends the Chinese, Mandshu, Tibetian, and Mongolian languages; geography; statistics; the sacred and profane history of China; and the history of the Chinese and Mandshu literature. The disciples are either sent on a mission to China, or to Kiachta, and Southern Siberia. The subjects treated in the third division are, the Mongolian, Kalmuckian, Tibetian, and Sanskrit languages; the geography and history of Central Asia, particularly of the Mongols; the religious systems of Buddha and the Brahmins; and Sanskrit literature. The students will afterwards be employed in the governments of Astrachan and the Caucasus, and in the provinces adjacent to the Mongol territory. To the fourth division will belong the Armenian and Grusinian languages; the geography and ethnography of the Caucasus; Georgia, and Armenia, their political history and their literature. The disciples will be sent to the Caucasus and the Armenian provinces. It is also the intention to establish in the principal Lyceum of the Russian empire a distinct class for teaching the elements of the Persian language, as preparatory for this division. This may serve as a short sketch of that grand enterprize, which we hope soon to see executed.

The catalogue of the Ardebil library, a collection containing only the most extensive works, will itself rank among this class of books, as it contains a number of fac similes, and other superb copies from the manuscripts. The catalogue of the Achalzick library too has been finished by Messrs. Frähn, Charmoy, and Mirza Dshafer, and is ready for the press.

A precious discovery has been made of a quantity of Cufic coins, many of them

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them being still inedita, and so well preserved, that they look as if just issued from the mint.

In Moscow, less is done with regard to oriental literature. The library of the university is in possession of only six manuscripts and these of little value. On the other hand, the institute, founded in 1816 by the indefatigable zeal of Director Krause, is not less remarkable for the splendour of its exterior, than for the judicious dispositions in the interior of the establishment. There are now eighty students, among whom there are some Armenian princes. The Armenian library is considerable, and the Armenian language is much cultivated there, together with other elementary sciences and languages, even German. But the professorships of the Arabian, Persian, and Turkish are, we regret to say, still vacant, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Mr. Krause.

Rome.

A CATALOGUE has been published at Rome of the library and objects of art and antiquity lately belonging to the Chevalier G. G. de Rossi, which are to be sold. The collection is composed of a numerous and valuable library, a collection of paintings by the best masters in the Italian and Flemish schools, a considerable number of gems and medallions engraved *en creux*, both antique and modern, bronzes of different epochs, busts and figures in marble and ivory, besides a numerous collection of drawings and engravings of the most celebrated artists. Great interest is excited amongst the literati of all nations who are assembled in 'the eternal city,' as many of these objects of art, as well as the books, are rare and valuable.

Archæological Institute of Rome.—In promoting various interesting and highly classical objects of antiquarian research, we have reason to expect most gratifying success from a literary association lately formed at Rome, under the title of 'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archæologica.' The immediate patron of this society is his royal highness the hereditary Prince of Prussia, and among its numerous distinguished members are the Duc de Blacas d' Aulps (President of the Direction), the Grand Duchess Elena of Russia, Prince Henry of Prussia, many ambassadors and other foreigners of high rank, besides artists and men of letters, eminent for their ingenuity and erudition, forming already a body of above one hundred and fifty persons. In this association we are happy to find included several of our countrymen—Lord Burghersh, Sir William Gell, Mr. Craven, Lord Holland, the Marquis of Douro, Messrs. Fox, Knight, Petre, Thomson, Burgess, Dodwell, Knapp, Millingen, and Nott; Lord Lovaine, Lord Newark, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Northampton, &c. We find also the names of Lady Maria Deerhurst, Prince Charles de Neuwied, the Prince de Canino, Vicomte Chateaubriand, Prince Gaguvin, Baron Humboldt, the Duc de Luynes, M. Quatremere de Quincy, Petit-Radel, Raoul-Rochette, the celebrated Carlo Fea, Professor Gerhard, Doctor Panofka, and many other eminent antiquaries of different countries.

It appears from the 'Bullettino' that an octavo volume of at least forty sheets is to be printed every year, comprising letters, dissertations, and other articles, in various languages, with twelve separate plates of the royal folio size, representing ancient monuments, hitherto unpublished. This volume, entitled 'Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archæologica,' will also contain some smaller engravings. For all these each subscriber is to pay annually the sum of two louis d'or, which, however, will be returned, or allowed, to those who contribute manuscript communications, or original drawings.

Besides the 'Bullettino' we have lately received two numbers or 'fascicoli' of the Annals, forming an octavo volume of above 260 pages, illustrated with six small plates—besides as many folio engravings of 'Monumenti Inediti'—

among

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among which are, the walls and gates of the ruined city of Norba; the remarkable gate of Segni; figures on a painted vase, communicated by Professor Gerhard of Berlin; devices on four ancient vases, communicated by Theodore Panofka; an extraordinary dance of seven figures, delineated on a vase in the collection of Mr. Millingen, the celebrated antiquary.

A very interesting account of excavations and discoveries made at the old Etruscan city of Tarquinia is given in the monthly Bulletins; also of curious objects found at Cossa, Orbetello, Montarozzi, Orvieto, Chiusi, Volterra, Nola, Corneto, Canino, and other places; tombs, of which the walls are ornamented with extraordinary paintings; beautiful vases, many hundreds (disinterred within a few months) being inscribed with letters; numerous ornaments and small articles of gold, ivory, paste, bronze, and stone, executed in a style of Grecian elegance; pateræ, tripods, bassi-relievi, statues of terra cotta, stone urns, and scarabæi of cornelian; burnt vases, called *salicerni* (which there is reason to suppose the ancients broke in pieces before they threw them on the funeral pile of parents or friends); cups of extreme rarity, being white and varnished on the inside, like fine porcelain, while the outside exhibits figures, painted in red on a black ground; play-things found near the skeletons of two children; a large vessel, full of eggs, discovered at the feet of a human skeleton; many admirable pictures, ornamenting an edifice at Pompeii called the 'house of Castor and Pollux;' other paintings, of an indecent or licentious nature, in a chamber near the same place, with some extraordinary glass vessels, of different colours and sizes; busts, sarcophagi, medals, and a multiplicity of other articles, which our limits will not allow us to notice more particularly.

In the volume of 'Annals' for the year 1829, we find thirty-five pages of 'Osservazioni Preliminari,' a very excellent composition, by Professor Gerhard. Then follows a dissertation on those remarkable remains of antiquity generally called Cyclopean, 'Monumenti di Costruzione della Ciclopea.' In the next article M. Gerhard describes many interesting ruins at Norba and at Segni, the ancient Signia. Some very curious sepulchral discoveries made at Tarquinia furnish the subject of a communication from Signor Carlo Avvolta, 'Rapporto intorno le Tombe di Tarquinia' (p. 91); to which succeeds an account of ancient pictures found in the year 1827 at Tarquinia and at Chiusi, by Counsellor Kestner (p. 101). Some tombs of Tarquinia and Vulcia are then described by Signor Melchiade Fossati (p. 120); bass-reliefs and sepulchral monuments, by M. Wolff and Professor Gerhard (p. 131). Then follows a letter from M. Raoul-Rochette to M. Panofka, 'Sur une statue trouvée à Lillebonne' (p. 147); after which is a paper 'Sur quelques médailles des Campaniens de Sicile,' by the Duke de Luynes (p. 150). Several curious Greek inscriptions, with remarks by the learned Professor Boeckh, are given in p. 155, *et seq.* and some Latin inscriptions, with explanations by Professor Orioli of Bologna (p. 174). In the 'Memoria intorno a un libro di Sir William Gell, sopra le mura di antiche città, 1825,' we find many ingenious observations on Cyclopean architecture (p. 182), followed by an account of excavations made at the bridge of Badia, and of some Etruscan antiquities discovered by the Prince of Canino (p. 188); also remarks on the ancient Vetulonia and Vulcia; topographical notices respecting the island of Egina (p. 201); observations on some Roman antiquities found in Suevia (p. 214). Among the sculptured monuments are described a 'basso-relievo di Samotrace' (p. 220), and the 'Opus sculptum in zophoro cellæ Parthenonis.' (This Latin memoir is by C. O. Mueller) p. 221. We next have (in a French translation, made from the original German of Mr. Welcker) some very learned remarks on the celebrated Iliac table (p. 227), and (likewise in French) by Mr. Panofka, an account of the picture representing Medea, found at Herculaneum. The antique picture of Somnus and Pasithea is next described, and then another, called 'Il Nido,' the 'nest' (p. 251). Some observations on a Metapontine medal

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medal of bronze are offered (in p. 255) by the Cavaliere Avellino; and this first volume concludes with six plates, very neatly executed, illustrating various subjects of antiquarian research discussed in the different articles above-mentioned.

We have now before us ten of the monthly Bulletins for 1829, extending to 144 pages, replete with interesting matter, especially the details of recent excavations, which, it appears, have been eminently successful. The antique subjects found by Lucian Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, form one of the most magnificent collections in Europe. An account of some select articles in this collection fills a quarto volume, printed last year at Viterbo, and entitled 'Catalogo di Scelte antichita Etrusche trovate nigli Scavi del Principe di Canino, 1828-1829.' Of this catalogue, which we have reason to believe was destined merely for private circulation, a notice is given in the Bullettino (p. 60), describing it as the most useful and important archæological work that has appeared in our time. It enumerates above two thousand articles, among which are many beautiful painted vases, discovered during the course of six months, in the Etruscan territories near Canino. Two hundred of those valuable subjects are particularly described, and succeeding numbers of the catalogue will contain an account of many hundreds more. Respecting Greece, the Bullettino announces (p. 63) the intended publication of a splendid work, entitled 'La Grèce, Vues pittoresques et topographiques, dessinées par O. M. Baron de Stackelberg.' The materials are selected from a portfolio containing above one hundred and forty drawings, made from nature and on a very large scale, during four years which the accomplished Baron passed in different parts of Greece, using Pausanias as his guide. The subjects chosen were not only those situations most favourable to picturesque effect, but such as excited the most interesting recollections. It is proposed to comprise all the Greek provinces in one hundred and eight large plates, and twenty-nine vignettes. These views are to be lithographed, in most exact imitation of the original drawings, and each plate will be accompanied by a leaf of letter-press, giving an historical, geographical, and archæological notice of the scene delineated. Twenty-seven monthly numbers, it is supposed, will complete the work; each number to cost fifteen francs. Should this collection be favourably received (and of its success there cannot be much doubt), Baron Stackelberg will offer to the public a similar portfolio of views, made by himself at Constantinople and in Asia Minor.

The Bullettino for September 1829, commences with general observations on the discoveries made in Egypt, and several compliments are paid on this subject to some English travellers and antiquaries. Due praise is also bestowed on M. Champollion by the author, Chevalier Bunsen, who, as well as the learned Niebuhr, regards the key to the hieroglyphical alphabet as a discovery more important (in antiquarian literature) than any made since the beginning of this century; and 'if the untimely death of Dr. Young has deprived us of many well-founded hopes, Mr. Wilkinson seems destined to fill the void—at this very moment, not only in Malta but in Egypt, typography and lithography combine their powers to make known the success of most interesting researches.' (p. 98.) The ingenious author observes, that in ascertaining the site of ancient Meroe (discovered by M. Cailliaud), a convincing proof has been obtained that the Egyptian erudition, as far as depends on hieroglyphic writing and public buildings, can never have proceeded from Ethiopia, as some modern writers are willing to believe, supposing the civilization of Egypt to follow the course of that river which passes through the country; but we do not find in the monuments of Ethiopia a royal name more ancient than Amenoph, the Memnon of the Greeks. Few would have believed, ten years ago, that it was possible to demonstrate most satisfactorily the existence of a monument coeval with the great Memnon, and erected by himself. Such might well be

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be supposed a monument of the most remote antiquity; but the researches of M. Champollion in Egypt show, in an uninterrupted series, the monuments of six kings anterior to Memnon, of the same dynasty, the eighteenth of Manetho, among whom appears (according to M. Champollion) the great Thutmosis or Moeris, whose name is found on the obelisk of the Lateran, a monument executed in the beginning of the nineteenth century before the Christian era. And some learned Englishmen of the present day have discovered the name of Osortasen I., a great king, who appears to be the last of the sixteenth or the head of the legitimate seventeenth dynasty, residing at Thebes during the usurpation of the Hyksos. His reign therefore, according to chronological calculations made by M. Champollion, Figeac, began in the year 2082 before the commencement of our era. We find the name of this king on numerous monuments, even as far as Mount Sinai. And here may be noticed a circumstance, very interesting in the history of Egyptian art. M. Champollion had already demonstrated that under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty the arts were not in their infancy, but recovering after a disastrous epoch, and that they were founded on a long-established perfection, both in style and execution. Now, according to some notices communicated through Sir William Gell, the sculptures which exhibit the name of Osortasen I. are of incomparable beauty. This circumstance, and the extent of monuments erected by him, might induce us to believe that his reign was the last before the invasion of the Hyksos, and not the first of the dynasty which must have ceded to that nomade race a considerable tract of country.

Next follows an extract from Sir William Gell's letter, dated at Naples on the 13th of last August. This curious article announces the arrival of Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix, who had traced the entire course of the river Nile through Egypt, up to its division into two great branches, generally distinguished by the names of Blue River on the East, and the White River towards the West. These travellers ascended the Blue River as far as Sennaar (which is now in possession of the Pacha of Egypt), and thence they crossed, by land, to the *Bahar el Abiad*, or White River. One grand object of their research in Dongola and Sennaar, was to ascertain the site of Meroe; and they affirm that Meroe, near Dongola, is not only written, but pronounced *Merôe*, and not *Merawe*, as the name appears in maps, and that the village of Sheba, mentioned by Josephus, forms a part of it. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that this is not the Meroe of the ancients, but corresponds to the old Napata, the ruins of which were discovered in 1821, by Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury, a short time before the remains of ancient Meroe were ascertained by M. Cailliaud to be in the vicinity of Shendy, near which the penetrating genius of D'Anville had already, by a kind of divination, fixed its site. Those English travellers declare that the edifices, sculptures, and hieroglyphics of Ethiopia are much inferior to those of Egypt, and not more ancient. They returned to the White River about 120 miles above its junction with the Blue, in a place called Shallieh; and they observe that the character of its current, and, more particularly, the sterility produced by its deposit, prove that Bruce's River coming from Lake Dembed, is the true Nile. Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix have published at Cairo tables of the Egyptian kings of the sixteenth dynasty, as far as Amasis, founded on existing monuments; also tables of the Persian monarchs, the Ptolemies, and the Roman sovereigns of Egypt, from the same authorities. They have, at the same time, fixed the date of all the public edifices in Egypt and Nubia up to the second cataract. M. Champollion, meanwhile, was at Thebes, and is said to have discovered the Egyptian names of a multiplicity of animals, vegetables, and other objects relative to natural history. Mr. Burton has published four numbers of his 'Excerpta Hieroglyphica' at Cairo, with lithographic illustrations. Among other curious matters, the first part contains the celebrated list of kings from the Table of Abydos, given with the utmost

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utmost exactness. The second presents a long series of the 'divinities of Denderah,' consisting of about forty figures, and forming a complete pantheon, not subject to error, each figure having its proper name affixed in the following manner: 'This is Horus,' 'This is Isis,' &c. In the same number are described the four faces of the Obelisk of Heliopolis, erected by Osortasen, the most ancient king (according to these learned Englishmen) of whom any traces remain in Egypt. The second number of the 'Excerpta' shows the name of this king Osortasen on the Obelisk of Feiyoom, remarkable on account of its terminating in a hemisphere, and not, as usual, in a pyramidical form. However fascinating the subject of Egyptian antiquities, our limits will not allow us to extract as much as we could wish from the work before us; but for the gratification of those interested in hieroglyphical literature, we must notice the following passage. (p. 105.) 'The dictionary of ancient Egyptian words derived from the enchorial writings by Dr. Young, has been fatally interrupted in consequence of the death of that most learned and industrious antiquary; but Mr. Wilkinson, in a letter written from Cairo to Sir William Gell, announces, that he had himself made considerable progress in the Coptic language, and had published at Malta fourteen pages of words in Coptic and hieroglyphics, extracted from a much more copious work on which he had been long employed during his residence in Egypt. He had also compiled from original monuments an Egyptian Pantheon, and a succession of the Pharaohs. His researches have been eminently useful and important respecting the hieroglyphic signs, used to indicate a name placed at the end; the expletive signs, and those of an active and reflective sense; the signs of adverbs, and many other grammatical minutiæ. Mr. Wilkinson, finally, has ascertained the name of Thebes (concerning which he differs from M. Champollion), and is now engaged in publishing at Cairo and Malta an account of his discoveries, in which he has been much assisted by a manuscript found by Lord Prudhoe in a convent, and containing a Coptic glossary.'

The Bullettino for October 1829, presents a very interesting notice by M. Quatremère de Quincy, on the monuments, paintings, and vases found at Pompeii, and a letter from Dr. Panofka to Professor Gerhard, respecting the Prince of Canino's Etruscan vases. From this we shall extract one passage for the information of young antiquaries. 'I was much struck,' says he, 'at finding that the same vase exhibits the names of two artists, one accompanied by the word ΕΓΡΑΦΕ or ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕ, denoting the painter; the other name having by its side the word ΕΠΟΙΕΙ or ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, referring to the potter. But it remains to be ascertained whether, in vases ornamented with paintings, the proper name joined to the word ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ, does not indicate a person who united the art of pottery with the talent of painting, or who, at least, caused to pass under his name the paintings executed in his workshop.' (p. 138.)

It is not in our power at present to notice various other articles both in the Bulletins and the Annals, well worthy of the antiquary's attention. The subsequent numbers, which we hope soon to receive, will furnish, there can be little doubt, much interesting matter, of which an account shall be given in our journal. Meanwhile it affords us great satisfaction to learn that besides the illustrious and learned English sojourning on the continent, and of whose names some are already mentioned, several distinguished scholars and lovers of the arts residing in this country, have caused their names to be subscribed at the London agent's (Mr. Rodwell, bookseller, New Bond-street), as members of the Roman 'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archæologica.'

Sweden.

His Majesty the King of Sweden has commanded the University of Lund to create Ochlenshläguer a Doctor of Philosophy. This is the first instance of this diploma having been conferred by order of his Swedish Majesty.

A Swedish translation of Erik Menods Barndom, by Ingemann, is about to be published.

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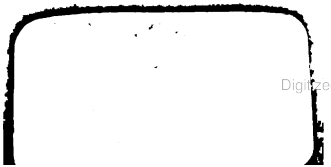
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